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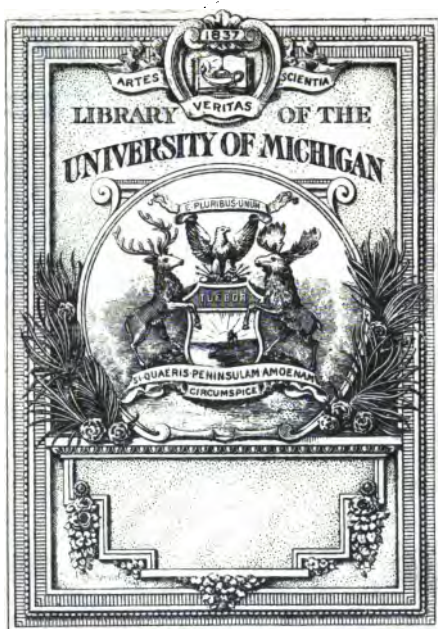
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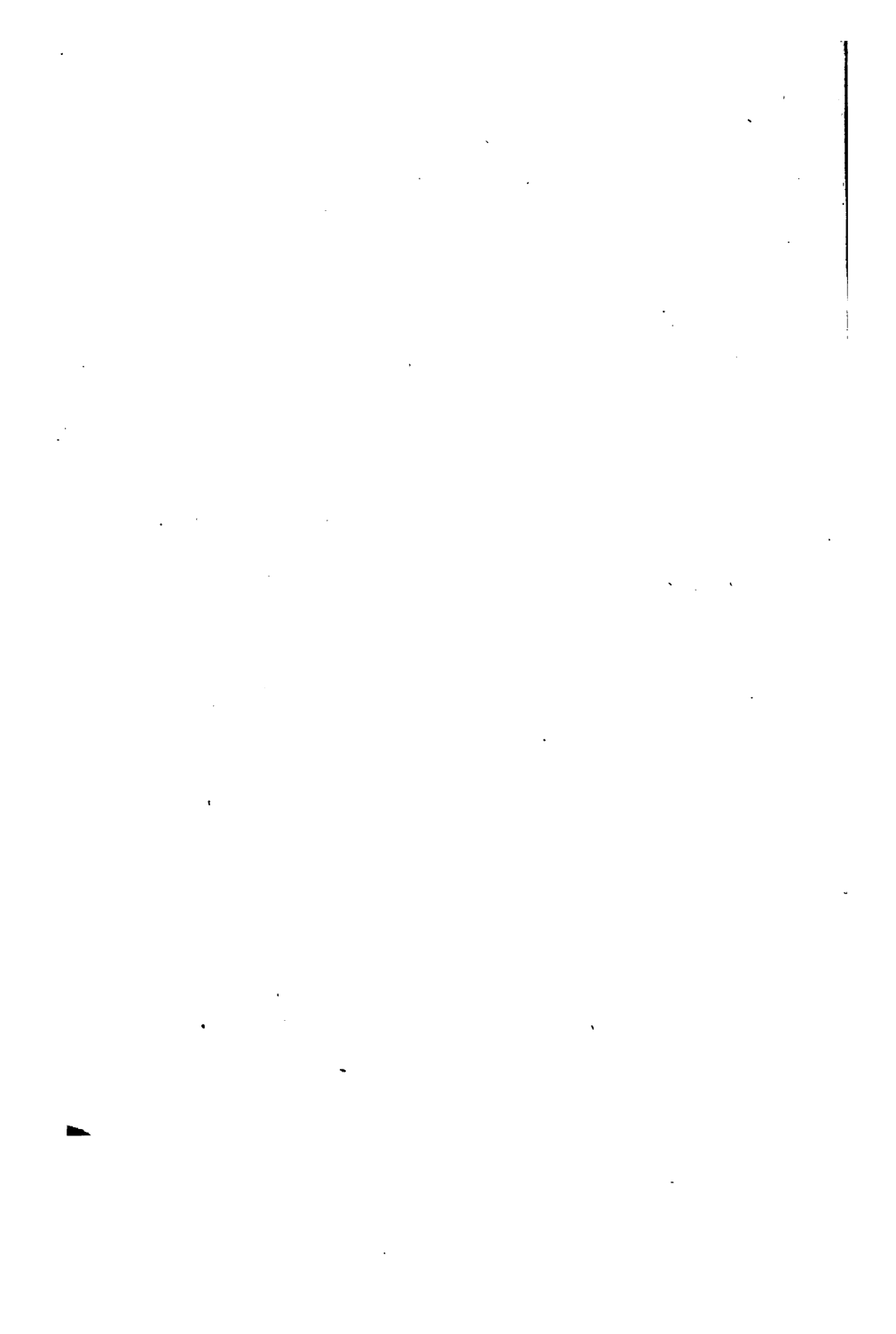


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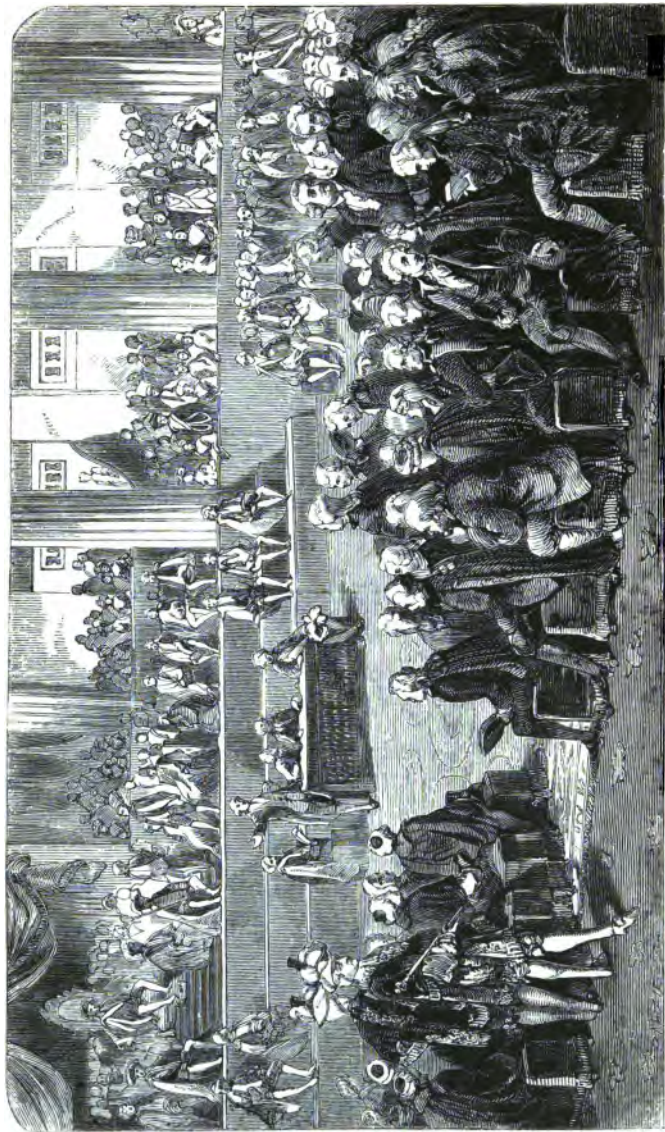
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Meeting of the States General, 5th May, 1789.

HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

6th Edn

COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IN MDCCLXXXIX

TO THE

RESTORATION OF THE BOURBONS

IN MDCCCXY.

BY

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART.

F. R. S. E.

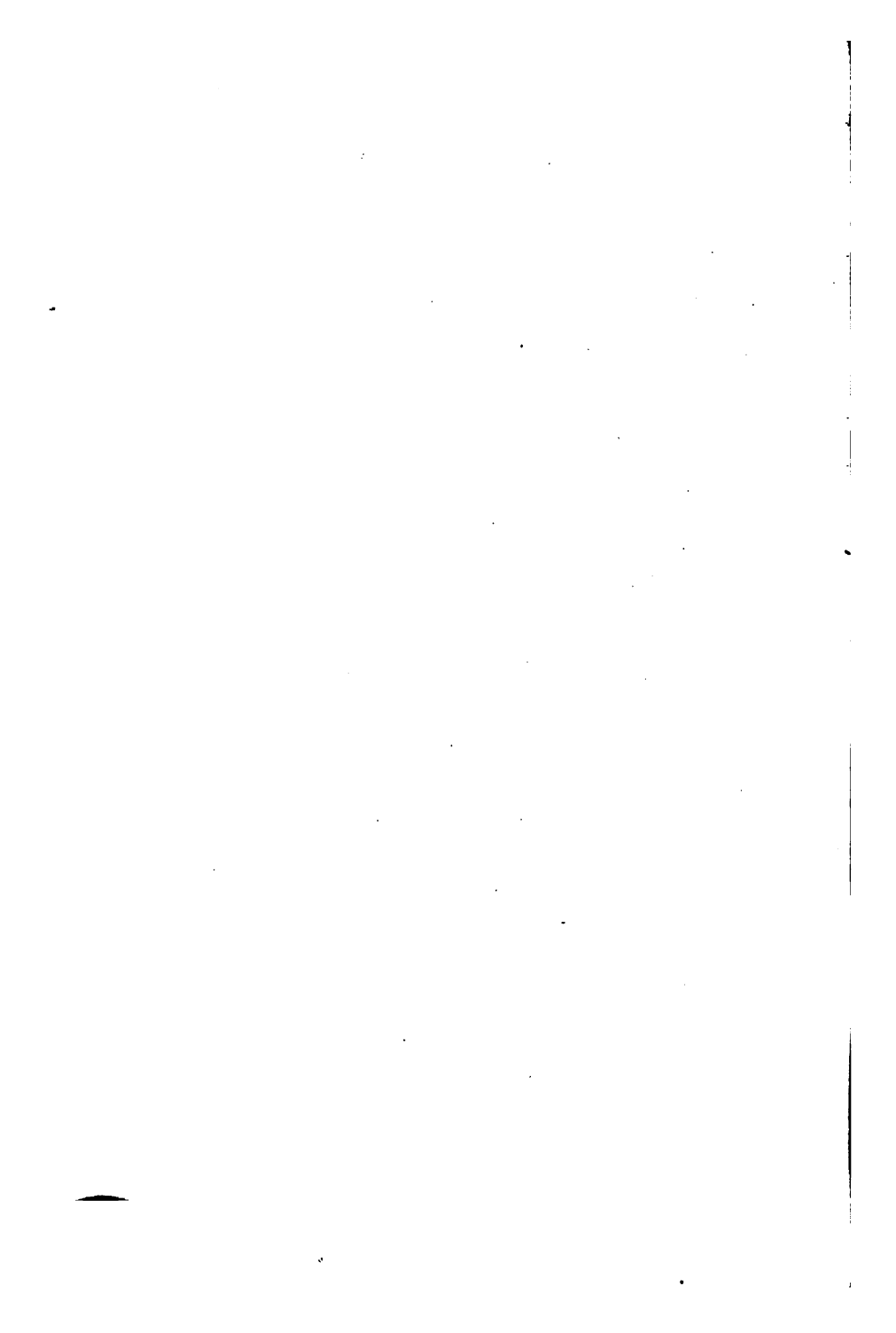
NINTH EDITION

VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

THE History of Europe during the French Revolution naturally divides itself into four periods :—

The first, commencing with the Convocation of the States-General in 1789, terminates with the execution of Louis, and the establishment of a republic in France, in 1793. This period embraces the history and vast changes of the Constituent Assembly; the annals of the Legislative Assembly; the revolt and overthrow of the throne on the 10th August; the trial and death of the king. It traces the changes of public opinion, and the fervour of innovation, from their joyous commencement to that bloody catastrophe, and the successive steps by which the nation was led from the transports of general philanthropy to the sombre ascendant of sanguinary ambition.

The second opens with the strife of the Girondists and the Jacobins; and, after recounting the fall of the former body, enters upon the dreadful era of the Reign of Terror, and follows out the subsequent struggles of the now exhausted factions, till the establishment of a regular military government, by the suppression of the revolt of the National Guard of Paris, in October 1795. This period embraces the commencement of the war; the immense exertions of France during the campaign in 1793; the heroic contest in la Vendée; the last efforts of Polish independence under Kosciuszko; the conquest of Flanders and Holland; and the scientific manœuvres of the campaign of 1795. But its most interesting part is the internal history of the Revolution.

tion; the heart-rending sufferings of persecuted virtue; and the means by which Providence caused the guilt of the Revolutionists to work out their own deserved and memorable punishment.

The third, commencing with the rise of Napoleon, terminates with the seizure of the reins of power by that extraordinary man, and the first pause in the general strife at the Peace of Amiens. It is singularly rich in splendid achievements, embracing the Italian campaigns of the French hero, and the German ones of the Archduke Charles; the battles of St Vincent, Camperdown, and the Nile; the expedition to Egypt, the wars of Suwarroff in Italy, and Massena on the Alps; the campaigns of Marengo and Hohenlinden; the Northern Coalition, with its dissolution by the victory of Copenhagen; the overthrow of the French in Egypt, and their expulsion from it by the arms of England. During this period, the democratic passions of France had exhausted themselves, and the nation groaned under a weak but relentless military despotism, the external disasters and internal severities of which prepared all classes to range themselves under the banners of a victorious chieftain.

The fourth opens with brighter auspices to France, under the firm and able government of Napoleon, and terminates with his fall in 1815. Less illustrated than the former period by his military genius, it was rendered still more memorable by his resistless power and mighty achievements. It embraces the campaigns of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland; the destruction

of the French navy at Trafalgar; the desperate struggle in Spain, and the gallant, though abortive, efforts of Austria in 1809; the degradation and extinction of the Papal authority; the slow but steady growth of the English military power in the Peninsula; the persevering, and at last splendid, career of Wellington; the general suffering under the despotism of France; the memorable invasion of Russia; the convulsive efforts of Germany in 1813; the last campaign of Napoleon, the capture of Paris, and his final overthrow at Waterloo.

The two first periods illustrate the consequences of democratic ascendancy upon the civil condition; the two last, their effect upon the military contests and external relations of nations. In both, the operation of the same law of nature may be discerned, for the expulsion of a destructive passion from the frame of society, by the efforts which it makes for its own gratification, and the just punishment alike of guilty nations and individuals, by the consequences of the very iniquities which they commit. In both, the principal actors were overruled by an unseen power, which rendered their vices and ambition the means of vindicating the justice of the Divine administration, asserting the final triumph of virtue over vice, and ultimately effecting the deliverance of mankind. Generations perished during the vast transition, but the law of nature was unceasing in its operation; and the same principle which drove the government of Robespierre through the Reign of Terror to the 9th of Thermidor, impelled Napoleon to the snows of Russia and the rout of Waterloo. "Leshommes agissent," says Bossuet, "mais Dieu les mène." The illustrations of this moral law compose the great lesson to be learned from the eventful scenes of this mighty drama.

A subject so splendid in itself, so full of political and military instruction, replete with such great and heroic actions, adorned by so many virtues, and darkened by so many crimes, never yet fell to the lot of a historian. During the twenty-five years of its progress, the world has gone through more than five

hundred years of ordinary existence; and the annals of Modern Europe will be sought in vain for a parallel to that brief period of anxious effort and checkered achievement.

Although so short a time has elapsed since the termination of these events, the materials which have been collected for their elucidation have already become, beyond all precedent, interesting and ample. The great and varied ability which, since the general peace, has been brought to bear upon political and historical subjects in France, has produced, besides many regular Histories of extraordinary talent, a crowd of Memoirs of various authority, but throwing, upon the whole, the fullest light on the manners, feelings, and sufferings of those troubled times. The previous state of France, with the moral, political, and financial causes which brought about the Revolution, are fully developed in the able works of Rivarol, Necker, and Madame de Stael, the elaborate Memoirs of the Abbé Georgel, the acute History of the reign of Louis XVI. by Soulevie, and the impartial digest by Droz of the same interesting and important period. Its financial and social condition are unfolded in the luminous statements of Calonne, Necker, and Arthur Young. Nor are the materials for the history of the convulsion itself less abundant. On the one hand, the faithful and impartial Narrative of M. Toulangeon, the elaborate and valuable "*Histoire de la Révolution par Deux Amis de la Liberté*," in eighteen volumes, with the brilliant works of Mignet and Thiers, have done ample justice to the Republican side; while, on the other, the elaborate Histories of Lacretelle, La Baume, and Bertrand de Molleville, with the detached narratives of Chateaubriand, Beauchamps, and Bertrand de Molleville, in his Memoirs, have fully illustrated the sufferings of the Royalists during the progress of the Revolution. The singular and interesting events of Poland are admirably detailed in the able Narrative of Rulhière, and the eloquent pages of Salvandy. But the most interesting record of those times is to be found in the contemporary Memoirs by the principal sufferers dur-

ing their continuance, the best of which are to be met with in the great collection, published at Paris, of "Revolutionary Memoirs," extending to sixty-six volumes, and embracing, among other authentic Narratives, those of Bailly, Rivarol, Riouffe, Barbaroux, Buzot, Condorcet, Madame Campan, Madame Roland, Madame Larochejaquelein, Clery, Hue, Carnot, Sapinsaud, Thurreau, Madame Bonchamp, Doppet, Abbé Guillon, Abbé Morellet, Count Ségur, General Kleber, M. Puisaye, and many others. In Professor Smyth's "Lectures on the French Revolution," these various accounts are passed in review with the acuteness of a critic and the spirit of a philosopher; while Mr Adolphus, in his able "History of France" from 1790 to 1803, has brought to light much that the French writers would willingly bury in oblivion. The "Papiers Inédits de Robespierre," and the "Correspondance du Comité du Salut Public," lately published at Paris, are full of new and valuable information. In the graphic "History of the Convention," and the admirable "Souvenirs de la Terreur," by Duval, in six volumes, recently published in the same capital, many vivid and striking pictures are to be found, evidently drawn from life; the Memoirs of Barère and Berryer throw much light on the worst characters of the Revolution; while the admirable sketches of Dumont, Brissot, and Mounier, convey the most faithful idea of the early leaders of the Assembly, and the singular Memoirs of Levasseur de la Sarthe furnish a portrait of the extreme of Jacobin extravagance.

For the memorable period of the Consulate, and the character of the illustrious men who were assembled round the throne of Napoleon, the Memoirs of Thibaudeau, General Rapp, Bourrienne, Savary, Fouché,* Bausset,

Meneval, Caulaincourt, Gohier, and the Duchess of Abrantes, have furnished an inexhaustible mine of information, the authenticity of which may, in general, be judged of with tolerable accuracy by comparing these different narratives together. But the most valuable authentic documents during this period are to be found in the ample volumes of the "Moniteur," the great quarry from which all subsequent compilers have extracted their materials; in the admirable Parliamentary history of France, in forty-one volumes, by Buchez and Roux, the most interesting portions of which have been well abridged in the "Histoire de la Convention," in six volumes, by Leonard Gallois; and the "Débats de la Convention," forming part of the Revolutionary Memoirs.

In the memoirs of these contemporary authors, many of them leading actors in the events they describe, it may be thought the reader is transported near enough to the actual theatre of this bloody drama. But to those who are enamoured of its tragic scenes (and few can study the subject without becoming so), it is not sufficient to have the memoirs written at a subsequent period, even by the principal actors in the dreadful progress. We long to get nearer the mournful catastrophes; to hear the fervour of the orator at the tribune; to be present at the interrogatories of the prisoners at the trials; to listen to the words of the captives on the scaffold. Ample materials exist to satisfy the most ardent thirst for such entrancing details in the contemporary journals, though the greater part of them are now extremely rare, and some would be "cheaply purchased for their weight in gold." The "Révolutions de Paris," by Prudhomme, published in daily numbers from 1789 to 1794, and which now forms seventeen

* The author, in the first instance, had some doubts of the authenticity of Fouché's Memoirs; but they have been since removed by a more minute examination of their contents, and by having learned, from the late lamented Lord Wellesley, that the facts as to the Secret Negotiation with him in 1800, mentioned in these pages, were, with one trifling exception, correct. They must, therefore, have been written at least from his

papers, as they contained facts known only to the French Minister and two British Statesmen. The author has heard, on good authority, that an opinion of their containing facts which were known only to Fouché has been expressed also by the Duke of Wellington. M. Beauchampe is generally understood to have compiled these curious Memoirs from Fouché's papers.—See *Biographie Universelle, Supplément*, vol. lxxviii. p. 474.

thick octavo volumes, exhibits a picture of the republican party during the whole progress of the convulsion, by an ardent democrat, intimately acquainted with the leaders of the Revolution. His marked partiality for the cause they supported renders his testimony the more valuable when he comes to recount their excesses, as he has done in a minute detail, comprising six volumes, entitled "*Crimes et Erreurs de la Révolution.*" The "*Actes des Apôtres,*" in ten volumes, embracing three hundred and ninety-six numbers, published twice a-week during the Revolution, by Peltier, exhibits a picture of the ideas of the Girondists and some of the Jacobin party, by an able but impassioned Royalist, at its most interesting periods; while the "*Vieux Cordelier,*" by Camille Desmoulins, contains a precious contemporary record of the views of one of the ablest of the party of Danton, in the period immediately preceding its fall. The "*Chronique de Paris,*" written chiefly by Brissot and the Girondists, gives daily, throughout the whole struggle, the views of that celebrated party; while the proceedings and principles of the Jacobins are amply unfolded in the "*Journal de la Montagne,*" by Charles Leveaux, which, beginning on 1st June 1793, comes down to the 28th November 1794, and forms seven quarto volumes. The "*Journal des Jacobins,*" commencing on the 1st June 1791, gives the whole debates of that memorable body, including some of the best speeches of Robespierre and Danton, down to the 29th November 1794.

The "*Père Duchesne,*" by Hébert, also a daily journal from March 1791 to October 1793, which now forms eleven volumes, contains the obscene and hideous ribaldry of that atrocious faction, the creatures of the municipality of Paris, elected under universal suffrage, which even Robespierre was obliged to guillotine for their crimes. Marat's vehement passions, cold-blooded proscriptions, and prodigious mental fertility, are fully portrayed in his celebrated journal "*L'Ami du Peuple,*" beginning on 28th November 1789, and coming down to his assassination in

July 1793. It forms a collection amounting to eighteen volumes. The debates of the Convention are to be found fully reported in the ample columns of the "*Moniteur,*" and the admirable "*Histoire Parlementaire de France,*" by Buchez and Roux, in forty-one volumes. The "*Liste des Condamnés*" contains the name and designation of every one of the many victims of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris. But all the contemporary records sink in interest and value before the "*Bulletin du Tribunal Révolutionnaire,*" published daily from the institution of that tribunal, on 10th March 1793, till its close with the conviction of Fouquier-Tinville, in December 1794. All the most important trials of the Revolution, except that of Louis, are there given in the fullest detail; and the "*Procès de Louis XVI.,*" in three volumes octavo, gives the fullest account of that memorable proceeding.

Few subjects of study are so entrancing as these contemporary records of the Revolution. From them could, with ease, be extracted a work equalling in bulk, and perhaps exceeding in interest, that which details, most readers will probably think at sufficient length, in addition to that convulsion, the whole wars consequent on it. The impression left on the mind by the study of these strange and melancholy monuments of human insanity, guilt, and suffering, is very remarkable. In the first place, they clearly demonstrate, what will probably be found to be true of most successful rebellions, that the French Revolution was entirely carried through by the incessant application of exaggeration or mendacity to the public mind. Falsehood was its staff of life. In the second place, the aspect of the convulsion, as thus painted at the moment by its principal actors, is incomparably more sombre, its guilt and devastation appear far greater, than could be imagined from the later compilations; and the author, from the study of their own words, has been compelled, in most cases, to draw the leading characters of the Revolution in much darker colours than he at first was inclined to have done, from the representations of their

enemies.* Lastly, they exhibit in as shining colours the generosity and dignity of human nature, as its baseness and ambition; and if, in surveying the guilt of the Revolutionists, or the aristocratic selfishness which preceded it, we are sometimes almost tempted to despair of the fortunes of the species, we are led by the heroism of its victims to more cheering views, and a right appreciation of the checkered destiny of man in this scene of probation.

In military annals the materials are not less ample. The great scientific history of General Jomini, in sixteen volumes, with the lucid narratives of Marshal Jourdan, Marshal St-Cyr, and General Dumourier, leave nothing to be desired for the earlier years of the war; while the genius of Napoleon, as conspicuous in his memoirs as his victories, throws a clear light over the Italian campaigns, and renders it only a matter of regret that his fidelity as a historian was not equal to his ability as an annalist. The *Victories and Conquests of the French Armies*, in twenty-six volumes, by Petitot, is a vast magazine of valuable information, though sometimes characterised by the partialities of a too devoted French patriot. The eloquent and graphic *Narrative of General Mathieu Dumas*, in eighteen volumes, commencing with the first appearance of Suwarroff in Italy, embraces the whole subsequent German campaigns of Napoleon; the *Histories of Berthier and Reynier*, with the *Memoirs of Miot*, and the *Narrative of Sir Robert Wilson*, illustrate the brilliant episode

of the Egyptian expedition; while on the side of the Allies, the works of the Archduke Charles bear as high a character for truth and integrity as military ability; the eloquent *History of M. Botta* makes us acquainted with the melancholy catalogue of Italian sufferings; the interesting life of Pius VII., by Artaud, opens up an interesting episode of Christian resignation and firmness in the midst of such a sea of blood; and the *Memoirs and Histories of the Prussian writers*,† supply all that was wanting to complete their side of the picture.

For the history of the Empire, no works exist of equal ability or authority as those regarding the Revolution; but in many detached publications, the principal facts of importance are to be found. M. Bignon, to whom Napoleon bequeathed, with a large legacy, the duty of compiling the history of his diplomacy, has executed the task, as far at least as 1810, with much ability, though a jaundiced and partial view of Great Britain pervades his pages. M. Norvins, in an animated and popular narrative, has detailed, in the spirit of a partisan of Napoleon, the most picturesque events of the Imperial history; while the Abbé Montgaillard, in his elaborate history, in twelve volumes, with equal prejudice on the other side, has accumulated many facts necessary to be understood, for a right understanding of the Imperial government. M. Thibaudeau has, with great judgment, though in a spirit of undue national partiality, treated, in his history of the Consulate and Empire, in ten volumes, of the whole of Napoleon's reign. The negotiations with the Court of Rome are to be found recorded in the collections regarding the Italian Transactions, in three volumes, by Schoell, the able work on the Concordats by the Abbé de Pradt, and the valuable *Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca*; while the chief diplomatic papers of the period are collected in the great works of Martens and Schoell, the former in twenty-two, the

* Few even of the public libraries in Great Britain contain the curious and interesting works noticed in the two preceding paragraphs; in private collections, whether in England or France, they are hardly ever to be met with. A very valuable collection on the subject exists in the British Museum, in great part the gifts of J. W. Croker, Esq., whose intimate acquaintance with, and deep research into the details of the Revolution, are well known. The author has been fortunate enough to acquire, through the kindness of M. Amyot, the well-known Paris bookseller, an extensive and valuable collection of these contemporary journals and pamphlets, made at the time by a distinguished member of the Convention, and which has proved of the utmost service in the preparation of the later editions of this work.

† Especially Prince Hardenberg, in his highly interesting and curious *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, in thirteen volumes, with the brilliant Sketch, by Sir Robert Wilson, of the Polish campaign in 1807.

latter in twelve volumes, and in the valuable "*Recueil des Pièces Officielles*," in nine volumes, by the latter of these laborious compilers. Goldsmith's "*Cours Politique et Diplomatique de Napoléon*," in seven volumes, contains also a variety of most important documents, many of which the Imperial annalists would willingly bury in oblivion. Capéfigue's eloquent history of Europe during the French Revolution, in six volumes—of the Empire of Napoleon and the Hundred Days, in twelve volumes, recently published—and his earlier narrative of the causes which led to the restoration and fall of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon, also in twelve volumes, abound with rich and varied information, especially in relation to the diplomatic events of the period, interspersed with episodes painted with poetic fire. In the "*Biographie Universelle*," also, edited by M. Michaud, in fifty-two volumes, and its additions in the Supplement, embracing contemporary characters, now in course of publication at Paris, many interesting particulars regarding the chief characters who figured during the Revolution and the Empire are to be found scattered amidst a profusion of other and varied information. The military events of the campaign of 1809 in Germany, are ably recorded in the works of General Pelet, General Stutterheim, and the Archduke John's Account of his Italian Campaign; while the interesting "*Life of Hofer*" by Bartholdy, and the brilliant sketch of the war in the Tyrol by Forster, convey as vivid pictures of the astonishing efforts of the inhabitants of that romantic region.*

As the contest advanced, and Great Britain was drawn as a principal into the Continental war, the materials for a general history became still more ample. The invaluable record of the Duke of Wellington's Despatches, in twelve volumes, contains an authentic narrative of his Indian and Peninsular campaigns, told with equal judgment, penetration, and simplicity; while his general orders, and Sir George Murray's

orders as Quarter-master General, lately published in quarto, afford an important contemporary record of these events. The Despatches of Marquis Wellesley shed a clear light over the complicated maze of Indian politics, during the splendid period of his administration. Mr Southey's incomparable "*Life of Nelson*" contains all that England could desire to have recorded of her naval hero; while his "*History of the Peninsular War*" contains a heart-stirring narrative of that memorable struggle. The delightful Memoirs of Lord Collingwood, with the recent able Lives of Howe, Earl St Vincent, Lord Exmouth, Lord de Saumarez, and Sir Henry Blackwood, open up a fund of interesting adventure in our naval transactions. But with the glories of Wellington's campaigns the name of Colonel Napier is indissolubly united; and his glowing pages, and scientific reflections, render it only an object of regret, that political feelings should sometimes have tinged with undue bias his otherwise impartial military relation. Count Torenó has, in an able work in six volumes, given the Spanish account of the whole events of the Peninsular War. If anything were wanting to complete the picture, it would be found in the animated narratives of Lord Londonderry, Colonel Jones, Mr Gleig, Captain Hamilton, Captain Scherer, and Mr Maxwell, whose works exhibit a succession of sketches, so vivid and yet so faithful, that the historian must be insensible indeed who does not partake in some degree of their enthusiasm.

The French side of the Peninsular War has not been so fully illustrated as their other and more successful campaigns; but the impartial narrative of General Jomini, with the detached works of General Foy, Count Thiebault, General Lapene, M. Rooca, Marshal St-Cyr, and Marshal Suchet, throw a clear light over part, at least, of those complicated events. The "*Journaux des Sièges dans la Péninsule*," by M. Belmas, recently published in four volumes, by authority of the French government, at Paris, is a work on this subject of equal splendour and authenticity.

For the memorable occurrences of

* *Geschichte Andreas Hofer und Beiträge zur Neuern Kriegsgeschichte*, von Friedrich Forster. Berlin, 1816.

the Russian campaign, the eloquent and pictured pages of Count Ségur, M. Chambray, Baron Larrey, Baron Fain, La Baume, and General Vaudoncourt, corrected by the details of General Gourgaud, the scientific sketch of General Jomini,* the powerful narrative of General Clausewitz, and the luminous and impartial Russian narrative of Colonel Boutourlin, furnish ample materials. The campaign of 1813, in Germany, has been equally illustrated by the pens of General Vaudoncourt, La Baume, Generals Muffling, Gneisenau, and Bulow; Baron Odeleben, Colonel Boutourlin, Baron Fain, Lord Burgersh, and Lord Londonderry; while the whole official details are to be found in the accurate German compilation of Plötho. The German writers have not been so rapid as might have been expected in recounting the transactions of this glorious year; but at length several valuable publications have appeared on it, particularly the small but able narrative of Carl Bade, the larger work of Richter, and "Die Grosse Chronique," which contains an able abstract of all the authorities on the subject. The Russian account of that campaign is admirably given in the work of the Emperor Alexander's aide-de-camp, General Danilefsky. The graphic details of these works are admirably condensed in the "Précis des Evénements Militaires en 1813," recently published at Leipsic, in French and German: while to the last and greatest campaign of Napoleon, the vivid descriptions of Beauchamps, La Baume, Koch, and General Vaudoncourt, corrected by the official documents of Plötho, and the highly interesting Russian narrative of Danilefsky, with the able narratives of Jomini and Baron Fain, have done ample justice.

No historian, however, can have gone over the military events of the Revolutionary War, without having experienced the benefit of the splendid Atlas and accurate description of battles by Kausler, in French and German; a work unparalleled in the annals of art, and

* In his "Life of Napoleon:" a work of extraordinary ability and most impartial observation.

which almost brings the theatre of the principal battles of the period before the eyes of the reader. For the subsequent and proudest year of England's achievements, the various accounts of the Battle of Waterloo by Generals Gourgaud, Grouchy, and, above all, General Jomini in his recent work on the campaign of that year, with the admirable details given in the narrative of the battle of Waterloo by a near observer, over which the gifted mind of Sir Walter Scott has thrown the light of his genius, furnish inexhaustible resources, and close the work with a ray of glory, to which there is nothing comparable in her long and illustrious annals.

In one particular, not the least important or interesting of the whole work, the Author for a very long period had very great difficulty. This was in understanding the different accounts of the battle of Waterloo itself, or reconciling them with each other, and extracting from the whole anything like a correct account of that memorable conflict. The Author need not be ashamed of making this admission, as General Jomini himself admits that he never could understand thoroughly the battle, especially in its later stages; and that of all the engagements he had ever studied, it was the one which presented the most difficulty in detail. In consequence of this circumstance, there were several respects in which the account of the battle in the first, and even in the second edition of this History, was incorrect. At length, however, the admirable industry of Captain Siborne, in collecting accounts of their several shares in the conflict from officers in all the regiments engaged in it, as well as his careful analysis of the German and French authorities on the subject, have reconciled all the seeming contradictions regarding it, and smoothed away nearly all the difficulties with which it was surrounded. Of this invaluable aid, the Author has largely availed himself in the later editions of the last volume; and the account there presented is, he trusts, in all material points, correct, and is as full as is consistent with a work of general history.

In the description of the theatre of

these great events, the Author, when he does not quote authority, has in general proceeded on his own observation. This is particularly the case with the fields of Marengo, Novi, Arcola, Rivoli, Lodi, the Brenta, the Trebbia, the Tagliamento, Zurich, Ulm, Eh-mühl, Hohenlinden, Salzburg, Jena, Austerlitz, Aspern, Wagram, Dresden, Leipsic, the Katzbach, Hanau, Laon, Brienne, Craone, Soissons, Paris, and Waterloo, the passage of the St Bernard, the St Gothard, and the Splügen; and, in general, the seat of war in 1796 and 1797, in the Alps of Savoy, Switzerland, Tyrol, and Styria, the theatre of Napoleon's and Suwarroff's campaigns in Italy, those of the Archduke Charles in Germany, the memorable struggle of the Tyrolese in 1809, and of Napoleon's last efforts in the north of Germany and France. Those who may wish to possess maps and plans of the campaigns and battles, will find them admirably given in Mr Johnston's Atlas, collected and arranged for the illustration of this work.

Every one who investigates the events of this period, must be struck with the great inferiority, generally speaking, of the English historians who treat of the same subject. Till the era of the Peninsular War, when a cluster of gifted spirits arose, there are no writers on English affairs at all comparable to the great historical authors on the Continent. In this dearth of native genius applied to this subject, it is fortunate that a connected narrative of events of varied ability, but continued interest and extensive information, is to be found in the "Annual Register;" that the Life of Mr Pitt by Gifford embodies with discriminating talent all the views of that great statesman; and his biography by Tomline leads the reader only to regret that it should terminate at the most eventful crisis of his administration; while the "Parliamentary Debates" through the whole period, edited nominally by Cobbett and Hansard, but really under the able direction of Mr Wright—who has recently, in the important and interesting Cavendish Debates, supplied the long-lost link in our Parliamentary History—not only

contain most of the statistical details of value to the historian, but all the arguments urged, both in the legislature and elsewhere, for and against the measures of government.

An invaluable mass of statistical information for the whole period is to be found in the "Parliamentary Reports," compiled with so much care by the Committees of both Houses of Parliament, and admirably digested in the able works of Marshall, Colquhoun, Moreau, and Pebrer, as well as the elaborate official compilations of Porter, both in his "Parliamentary Tables," in fourteen volumes folio, and his "View of the Progress of the British Empire," in three volumes 12mo; an immense treasure of important knowledge regarding our colonies is to be found in Martin's valuable Colonial History; while, for the details of our naval forces and successes, ample materials are to be found in the minute and incomparable work of Mr James, and the able but less accurate history of Captain Brenton. Nor are the French statistical works in relation to this period of less value than the Parliamentary compilations of England. In particular, the splendid "Statistiques de la France," in ten volumes folio, published in Paris, may well be placed beside Porter's "Parliamentary Tables," for extent and accuracy of statistical information.

An episode in general history, equally interesting and important, growing out of the attack by Napoleon on Spain, is the South American Revolution. It is hard to say whether this subject is most attractive from the splendid and varied character of the vast continent which it embraces, the romantic and tragic interest of the dreadful convulsions of which it became the theatre, or the immense effect which their progress has had on the supplies of the precious metals from the globe, and, through them, on the prosperity and fortunes of the British empire. The historian here discovers the same application of just retribution to the interested iniquity of his own country, which the annals of the period in general afford examples of, in a more signal manner,

to similar aggressions on the part of other nations. Materials do not exist, as yet, for a full and correct narrative of the bloody struggles which arose from, or were connected with the rise of South American independence; and the principal events in it occurred so long after the period when this History, in other events, terminates, that a cursory reference could be alone attempted. But the admirable narratives of Herrera, and the early Spanish historians, with the splendid and accurate works of Humboldt and Malte-Brun, afford ample materials for the description of physical nature; and in the able Life of Bolivar by General Ducondray Holstein, one of his gallant companions in arms, the Memoirs of General Murillo, by himself, and the very interesting narrative of General Millar, himself a leading actor in the campaigns he describes, enough is to be found to convey a general idea of the leading events, and make the reader desire fuller details of such momentous and heart-stirring transactions.

Another episode, of the most important and interesting kind, is afforded by the rise and progress of the United States, and the adjoining splendid colonies of Great Britain, in North America. Though these Transatlantic States are of such recent origin, yet the materials in regard to their moral, political, and physical circumstances, are singularly ample and important. The statistics of the American Confederacy have been ascertained in recent times with a degree of accuracy equal even to that evinced in similar investigations in France or England; and may be found well digested in several publications, particularly the Statistical Almanac of America, annually published at Boston. The peculiarities, advantages, and evils of the institutions, manners, and customs of the United States, have been ably delineated, though sometimes perhaps with somewhat of an unfriendly hand, by Captain Hall, Captain Marryat, Captain Hamilton, and Mrs Trollope; while Miss Martineau, albeit strongly imbued with partiality to liberal institutions and dissent, has, with admirable impartiality, accumulated a

great variety of facts, throwing the clearest light on the effects of their political and ecclesiastical system, and frequently not a little at variance with the preconceived opinions with which she commenced her travels. But it is remarkable, that by far the fullest and most philosophical view of America has been presented by foreign writers; and the works of M. de Tocqueville and M. Chevalier will be admired so long as profound thought, enlightened views, and luminous reasoning, shall retain a place in human estimation. For the physical description of America, both North and South, recourse has constantly been had to the incomparable geographical system of Malte-Brun, and the splendid travels of M. Humboldt—works which demonstrate that the most accurate information, the widest range of scientific knowledge, and the most unbounded labour, may be combined with the eye of a painter, the soul of a poet, and the highest flights of descriptive power.

The minute and intricate, but important events of the American War, are embodied in works of various merit, but affording, on the whole, a clear insight into the complicated details of Transatlantic hostilities. Mr Cooper's History of the American Navy gives a minute, and, on the whole, allowing for national partiality, a fair account of the maritime contest; though the unequalled graphic powers for naval painting which his novels prove he possesses, render it often a matter of regret that he has not lent to reality the colours, true to nature, which he has employed in fiction. Armstrong's War of 1812 gives the whole military events of the period with great impartiality, and from authentic documents; while Christie's War in Canada furnishes all the corrections necessary for the English side of the question. The military operations of the British in Canada, at Washington, and New Orleans, by Mr James, exhibits an animated narrative of that checkered contest; while the powerful mind and masterly hand of Mr Bancroft, render it a matter of regret that his elaborate history has not come down so far as the second Ameri-

can war. For the whole details of the maritime contest, so interesting to all who have the honour of the British Navy at heart, constant recourse has been had to the elaborate work of Mr James, whose inimitable accuracy supercedes, and renders superfluous, every other authority on the British side of the conflict.

While justice requires, however, that this general praise should be bestowed on the Continental and Transatlantic writers who have treated of this period, there is one particular which it is impossible to pass over without an expression of a different kind. Of whatever party, nation, or shade of opinion, they seem all at bottom imbued with a profound hatred of this country, and, in consequence, they generally ascribe to the British cabinet a dark or Machiavelian policy, in matters where it is well known to every person in England, and will be obvious to posterity, they were regulated by very different motives, and often proceeded, from inexperience of warlike measures, without any fixed principle at all. The existence of so general and unfounded a prejudice, in so many authors of such great and varied ability, would be inexplicable if we did not reflect on the splendid post which England occupied throughout the whole struggle, and recollect that, in nations equally as individuals, the conferring of obligations too often engenders no other feeling but that of antipathy; that no compliment is so flattering, because none is so sincere, as the vituperation of an adversary who has been inspired with dread; and that, though the successful party in a strife is always secretly flattered by the praises bestowed on his antagonists, it is too much to expect of human magnanimity a similar feeling in those to whom fortune has proved adverse.

The events of this period, especially during the earlier years of the Revolution, are so extensive and complicated, that the only way in which it appeared possible to give a clear narrative was to treat of the civil and military transactions in separate chapters, and in many cases to break into different ones the events of a single campaign. In this

way the order of chronology has not, in every instance, been strictly followed; and the same events required to be sometimes mentioned twice over—once as affecting the civil history of the times, and again as forming part of their military annals. This inconvenience, however, was unavoidable, and is a trifling disadvantage compared to the benefit arising from following out a certain set of transactions, without interruption, to their termination.

In treating of a subject of such extent, embracing so great a variety of events, and involving almost all the points now in dispute between the two great parties who divide the world, it appeared advisable to the author, with a view both to impartiality and historical fidelity, to adopt two rules, which have been faithfully adhered to throughout the whole work.

The first of these was to give on every occasion the authorities, by volume and page, from which the statement in the text was taken. This has been carried to an unusual, some may think unnecessary length, in the earlier editions, as not only are the authorities for every paragraph invariably given, but in many instances also those for every sentence have been accumulated on the margin. This appeared, however, indispensable in treating of subjects on which men are so much divided, not only by national but political prejudices, and in which every statement, not supported by unquestionable authority, would be liable to be called in question or discredited. Care has been taken to quote in those editions a preponderance of authority, in every instance where it was possible, from writers on the opposite side from that which an English historian, surveying events with the feelings which attachment to a constitutional monarchy produces, may be supposed to adopt; and the reader of them will find almost every fact, in the internal history of the Revolution, supported by two Republican and one Royalist authority; and every event in the military narrative by at least two writers on the part of the French, for one on that of their opponents. The marginal references to authorities are omitted,

and all the passages in foreign languages translated in this edition, in order to diminish the expense and render the work accessible to a wider circle of readers.

The second rule adopted was to give the arguments for and against every public measure, in the words of those who originally brought them forward, where it was possible, without any attempt at paraphrase or abridgment. This is more particularly the case in the debates of the National Assembly of France, the Parliament of England, and the Council of State under Napoleon; and in effecting the selection, the Author has been most forcibly impressed with the prodigious, though often perverted and mistaken ability, which distinguished these memorable discussions. There can be no doubt that, in thus presenting the speeches in the words of the real actors on the political stage, the work has assumed, in its earlier parts, a dramatic air, unusual at least in modern histories; but it was the only method by which the spirit and feelings of the moment could be faithfully transmitted to posterity, or justice done to the motives, on either side, which influenced mankind; and a modern author need not hesitate to follow an example which has been set by Thucydides, Salust, Livy, and Tacitus.

It seemed advisable to adopt this plan for another reason. The course of a Revolution is so completely at variance with the ordinary tenor of human events, and the motives which then influence men are so different from those which in general obtain an ascendancy, that, without the running commentary of their own expressions, it is impossible to do justice either to their motives, or to the great moral lessons to be derived from their history. It is only by comparing their words with their actions that the deceitful nature of the passions by which they have been misled can be made manifest, and the important truth demonstrated, that nations, not less than individuals, are seduced by false but alluring appellations of things; that it is in the name of humanity that thousands are massacred, and under the banners of freedom that

the most grievous despotism is established.

No attempt has been made on any occasion to disguise the real opinions of the Author; but, on the contrary, the conclusions which he thought fairly deducible from the events which were recounted have been fully given, with the grounds on which they are founded. At the same time, he has exerted himself to the utmost to give with force and accuracy the arguments which were advanced, or may be advanced, for the opposite side of the question; and those who do not go along with these conclusions will find in the context the materials for correcting them.

In the discussion of the great questions, civil, political, and military, which have so frequently come under his notice in the following pages, the Author has invariably adopted another rule, which to many may perhaps appear to require explanation. This is, to express his opinion without reserve on all these subjects, undeterred by authority, unswayed so far as possible by national feeling; endeavouring at the same time to do justice to the great men whose actions are passed in review, where their conduct was censured, by quoting so far as possible their words in vindication, or referring to their deeds on other occasions in explanation of their conduct. On this principle he has not hesitated frequently to blame the political measures of Pitt and Fox, and sometimes to criticise the military manœuvres of Napoleon and Wellington. This course has not been adopted without mature consideration, nor followed out without foreseeing obloquy. The story of the sophist censuring the Carthaginian hero at Ephesus may perhaps occur, when an author, neither a professional soldier nor a practical legislator, discusses the conduct of the greatest orators and statesmen of this, or the greatest commanders of this, or perhaps any other age. But the distinction between such presumptuous conduct as censuring a great man in his own presence, and discussing his merits before the bar of posterity, is obvious and important, and has always been recognised. The unanimous voice of

subsequent ages has condemned the presumption of Phormio, who *lectured* Hannibal; but it has as generally approved the judgment of Tacitus, who condemned the Cæsars, and the disquisitions of Polybius, who criticised the Scipios. Without ever hoping to rival, a modern author need not be ashamed of having endeavoured to imitate—*sed heu quanto intervallo!*—the fearless discrimination of these great men.

Military and political, like mathematical science, is essentially progressive; ordinary capacity in one age can attain what it required the utmost effort of intellect to reach in another. A boy at school can now solve problems to which Thales and Archimedes alone were equal in the infancy of geometry. Fearlessness is the first quality of a historian, as of a general, especially of one who records contemporary or nearly contemporary events: faultlessness never yet was given to a child of Adam. If mankind are to be overborne by the influence of great names, or silenced by the weight of national services, history need not be written, politics and war will cease to be progressive sciences, and the boasted control of public opinion will sink before the reputation of the very men over whom it should be exerted. What the historian does to others he willingly accords to himself, and certainly he feels no sort of impropriety in a youth of twenty making his first essay in letters by the criticism of the work of twenty years. It is by truth only that durable fame can be attained, by impartiality that a lasting impression is to be made. Many a great reputation has been stifled under the weight of indiscriminate encomium. Even the biographers of great men would, if they knew the real interests of their heroes, adopt the same course. It is a sense of its justice which gives weight to panegyric, and fixes it permanently in the opinion of men. If these pages are destined to outlive their author, the praises bestowed on Wellington (and they are warm and frequent) will not be lessened in their weight by the recollection, that the author dealt out the same impartial measure to a living countryman, victorious and in

power, as to a dead enemy, defeated and overthrown.

If there is any one opinion which, more than another, is impressed on the mind by a minute examination of the changes of the French Revolution, it is the perilous nature of the current into which men are drawn, who commit themselves to the stream of political innovation; and the great difficulty experienced by those engaged in the contest, even though gifted with the greatest intellect and the most resolute determination, in avoiding the commission of many crimes, amidst the stormy scenes to which it rapidly brings them. It is not difficult to perceive the final cause of this law of nature, or the important purpose it is intended to serve in the moral government of the world, by expelling from society, through the force of suffering, passions inconsistent with its existence. But it is a consideration of all others the best calculated to inspire forbearance and moderation, in forming an opinion of the intentions or actions of others placed in such trying and calamitous circumstances, and to exemplify the justice of the sacred precept, "to judge of others as we would wish they should judge of ourselves." Inexorable and unbending, therefore, in his opposition to false principles, it is the duty of the historian of such times to be lenient and considerate in his judgment of particular men, and, touching lightly on the weakness of such as are swept along by the waves, to reserve the weight of his censure for those who put the perilous torrent in motion.

It is another duty of the historian, in recounting the events of a period when great and general public calamities have been produced by abuses of a protracted kind, or the false application of principles which are just to a limited extent, to put in as clear a point of view as possible the consequences of the errors, whether in government or public opinion, which he is engaged in tracing. The annals of Tacitus are justly filled with indignant exclamations against the tyranny of the emperors and the decay of Roman virtue; those of the religious wars of Modern Europe, with pictures

of the ruinous consequences of religious fanaticism, and the atrocious tyranny of bigoted persecution. The history of the French Revolution alternately directs the mind to both the great sources of human oppression. Its earlier years suggest at every page reflections on the evils of political fanaticism, and the terrible consequences of democratic fervour; the later, on the debasing effects of absolute despotism, and the sanguinary march of military ambition.

The composition of the volumes now submitted to the public formed the recreation of many years, during the intervals of laborious professional employments: the two first were completed before the second French Revolution broke out, or any political changes were contemplated in this country. The progress of domestic as well as foreign changes, since that event, has given the Author no reason to doubt the soundness of the conclusions drawn from the composition of the annals of the first great convulsion, and has inspired him

with gloomy presentiments as to the future fate of his country. But no person will rejoice more sincerely than himself if the course of time shall demonstrate that these fears are ill-founded, and that England has no cause to apprehend danger from innovations which proved so destructive to her more impassioned rival.

Finally, when he looks back to the vast series of splendid and heroic achievements which it is the object of these pages to commemorate; when he reflects on the talent which has been exerted in the actions, and the genius which has been displayed in the narratives, which are here passed under review, the Author cannot but feel his own inadequacy to so great an undertaking, or avoid giving expression to the feeling that, if the work contains any interest, it is in justice to be ascribed to the virtue, the bravery, or ability of others, and that its numerous defects he can impute to no one but himself.

A. ALISON.

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

INTRODUCTION.

PROGRESS OF FREEDOM IN THE WORLD BEFORE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

1. THERE is no period in the history of the world which can be compared, in point of interest and importance, to that which embraces the progress and termination of the French Revolution. In no former age were events of such magnitude crowded together, or interests so momentous at issue between contending nations. From the flame which was kindled in Europe, the whole world has been involved in conflagration; and a new era has dawned upon both hemispheres from the effects of its extension. With the first rise of a free spirit in France, the liberty of North America was established, and its last exertions spread the discordant passion for independence through the regions of its Southern continent. In the midst of a desperate contest in Europe, the British empire in India has unceasingly extended, and the ancient fabric of Hindoo superstition at length begun to yield to the force of European civilisation. Though last to be reached by the flame, the power of Russia has been indefinitely strengthened by the contests in which she has been engaged; and the dynasties of Asia can now hardly withstand the arms which the forces of Napoleon were unable to subdue. Assailed by the energy of England on the south, and by the might of Russia on the north, the desolating reign of Mahomedan op-

pression seems drawing to its close; and from the strife of European war two powers have emerged, which appear destined to carry the blessings of civilisation and the light of religion as far as the arm of conquest can reach, or the waters of the ocean extend.

2. In the former history of the world different eras are to be observed, which have always attracted the attention of men, from the interest of the events which they present, and the importance of the consequences to which they have led. It is in the midst of the greatest struggles of the species, that the fire has been struck which has most contributed to its improvement. In the contest between Grecian freedom and Persian despotism, the genius was elicited which has spread the spirit of philosophy and the charms of art among mankind; in the severer struggle between the Romans and Carthaginians, that unconquerable spirit was produced, which in half a century spread the Roman empire over the whole surface of the civilised world. It was amidst the first combats between the Mahomedans and the Christians that the genius of modern Europe took its rise, and ingrafted the refinements of ancient taste on the energy of barbarian valour; from the wars between the Moors and the Spaniards, the enterprise arose which burst the

barriers of ancient knowledge, and opened to modern ambition the wonders of another hemisphere. The era of Napoleon will be ranked by future ages with those of Pericles, of Hannibal, and of the Crusades, not merely as regards the splendour of the events which it produced, but as to the magnitude of the effects by which it was followed.

3. Within the space of twenty years, events were in that era accumulated which would have filled the whole annals of a powerful state, in any former age, with instruction and interest. In that brief period were successively presented the struggles of an aged monarchy, and the growth of a fierce democracy; the energy of Republican valour, and the triumphs of Imperial discipline; the pride of barbarian conquest, and the glories of patriotic resistance. In the rapid pages of its history will be found parallels to the long annals of ancient greatness: to the genius of Hannibal, and the passions of Gracchus; the ambition of Cæsar, and the splendour of Augustus; the triumphs of Trajan, and the disasters of Julian. The power of France was less durable than that of Rome, only because it was more oppressive; it was more stubbornly resisted, because it did not bring the blessings of civilisation with its eagles. Its course was hailed by no grateful nations—its progress marked by no experienced blessings: unlike the beneficent sun of Roman greatness, which shone only to improve, its light, like the dazzling glare of the meteor, “rolled, blazed, destroyed, and was no more.”

4. Nor were the varieties of character, which appeared on the scene during those eventful years, less deserving of attention. If the genius displayed was unprecedented, so also was the wickedness; if history has little to show comparable to the triumphs that were gained, it has no parallel to the crimes that were committed. The terrible severity of Danton, the fanatical cruelty of Robespierre, are as unexampled as the military genius of Napoleon, or the naval career of Nelson. If France may, with reason,

pride herself upon the astonishing accumulation of talent which was brought to bear upon the fortunes of the state during the progress of the Revolution, she must share the disgrace of the inhuman crimes which were committed by its leaders, and borne with by its supporters among the people. It is the peculiar duty of the historian to preserve, for future admiration, the virtues which adorned, and to consign to eternal execration the vices which disgraced, that eventful age:—“*Exsequi sententias haud institui, nisi insignes per honestiam, aut notabilia dedecore; quod præcipuum munus annalium reor, ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex postritate et infamia metus sit. Ceterum tempora illa adeo infecta, ut non modo primores civitatis, quibus claritudo sua obsequiis protegenda erat, sed omnes consulares, magna pars eorum qui Præstura functi, multaque etiam pedarii senatores, certatim exsurgere, fœdæque et nimia censerent.*” *

5. The peculiar virtues and character of all the European nations were eminently exemplified during those disastrous years. The obstinate hostility of the Spaniards, the enthusiastic valour of the French, the ardent spirit of the Prussians, the persevering steadiness of the Austrians, the devoted courage of the Russians, the freeborn bravery of the English, have been successively put to the test. The boasted triumphs of Louis XIV. sink into insignificance compared to those of Napoleon; and the victories of Marlborough produced less important consequences than those of Vitoria and Waterloo. Since the Western World was arrayed against the Eastern on

* “I have resolved to record no sentiments save such as are remarkable for their magnanimity or their baseness. And this is the chief use of annals, to hinder virtues from being forgotten, and to consign wicked deeds and words to eternal and dreaded infamy. But those times were so corrupted, that not merely the chiefs of the State, to whom their lustre should have proved a shield, but all persons of consular dignity, great part of those who had passed through the prætorship, many even of the ordinary senators, seemed to vie with each other in base and disgraceful actions.”—*TACITUS, Annals, iii. c. 65.*

the plains of Palestine, no such assemblages of armed men have been seen as those which followed the standards of Napoleon; and the hordes which Attila displayed on the field of Chalons were less formidable than those which Alexander led from the deserts of Scythia.

6. Nor were the intellectual exertions of this animating period less conspicuous than its warlike achievements. In this bloodless contest the leaders of civilisation, the lords of the earth and the sea, outstripped all other states. The same age which witnessed the military glories of Wellington and Napoleon, beheld the advancement of astronomical investigation by Laplace, and the hidden recesses of the heart unfolded by Sir Walter Scott. Earth told the history of its physical revolutions through the remains buried in its bosom, and the secrets even of material composition yielded to the powers of philosophical analysis. Sculpture revived under the taste of Canova, and the genius of Thorwaldsen again charmed the world by the fascinations of design; architecture displayed its splendour in the embellishments of the French metropolis, and the rising capital of Russia united to the solidity of Egyptian materials the delicacy of Grecian taste. Even the rugged ridges of the Alps yielded to the force of scientific enterprise, and the barriers of nature were smoothed by the efforts of human perseverance; while the genius of Britain added a new element to the powers of art, and made fire the instrument of subduing the waves.

7. Effects so various could not have arisen in the ordinary course of human events. The talent developed was too great, the wickedness committed too appalling, to be explained on the usual principles of human nature. It seemed rather as if some higher powers had been engaged in a strife in which man was the visible instrument; as if the demons of hell had been let loose to scourge mankind, and the protection of Heaven for a time withdrawn from virtue, to subject its firmness to the severest test. The fancy of antiquity would have peopled the scene with hostile deities, supporting unseen the

contests of armies; the severer genius of Christianity beheld the visible interposition of Almighty Power, to punish the sins of a corrupted world. There was nothing, however, supernatural in the events of that momentous age. The magnitude of the effects produced arose entirely from the intensity of the feelings which were roused; the extremes of virtue and vice which were exhibited, from the force of the incitements to the former, and of the temptations to the latter, which were presented. The interests which were at stake were not the loss of provinces or the retreat of armies, but the fate of whole ranks in society, and the lives of multitudes, from the throne to the cottage: the passions which were called into action were not the momentary excitation of national rivalry, or the casual burst of hostile feeling, but the mutual and deep-rooted hatred which had been gathering strength from the foundation of the world. The friends of liberty inhaled their spirit from the example of antiquity, and drank deep of the fountains which the writers of Greece and Rome had opened; the supporters of the throne struck the profounder chords of religion and loyalty, and summoned to their aid the precepts of Christian faith and the honour of modern nobility. The fervour of ancient eloquence, the recollections of classical achievement, warmed the former; the feelings of hereditary devotion, the glories of chivalrous descent, animated the latter. It was not the ripple of a minute that burst upon the shore, but the long swell of the Atlantic, wafted from distant realms, and heaved on the bosom of remote antiquity.

8. The struggle between the high and the low, the throne and the people, has subsisted from a remote period; but it is only in modern times that the principles of general freedom have been established, or those powers brought into collision which had been mutually gaining strength from the earliest times. How just soever it may appear to us, that the welfare and interests of the great body of the people should be protected from the

aggressions of the powerful, there is nothing more certain than that such is not the primitive or original state of man, nor, indeed, from the state of society, is it then possible. The varieties of human character; the different degrees of intellectual or physical strength with which men are endowed; the consequences of accident, misfortune, or crime; the total destitution and helpless state of the poor in the infancy of civilisation; the general want of foresight by which they are then distinguished—early introduce the distinction of ranks, and precipitate the lower orders into that state of dependence on their superiors, which is known by the name of slavery. This institution, however odious its name justly becomes in later times, is not an evil when it first arises; it only becomes such by being continued in circumstances different from those in which it originated, and in periods when the protection and secure sustenance it affords to the poor are no longer required.

9. The universality of slavery in the early ages of mankind is a certain indication that it is unavoidable, from the circumstances in which the human species is everywhere placed, in the first stages of society. Where capital is unknown, property insecure, and violence universal, there is no security for the lower classes but in the protection of their superiors; and the only condition on which this can be obtained is that of slavery. Property in the person and labour of the poor is the only consideration which can then induce the opulent to take them under their protection. Indolence is the great bar to the progress of mankind; the species seems chained to the savage or pastoral state, from the universal antipathy to continued exertion. War, dictated by the savage passions of the human heart, is in such an era a work of extermination; the victor seeks only to satiate his wrath by the blood of the vanquished. Compulsion is the only power which can render labour general in the many ages which must precede the influence of artificial wants, or a general taste for its fruits;

the prospect of gain by the sale of captives, the only counterpoise that can be relied on to stay the uplifted hand of the conqueror. Humanity, justice, and policy, so powerful as principles of government in civilised ages, are then unknown, and the sufferings of the destitute are as much disregarded as those of the lower animals. If they belonged to no lord, they would speedily fall a prey to famine or violence. How miserable soever the condition of slaves may be in these unruly times, they are incomparably better off than they would have been if they had incurred the destitution of freedom.

10. The simplicity of rural or patriarchal manners mitigates the severity of an institution which necessity had first introduced. The slaves among the Arabs or the Tartars enjoy almost as much happiness as their masters; their occupations, fare, and enjoyments are nearly the same.* It was with *unwilling* steps that Briseis left the tent of Achilles;† and in our own times, when some thousand female Greek captives were taken by Ibrahim Pasha from the Morea and the islands of the Archipelago, not more than five or six, when freedom was offered them on the conclusion of peace, would accept the offer and return home. To the maids of Circassia, who are trained from their earliest years to look forward to entering the harem of some Oriental potentate, the moment of leaving their paternal home is one in which hope and excitement generally overbalance grief; and in the slave-market of Constantinople itself, hardly any symptoms of sorrow are perceptible among the young women, excepting such as run the risk of being separated from their offspring.

* "No distinction is made between the future chieftain and the infant son of a slave. On the same ground, and among the same herds, they pass their days, till age separates between them, and early valour shows the person of ingenuous birth."—TACITUS on the *Manners of the Germans*, c. 20.

† Patroclus now the unwilling beauty brought; She, in soft sorrows, and in pensive thought, Passed silent, as the heralds held her hand, And oft looked back, slow moving o'er the strand.
—POPE'S *Homer*.

To the young and the handsome, it is the theatre of the same excitement as the ball-room or the opera in the capitals of Western Europe. To this day, the condition of a slave in all the Eastern empires differs but little from that of a domestic servant in modern Europe; and even the enfranchised poor of France and England would find something to envy in the situation of a Russian peasant. Succour in sickness, employment in health, and maintenance in old age, are important advantages even in the best regulated states; during the anarchy of early times their value is incalculable.

11. There is no instance in the history of the world of the peasantry in a level country, who are solely employed in the labours of agriculture, emancipating themselves, without external aid, from this state of dependence on their superiors. Attached to the soil, weighed down by the toil of cultivation, separated from each other, and limited in their observation; ignorant from want of mutual intercourse, and yet destitute of the energy of savage life—they have everywhere remained, from generation to generation, unable either to combine against violence or to escape from oppression. The inhabitants of Mesopotamia, of Egypt, and of Bengal, like the serfs of Poland or the boors of Russia in recent times, have continued, from the earliest ages, in the same state of passive and laborious existence. It is by the aid of other habits, and by the influence of a different state of society, that the first rudiments of freedom have been established among mankind.

12. The first of these causes is to be found in the independence and solitude of pastoral life. The Arabs who followed their camels over the sands of Arabia, the Scythians who wandered over the deserts of Tartary, were subject to no oppression, because they were restrained by no necessity. If the chief of a tribe was guilty of any act of injustice, his subjects had it always in their power to depart with their families and herds; and, before

a few hours had elapsed, all trace of their route had disappeared in the sand of the desert, or amidst the vegetation of the steppes. Like our First Parents on leaving Paradise, the world was all before them; and wherever grass flourished, or water was to be found, they were equally ready to sojourn and increase. From this independence of the shepherd tribes, joined to the boundless extent of the plains which nature had prepared for their reception, have sprung the freedom and energy of the pastoral character; the conquests of the Arabs, and the settlements of the Scythians, have arisen from the same cause of hardihood in their native wilds; and to the roving habits of our forefathers, who spread from the centre of Asia to the shores of the Atlantic, the liberty of modern times is mainly to be ascribed, and all the glories of European civilisation have sprung—the arts of Greece, the arms of Rome, the chivalry of France, and the navy of England.

13. The second great source of freedom in human affairs, is to be found in the protection and opulence of walled cities. Amidst the security which they afford, industry is excited by the desire of enjoyment, and capital accumulates from the means of employing it. With the growth of wealth succeeds a consciousness of the independence which it confers; with the extension of property, an aversion to the oppression which might endanger it. The assembly of multitudes awakens a sense of strength; community of interest engenders public feeling; proximity of residence suggests the means of common defence. Amidst the growing wealth and rapid communication of ideas which prevail in commercial cities, the spirit of freedom is awakened, hatred to oppression confirmed, and the riches capable of combating it are produced. From this source the whole liberty of antiquity took its rise: their republics were all cradled in a single town, and confined to the citizens whom it produced; and the names of a state and political body were derived from that

of a town, in which alone they were found to exist.*

14. The last source of freedom is to be found in the sequestered situation and independent habits of mountaineers. Amid the solitude of the Alps, or the fastnesses of Afghanistan, vigour is called forth by the necessity for exertion, and independence preserved by security from insult. A churlish soil prevents the accumulation of wealth; mountain ridges offer no facilities to commerce; a life of hardihood at once strengthens the courage and invigorates the frame. It is in the long continuance of those habits, from generation to generation, that the cause of the bold and independent character of mountaineers is found.

"No product here the barren hills afford,
But man and steel, the soldier and his sword;
No vernal blooms their torpid rocks array,
But winter, lingering, chills the lap of May."

The oppressors of mankind pass unheeding by these cradles of intrepid courage; and, attracted by the spoils of more opulent states, leave in their native obscurity the poor and hardy inhabitants of mountainous regions. From generation to generation, accordingly, the same free and independent habits are perpetuated in the rugged regions of the world; and while the vigour of conquerors melts in the plains, as do Alpine snows under the warmth of a southern sun, the freedom of the mountains is preserved, like their glaciers, in virgin purity, amidst the blasts and the severity of winter.

15. The freedom of the ancient world expired in the course of ages, from the small number of those who enjoyed its benefits. This was the chief cause of its decay; but it arose unavoidably from the limited sources out of which freedom took its rise in ancient times. Republics, such as Athens or Sparta, where the freemen did not exceed twenty thousand, while the slaves were above four hundred thousand, were not free countries; they were cities in which a certain portion of the inhabitants, little qualified to exercise them, had acquired exclusive privileges, while

* *Πλάη*, and *Πλατυναί*.

they kept the great body of their brethren in a state of servitude.† Even the philosophers of antiquity, in their speculations concerning a perfect republic, could not extend their ideas beyond a small territory, ruled by a single city, in which the great body of the people were slaves. The privileged citizens evinced, on every occasion, the strongest repugnance to any extension of their rights to others; and in consequence were exposed, on the first reverse, to the defection of all their allies. Hence the liberty of the Grecian republics was short-lived and precarious. The ruling citizens became corrupted from the influence of prosperity, or by the seductions of wealth; and no infusion of energy took place from the lower ranks, to renovate their strength or supply their place: the political body depended upon the exertions of a single class, exposed in a peculiar manner to the influence of debasing causes, and with its virtue the public freedom expired. The splendour of success, or the efforts of genius, might retard the approach of disaster, or conceal the growth of decay; but the season of maturity stripped the tree of its foliage, and the trunk, fed by no perennial fountain, and invigorated by no ascending nourishment, yielded without resistance to the usual causes of mortality.

16. With a magnanimity so extraordinary, and so contrary to the ordinary principles of human nature, that it may almost be ascribed to Divine interposition, the Romans, from the foundation of their republic, admitted all the subjects of conquered states to a share of their privileges; and they received in return the empire of the world. From the first junction of the Romans and Sabines, to the final extension, by the Emperor Antoninus of the privileges of Roman citizenship to the whole civilised world, this policy was steadily pursued, unshaken by success, unsubdued by disaster. The Romans felt the benefit of this magnanimous con-

† Athens contained, at the period of its greatest prosperity, 21,000—Sparta, 50,000 citizens.—GIBSON, l. 307, note.

duct, in the steady adherence of their allies during the severest periods of national misfortune.* Even the defeats of the Trebbia and of Thrasymene were not followed by the defection of a single ally: nothing but the overthrow of Cannæ shook their fidelity; while the first serious disaster of Carthage, which confined its privileges to its own citizens, stripped that republic of all its subsidiary forces. The steady growth, unequalled extent, and long duration of the Roman empire, prove the wisdom of their political system; but it fell a prey at length to the dreadful consequences of general slavery, joined to the ruinous effect of an unrestricted importation of grain into Italy and the heart of the empire from its remoter provinces.

17. These circumstances at once filled the cities with servile dependents, and stripped the country of sturdy proprietors; they turned the citizens into crouching slaves, and the smiling fields into desolate pasturage. Even in the time of Augustus they had thinned the ranks of the legions of freemen, while they filled the armies with mercenary soldiers, and left in the provinces only great proprietors. Agriculture in Italy, crushed by the unrestrained importation of grain from Africa—where it was raised cheaper, because money, being less abundant, was dearer—was generally abandoned, and the great estates were pastured only by herds of cattle tended by slaves. Surrounded by crowds of destitute serfs or effeminate burghers, the consuls ere long found it impracticable to raise a military force in the southern parts of the empire. These causes at length undermined the strength and destroyed the vitals of the state, and left nothing to withstand the barbarians, but nobles who wanted courage to defend their property, and slaves

* The Roman citizens, in the time of Paulus Æmilius, amounted to 337,000 persons capable of bearing arms; the admission of the Italian allies by Caius Gracchus, swelled their numbers to 4,163,000 in the time of Augustus; and the extension of the franchise to the Gauls augmented them to 6,900,000. The Emperor Antoninus, by a general edict, extended the privilege to the whole empire.

who were destitute of property to rouse their courage. When Rome was overthrown by the Goths under Alaric, the city was inhabited by seventeen hundred and sixty great families, many of them possessing £150,000 a-year of income, who cultivated their extensive estates in Italy and Africa by means of slaves;† and it appears, from an authentic record, that, before one of the barbarians had crossed the Alps, no less than 330,000 acres in Campania alone, formerly under cultivation, had reverted to a state of nature, and were tenanted only by wild beasts, while the supplies of grain for the great cities of Italy were entirely derived from Egypt and Libya.

18. The barbarians who overthrew the Roman empire brought with them, from their deserts, the freedom and energy of savage life. Amidst the expiring embers of civilised institutions, they spread the flames of barbarian independence; on the decayed stock of urban liberty, they ingrafted the vigorous shoots of pastoral freedom. From their exploits, the thrones, the monarchs, and the nobles of Europe have taken their rise; in their customs is to be found the source of the laws and institutions of modern times; in their settlements, the origin of the peculiar character by which the different European nations are distinguished. Their conquests were not, in the end, a mere change of government, or the substitution of one race of monarchs for another; they were a total subversion of the property, customs, and institutions of the vanquished people. Their cities were destroyed, their temples ruined, their movables plundered, their estates confiscated.‡ The daughters of the

† The slaves in the Roman empire were extremely numerous; those of a single family were ascertained, on a melancholy occasion, to amount to 400 souls; but no general enumeration or peculiar garb was allowed, lest it should be discovered how few the freemen were in comparison to the slaves.—TACITUS.

‡ So far was this universal system of disinheriting carried after the Norman Conquest, that by a general enactment, inserted in Domesday Book, all alienations by Saxons, subsequent to the Conquest of William, and all titles to estates not derived from him, and registered in his books, were declared null.—TANCAAR, ii. 273.

greatest among the conquered were compelled to receive husbands from the leaders of their enemies, while those of the inferior classes were exposed to the grossest insults, or driven in despair to the protection of convents; and the youth of the other sex, born to splendid possessions, were sold as slaves, or compelled to labour as serfs on the lands which their fathers held as proprietors. To such extremes of distress were the inhabitants of the vanquished states sometimes reduced, that they voluntarily submitted to bondage as the price of life, and sought in slavery the only protection which could be obtained from the violence by which they were surrounded.

19. It was not, however, at once, or by any sudden act of violence, that this complete transfer of property from the vanquished to the victors took place. The settlements of the northern nations in the provinces of the Roman empire, did not resemble the conquests either of the ancient legions or of the armies of modern Europe, but were rather akin, though more violent, to the gradual inroad which the Irish poor have effected into the provinces of western Britain in the present times. Wave after wave succeeded, before the whole country was occupied; one province was overrun for a whole generation before another was invaded; and a more equitable division of goods between the natives and the conquerors at first took place, than could have been expected where power was at the disposal of such rude barbarians. Sometimes a half, sometimes a third, of the vanquished lands was left in the hands of the old proprietors; and although the portion was abridged by each successive inroad of conquerors, yet it was several centuries before the transfer was completely effected; and some remnants of the ancient free, or allodial tenure, have in all the European monarchies survived the whole changes of the middle age. Gradually, however, the work of spoliation was extended; the depressed condition and timid character of the native inhabitants rendered them incapable of resisting the inroads of their fierce neighbours; num-

bers surrendered their properties in exchange for the benefit of feudal protection; the daughters of the vanquished, if entitled to lands, nearly all chose their husbands from the sons of the conquerors, or were compelled to do so by the power of the sovereign. At length the change was generally effected, and the land almost everywhere passed from the Romans to the northern proprietors. Before the tenth century, the transference was complete.

20. The lamentable state of weakness and decay into which the Roman empire had fallen in the latter ages of its existence, in consequence of the universality of slavery in all its provinces, rendered the people totally incapable of arresting this general spoliation. They submitted, almost without resistance, to every invader, and could hardly be induced to take up arms, even by the most incessant foreign and domestic aggressions. Hence arose a total separation of the higher and lower orders, and entire change in the habits, occupation, and character of the different ranks of society. From the free conquerors of the Roman provinces have sprung the noble and privileged classes of modern Europe; from their enslaved subjects, the numerous and degraded ranks of peasants and labourers. The equality and energy of pastoral life stamped a character of pride and independence on the descendants of the conquerors, which in many countries is yet unabated; the misery and degradation of the vanquished riveted chains about their necks, which were hardly loosened for a thousand years. In this original separation of the different ranks of society, consequent upon the irruption of the Franks into Gaul, is to be found the remote cause of the evils which induced the FRENCH REVOLUTION. But many ages were destined to elapse before the conflicting interests thus created came into collision; and it was by the gradual agency of several concurring causes that the energy was restored to the mass of the people, which had been lost amidst the tranquillity of Roman servitude and the violence of feudal oppression.

21. When the lands of the vanquished people were at length generally divided, and the military followers of the victorious invaders had completely overspread the conquered territory, the nobles despised their subjects too much to court their assistance in periods of danger. The mode of warfare then universally practised, rendered the baron independent of aid from his inferiors. Literally speaking, he held his possessions of God and his sword. Battles were decided by the gendarmerie alone, with little aid from the foot soldiers. The steel-clad knights rode through the unprotected infantry as they would have done through thickets of broom; it was their brother knights alone who either attracted their notice, or were deemed worthy of their hostility. Shut up in castles, and surrounded by their own military retainers, they neither required the aid nor felt for the sufferings of their bondsmen. The ravages of the Normans, the cruelty of the Huns, excited but little compassion while it was wreaked only on the slaves of the country; and the baron, secure within his walls, beheld with indifference his villages in flames, and the long files of weeping captives who were carried off from beneath his ramparts by the desolating invaders. During these long ages of feudal anarchy, the lower orders neither improved in courage nor rose in importance; the lapse of time served only to increase their degradation, by extinguishing the remembrance of better times.

22. But the conquests of the northern nations led to one important consequence — the establishment of representative governments in the provinces of the empire. The liberty of antiquity, cradled in single towns, was confined to the citizens who were present on the spot, and could take an active part in the public deliberations; and though the Romans, with unexampled wisdom, extended the general rights of citizenship to the conquered provinces, yet the idea of admitting them to a share of the representation never occurred to their minds; and the more important privileges of a citizen could only be exercised by actually

repairing to the metropolis. The unavoidable consequence of this was, that the populace of the capital, in all the free states of antiquity, exercised the principal powers of government; from their passions the public measures took their rise, and by their tumults revolutions in the state were effected. The immediate cause of the overthrow of the liberties of Rome, was the admission of all the citizens of Italy to the privileges of Roman citizens, coupled with the absence of any provision for their representation, and the consequent introduction of the armed force of the provinces to decide in the streets of Rome, under the banners of the leading generals of the Republic, the constantly recurring contest for political supremacy. Hence the violence, the anarchy, and the inconstancy by which their history was so often distinguished, and which, though concealed amid the blaze of ancient eloquence, the searching eye of modern history has so fully brought to light.

23. The northern nations, on the other hand, who established themselves on the ruins of the Roman empire, were actuated by different feelings, and influenced by opposite habits. The liberty which they brought with them from their woods, or which had sprung up amidst the solitude of the desert, knew no locality, and was confined to no district. It was the liberty of the steppe, not of the forum; their civilisation was that of the tribe, not of the city. The conqueror had been originally free; and that freedom was equally preserved and valued in the cultivated plain as in the desert wilds. Slavery, indeed, was general, but it was the conquered people who were so prostrated; and the whole dominant race were equally haughty towards their superiors, and tyrannical to their inferiors. When the military followers of a victorious chief were settled in a province they had subdued, they still regarded their leader with somewhat of their original independence; he was distinguished from them only by the pre-eminence of his rank in actual war, and the magnitude of his share of the vanquished lands. The sea-kings who

so long desolated the maritime provinces of France and England, and the Anglo-Saxons who laid the foundation of the English empire, possessed hardly any authority over their followers except during the period of actual service. The Franks who, under Clovis, established the French monarchy, acknowledged but a nominal allegiance to their chief. Elevated on the shields of their followers, the leaders owed their dignity to the voluntary choice of their fellow-warriors: and even in moments of triumph, the meanest soldiers were not afraid of reminding them of the tenure by which they held their power.

24. It was the settlement of brave and energetic nations in rich and highly-cultivated provinces, which led to the diffusion of the victors over the conquered districts, and the establishment of an independent aristocracy amidst the decaying wealth of ancient servitude. Had the country been less richly cultivated, the followers of the northern invaders would have been debased amidst the seductions of cities, or returned, after a predatory incursion, to the solitudes which protected them from pursuit. It was the discovery of opulent and fertile districts, tenanted by a skilful but unwarlike people, which encouraged the rural settlement of the conquerors, which rendered the protection of cities unnecessary, and provided a counterpoise to their allurements. By establishing the invaders in a permanent manner in the country, it long preserved their manners from corruption, and rendered the servitude of the Roman empire one remote cause of the liberty of modern Europe. On the first settlement of the victorious nations, the popular assemblies of the soldiers were an actual convocation of the military array of the kingdom. William the Conqueror summoned his whole military followers to assemble at Winchester; sixty thousand men obeyed the mandate, the poorest of whom held property adequate to the maintenance of a horseman and his attendants. The meetings of the *Champs-de-Mai* were less a deputation from the followers of Clovis, than an actual congregation of their numbers

in one vast assembly. But, in process of time, the burden of travelling from a distance was severely felt, and the prevalence of sedentary habits rendered the landed proprietors unwilling to undertake the risk, or expense, of personal attendance on the great council of the state. Hence the introduction of PARLIAMENTS, or REPRESENTATIVE LEGISLATURES, the greatest addition to the cause of liberty which modern times has afforded; which combine the energy of democratic with the caution of aristocratic rule; which temper the turbulence and allay the fervour of cities, by the slowness and tenacity of country life; and which, where the balance is duly preserved in the composition of the assembly, provide, in the variety of its interests and habits, a long-enduring check upon the violence or injustice of a part of its members.

25. It is doubtful, however, whether these causes, powerful as they are, would have led to the introduction of that great and hitherto unknown change in government which the representative system introduced, had not a model existed for imitation, in which, for a series of ages, the system had been fully established. The councils of the church had, so early as the sixth century, introduced over all Christendom the most perfect system of representation: delegates, from the most remote dioceses in Europe and Asia, had in them assembled to deliberate on the concerns of the faithful; and every Christian priest, however humble his station, had some share in the formation of those great assemblies, by which the general affairs of the church were to be regulated. The formation of parliaments, under the representative system, took place in all the European states in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The industry of antiquaries may carry the Wittenagemot, or actual assembly of leading men, a few generations further back; but six centuries before the earliest periods assigned for such convocations, the councils of Nice and Antioch had exhibited perfect models of a universal system of representation, embracing a wider sphere than the

whole extent of the Roman empire. There can be no doubt that it was this example, so generally known, and of such powerful authority, which determined the imitation of the other members of the community, where they had any common concerns which required deliberation; and thus, to the other blessings which civilisation owes to Christianity, are to be added those inestimable advantages which have flowed from the establishment of the representative system.

26. In every part of Europe, accordingly, where the northern conquerors established themselves, the rudiments of a representative government gradually appeared. In all, the barons settled in the country, and the legislative authority was vested in assemblies of persons elected by them, who, under the name of Wittenagemote, Parliaments, States-General, or Cortes, were brought together at stated periods to deliberate on the public concerns. So naturally did this institution spring from the habits and situations of the military settlers, and so little did its first founders anticipate the important consequences which have flowed from its adoption, that the right of sending representatives to parliament was generally considered, not as a privilege, but as a burden; and that share in the legislature, which is now so much the object of contention and desire, was originally viewed as an oppressive duty, for which those who exercised it were entitled to indemnification from their more fortunate brethren. The barons, however, were long animated by a strong feeling of independence, and in every part of Europe, at their first establishment, diffused the principle of resistance to arbitrary authority. Accordingly, in Spain, France, Germany, and Flanders, we find them manfully resisting the encroachments of the sovereign, and in all these countries, the same privileges of not being taxed without their consent, and of concurring in the acts of the legislature, early established.

27. Many causes, doubtless, have conspired to bring about this remarkable and peculiar attachment of the feudal barons to the principles of free-

dom and the assertion of independence, at least so far as they themselves and their own class in society were concerned. But nothing, perhaps, contributed so powerfully to it as the right of hereditary succession, and the establishment of the rights of primogeniture, which, from causes it is impossible now to trace, early became universal in all the Gothic nations which settled in the European portion of the Roman empire. It was this which constituted the great distinction between the structure of society in the European and Asiatic continents; in the latter of which, although the northern conquerors settled, they never established the feudal institutions, nor ingrafted hereditary succession on the original despotic governments of the eastern world. Rotation of office, appointment for life, and the entire dependence of every functionary on the sovereign, both for his nomination and his continuance in power, constitute the fundamental basis of Asiatic governments, and of despotism, whether regal or democratic, all over the world. The first step in the growth of freedom, in all but single cities or mountain cantons, is to give the subordinate holder of power a durable interest in his government, and strengthen his independence by a lasting connection between himself and the cultivators of the soil. Such a change produces the same effect on the character, both of the landholder and his dependents, as the converting the tenant-at-will into a copyholder or long leaseholder does on the dispositions of a tenantry. In no rank of life will men make efforts for independence in any situation which they may lose at a moment's notice. As durability of power in one class of society, and the hereditary transmission of land, are thus the only lasting foundation for a restraint on the sovereign power in a rural community,* it would appear sur-

* America is no exception; on the contrary, it affords the strongest confirmation of these remarks. The sovereign is there the multitude, and there is no restraint on either its injustice or its excesses, as Lynch law, and the repudiating the States' debts, have amply demonstrated. Without primogeniture, to introduce a counterpoise to the power of numbers, it will never attain real freedom.

prising that these institutions should be so much the object of jealousy in all opulent or commercial communities, did we not recollect that human corruption makes all establishments liable to abuse, and that the very stability which renders the landed aristocracy in a great degree independent of the sovereign, gives them facilities, too often taken advantage of, for oppressing the people.

28. In all the states, accordingly, in which it was established, the feudal system was subject to the same fatal defect, that it made no provision for the interests or welfare of the inferior classes of society. Like all other institutions in which this want existed, it contained within itself the principles of its own decay. The conquerors of the Roman empire deemed the inhabitants of the provinces in which they settled wholly unworthy of notice; and even in Magna Charta, while the privileges of the barons and the freemen were anxiously provided for, no stipulation of any importance was made for the extensive class of husbandmen or slaves, embracing at least nine-tenths of the community. The decline in the virtue of the barbarous settlers was in most instances extremely rapid, and the succeeding wave of invaders generally found the first set sunk in sloth or destroyed by luxury. In the miserable and degraded barons who deserted Roderick in his contest with the Moorish invaders of Spain, we can hardly discern a trace of resemblance to the impetuous warriors who under Adolph, brother to Alaric the terrible destroyer of Rome, had crossed the Pyrenees in 412, and penetrated into that secluded province of the Roman empire; and the Moorish conquerors were in a few centuries reduced to the same degraded state, from the operation of the same causes. Even the genius and triumphs of Charlemagne were unequal to the herculean task of regenerating the mixture of barbarism and effeminacy of which he formed the head; and humanity never appeared in a more pusillanimous or impotent form than among the *Rois Fainéants*, the un-

worthy successors of Charles Martel, and of the barons who died for the liberty of Christendom on the field of Tours. All the efforts of that great monarch for the improvement of his people were thwarted by the limited number of real citizens who existed among them. A few hundred thousand freemen were there to be found scattered among many millions of slaves; and, in his own lifetime, he had the misfortune of beholding the progress of corruption even among the troops whom he had led to victory. The same cause blasted all the beneficent efforts of Alfred for the protection and improvement of his country, and exposed the English nation, for so long a period, to desolation and ruin from a small body of northern invaders.

29. A very simple cause may be assigned for this early corruption and rapid degeneracy of rude conquerors who have settled in the abodes of ancient opulence. They attain riches before they have learned how to use them. Luxury breaks in upon them while yet accessible only to the gratifications of sense. Experience has now abundantly proved, that to learn the art of using wealth without abusing it, requires at least as long an apprenticeship in nations, as that of enjoying freedom without running into licentiousness, and that the rapid acquisition of either never fails to prove fatal to the people who obtain it. It is the sudden exposure to irresistible temptation which, in both cases, is the cause of ruin. The same thing may every day be observed in private life. The common sayings, that no man was ever enriched in the end by obtaining a twenty thousand pounds prize in the lottery; that the sons of rich *parvenus* are much more inclined to extravagance than those of the old families; and that it requires three generations to make a gentleman—prove how generally mankind have observed the operation of this principle on the fortunes of individuals or particular families. When an Iroquois sits down beside a cask of spirits, he often inserts a straw into a hole which he has bored in the wood, and sucks up the intoxi-

cating draught till he drops down dead on the spot; but a gentleman who has the command of a cellar amply stored with champagne, is in no danger of perishing by a similar indulgence. The reason is, that he has acquired other tastes, and is familiar with other enjoyments, which are inconsistent with, or prove a counterpoise to, the first seductions of sense. But these more refined tastes and inclinations are of very slow growth; they spring up only in the later stages of society. Many generations must descend to their graves before they spread generally, either in nations, or in any of the classes of which they are composed. This is the true cause of the excessive proneness to the use of ardent spirits which is invariably observed to accompany high wages, arising from manufacturing prosperity, in northern climates or half-civilised states,* and which has hitherto defied all the efforts of coercion and philanthropy for its restraint; while the higher classes in the same countries and professions have at length, though only by very slow degrees, extricated themselves from its influence. It is the same with rude tribes settling, with their barbaric tastes, in the regions of ancient opulence. Sensual gratifications instantly become the object of universal pursuit. The wine-press and the harem present attractions to which no one, how illiterate soever, is insensible; and the race of northern conquerors melts away as

rapidly amidst the wines and women of the south, as the Iroquois perishes beside the spirit-cask, or the Scotch or Swedish manufacturer amidst the riot of the spirit-cellar.

30. The private wars of the nobles with each other was the first circumstance which renewed the courage and revived the energy of the feudal barons. The inconsiderate historians of modern times have stigmatised these domestic contests as things of unmixed evil, merely because they produced extensive bloodshed and suffering; but the more reflecting observer, who has traced the workings of corruption, whether on the individual or the national heart, will arrive at a different conclusion. He will recollect the necessity of suffering to individual reformation; he will reflect on the virtues which spring out of disaster. Regarding this world as not a scene of enjoyment so much as a school of improvement, he will not lightly estimate those circumstances, apparently ruinous, which extricate the human mind from the meshes of sensual gratification, which draw forth the manly virtues by the force of suffering, and elevate the character even when they embitter the life. It is to this cause, joined to the fortification of the castles, and the constant use of arms by the retainers of the landowners, that the restoration of the military courage of France is to be ascribed. The Spanish barons were trained to courage in the stern school of necessity, and regained,

* The number of gallons of spirits consumed in 1838, and the proportion per head, were—

	No. of gal- lons.	Population.	Per head. Decimals.
In England,	7,930,190	13,307,364	0.53
In Ireland,	12,296,942	5,055,771	1.32
In Scotland,	6,259,711	2,543,961	2.46
In Australia,	628,729	127,621	5.02

In Sweden, where artificial wants are few and stills many, any man, upon paying a trifling license, may purchase from government the right of distilling spirits to any amount; there are 150,000 stills, and spirits consumed to the enormous amount of 30,000,000 gallons among 3,000,000 inhabitants, or ten gallons a-head. As a natural, and too probable consequence, the proportion of crime to the whole population, even in its simple agricultural population, equals that of the most corrupted cities of Great Bri-

tain, and is fully triple that of the average of the British population. In the rural districts of Sweden, the committals for serious crime are to the population as 1 in 460: in the towns 1 in 78. For England they were, in 1841, 1 in 573 persons; for Scotland, 1 in 738.—*PORTER'S Progress of the Nation*, iii. 64, 215; and *LAING'S Sweden*, 135, 137, 138.

These facts at once explain the rapid corruption of northern conquerors, when transplanted into the midst of the passions and gratifications of civilised life. If we would ascertain the secret springs of the greatest revolutions which have ever occurred among mankind, we have only to look around us at the causes which elevate particular individuals and families, and consign others to infamy and ruin. The spring of all human changes is to be found in the human heart; and it is to be read as well in a village as an empire.

in the mountains of Galicia, the valour which their conquerors were losing amidst the luxuries of Cordova. The English military spirit, which had decayed from the same causes, was restored by the private wars of the nobles during the reign of Stephen; and, through all the havoc and ruin of the country, that courage was elicited which was destined to lay the foundation of British liberty in a happier age.

81. But the feudal liberty was at length destroyed by the change of manners, and the natural progress of opulence. Being confined to a limited class of society, it expired with the virtue of those who alone were interested in its defence: conferring little upon the great body of the people, it derived nothing from the talents which lay buried among them. Wealth enervated its possessors, and no inferior class existed to supply their place; the rich became corrupted, while the poor did not cease to be slaves. The progress was different in different states, but in all the result was the same. The kingdoms both of Aragon and Castile were governed, in their early history, by more limited monarchs than the Plantagenets of England, and their nobles did not yield to the barons of Runnymede in zeal for the preservation of their privileges; but it was in vain that they extorted concessions from their sovereigns, and confirmed them on occasion of every renewal of the coronation oath. The spirit of freedom, and with it the liberties of the nation, died away upon the decay of the feudal aristocracy, from the selfishness and degradation of the great body of the people. When Charles V. had suppressed, in 1548, the formidable revolt of the *comuneros*, he excluded not the deputies of the cities and boroughs, but of the grandees and prelates, from the representation, and the result showed that he knew human nature well when he did so. Deprived of their natural leaders, the commons were never afterwards able to resist the authority of government. The Cortes maintained its nominal rights; and the "Great Privilege," the *Magna*

Charta of Aragon, was never repealed; but the cities neglected sending representatives to its assemblies, and many suffered their right to a place in its deliberations to fall into abeyance. The nobles, cut off from political power, became attached to the splendour of a court, and, with the forms of a limited, Spain became a despotic monarchy.

82. In France, the nobility, during the period of their feudal vigour, reduced the crown to nearly the same limited sway as prevailed in England, inasmuch that, for nearly half a century, it was a general opinion, confirmed by several solemn acts of the throne, that no tax could be levied without the consent of the three estates. But the skeleton of a free government perished with the decay of feudal manners: the influence of the crown, and the attractions of a metropolis, drew the nobility to Paris; and liberty in the country, deprived of its only supporters, speedily fell to the ground. The progress was somewhat different in Germany, although there, as elsewhere in the European monarchies, the feudal system at first established the rudiments of a free government, the illegality of taxes without the consent of the people, and the sharing of the legislative sovereignty with the states of the kingdom. The power of the great barons rendered the empire elective, and broke down into separate states the venerable fabric of the Germanic confederacy; but their sway within their own domains, being not restrained by the vigour or intelligence of the people, gradually became unlimited, and the restraints of liberty were obliterated in the rising ambition of military power.

83. Notwithstanding the long and hereditary attachment of the English people to free institutions—notwithstanding the diffusion of this spirit by the establishment of trial by jury, and its preservation by the protection of insular situation—the usual causes of decline had begun to operate, and the feudal independence of the barons in the middle ages had yielded to the corrupted subservience of opulent times. The desolating wars of York and Lan-

caster thinned the ranks of the nobles; the increase of luxury, by changing the direction of their expenditure, sapped the foundations of their power. Under the Tudor princes, the indifference of parliament to the liberties of the people had already commenced. Europe could not exhibit a monarch who governed his people with more absolute sway than Henry VIII., nor is anything in modern times more instructive than the pliant servility with which both the parliament and the people obeyed his despotic commands. History can hardly exhibit an example of a reign in which a greater number of violent invasions were made, not only on public rights, but on private property—in which justice was more disgracefully prostituted in courts of law, liberty more completely abandoned in the proceedings of parliament, or caprice more tyrannically exerted on the throne. Those who ascribe the freedom of England solely to the feudal institutions, would do well to consider the condition of the country, the pliancy of the legislature, and the servility of the people, during the reign of this ferocious tyrant—who confiscated the property of one-third of the landholders of his kingdom, and executed seventy-two thousand persons in his single lifetime—or even perhaps during that of his more prudent and popular daughter.

34. Admirably adapted, therefore, as the feudal system was for preserving an independent spirit during the middle ages; gratefully as we must acknowledge its influence in restraining the power of the northern conquerors, and preventing the very name of right or privilege from being swept away, as in the Asiatic monarchies, by the desolating hand of power; fully as we must admit that tyranny would have rioted without control, if, when the people were poor and disunited, the nobles had not been brave and free; still it is obvious that it was an institution suited only to a barbarous age, and alike incapable of being moulded according to the changes which society undergoes, or of providing for the freedom of civilised times. With the institution of

standing armies, the progress of luxury, the invention of gunpowder, and the rise of cities, it necessarily decayed. The liberty which was built on no other foundation than the feudal institutions, has everywhere long since fallen to the ground. That system was in its vigour during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. When the barons dwelt in fortified castles on their estates, surrounded by a tenantry trained to warlike exercises, and attached alike by habit and interest to the fortunes of their chief, cased in armour from head to foot, and leading on a body of warlike and devoted retainers, they were alike formidable to the throne and oppressive to the cottage. If they extorted privileges in their own favour from the sovereign, they gave none to their enslaved vassals. With a merciless hand and unsparing severity, they checked the first struggles of the people for a share of that freedom which they so strenuously asserted for themselves. The insurrections of the *Jacquerie* in France, of the peasants under Wat Tyler in England, and of the Flemings under the Brewer of Ghent, were repressed with a cruelty of which history affords few examples. The courage and enthusiasm of the multitude in vain contended for victory against steel-clad warriors, trained to arms from their earliest years. The knights broke through the ranks of the peasants with the same ease as they would have traversed an unarmed assembly; and the degraded serf, incapable of those efforts of heroism which animated the free shepherds of the Alps, sank beneath the stroke of fate with the resignation of a martyr rather than the spirit of a warrior.

35. But the power of the nobles, incapable of being subverted by force, was undermined by opulence; and the emancipation of the people, for which so many thousands had perished in vain, arose at length through the desires and follies of their oppressors. The baron was formidable when his life was spent in arms, and when he headed the feudal array which had grown up under the shadow of his castle walls: when his years were

wasted in the frivolities of a court, his ambition centred in the smiles of a sovereign, and his fortune was squandered in the luxuries of a metropolis, he became contemptible. His tenantry ceased either to venerate or follow a chief whom they seldom beheld: the seductions of cities became omnipotent to those who no longer valued their rural dependents; the desires of wealth insatiable among persons who had the glittering prospect of a court before their eyes. The natural progress of opulence, by withdrawing the nobles from the seat at once of their usefulness and their influence, proved fatal to a power which made no provision for general felicity; and the wisdom of nature rendered the follies of the great the means of destroying the power which they had rendered the instrument of oppression, instead of the bulwark of freedom.

36. While this was the fate of the liberty which the barbarian conquerors of the Roman empire brought with them from their native wilds, the progress of events was different in the south of Europe, where the ancient traces of Roman civilisation had never been wholly extirpated, and the wild shoots of Gothic freedom had never fully expanded. The liberty of modern Italy did not spring from the independence of the landed proprietors, but the free spirit of the inhabitants of towns; its cradle was the workshop, not the tent; the centre of its power the turbulent forum, not the baronial hall. While the great landowners were engaged in projects of mutual slaughter, and issued only from their fastnesses in the Apennines to ravage the plains below, the inhabitants of the towns flourished under the protection of their native ramparts, and revived on their ancient hearths the decaying embers of urban liberty. At a time when the Transalpine states were still immersed in barbarism, and industry was beginning only to spring in sheltered situations under the shadow of the castle wall, the Italian republics were already far advanced in opulence, and the arts had struck deep root amidst the monuments of ancient

splendour. The age of Edward I. of England, when the nobles of that country were still living in rustic plenty on their estates, when rushes were spread on the floors instead of carpets, and few of the barons could sign their name, was contemporary with that of Dante in Italy, with the conceptions of Bramante, and the fancy of Boccaccio. The genius of Raphael and the thoughts of Machiavelli were not far removed in point of time from the frightful devastations of the English bands in France, and the unutterable horrors of the Jacquerie rebellion. When Charles VIII., at the head of the brave but barbarous nobility of France, burst into Italy at the close of the fifteenth century, he found himself in the midst of an opulent and highly civilised people, far advanced in the career of improvement, and abounding in merchants who numbered all the sovereigns of Europe among their debtors. When the feudal chieftain threatened to blow his trumpets within the walls of Florence, her citizens declared they would sound the tocsin, and the monarch of the greatest military kingdom of Europe shrank from a contest with the burghers of a pacific republic.

37. Nor were the civil virtues of this period of Italian greatness less remarkable than its opulence and splendour. So early as the twelfth century, the Emperor of Germany was defeated by a coalition of the republics of Lombardy, and the virtues of the Grecian states were rivalled by the patriotism of modern freedom. History has to record with pride, that, when the inhuman cruelty of the German soldiery placed the children of the citizens of Crema before the walls of the city, to deter the besieged from discharging their weapons, their parents wept aloud, but did not cease to combat for their liberties; and that, when eleven thousand of the first citizens of Pisa were confined in the prisons of Genoa, they sent a unanimous request to the senate, not to purchase their freedom by the surrender of one fortress in the hands of the republic. The naval wars of Genoa and Venice want only histo-

rians as graphic as Livy or Thucydides to render them as celebrated in story, as they were as fertile in heroic actions, as those of Athens and Sparta, of Rome and Carthage. We speak with exultation of the efforts made by the British empire during the late war; but how great soever, they must yield in comparison with the exertions of Italian patriotism, which manned the rival fleets of Genoa and Pisa with as many sailors, at the battle of La Meloria, as served the navies of England and France at Trafalgar.

38. But the republics of Italy yielded to the influence of the same causes which had proved so pernicious to the Grecian commonwealths, and destroyed the feudal independence of the north of Europe. They made no provision for the liberties or interests of the great body of the people. The states of Florence, Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, were not in reality free: they were communities in which a few individuals had usurped the rights, and disposed of the fortunes, of the great bulk of their fellow-citizens, whom they governed as subjects, or insulted as slaves. During the most flourishing period of their history, the citizens of all the Italian republics did not amount to twenty thousand; and these privileged classes held as many millions in subjection. The citizens of Venice were 2500—those of Genoa, 4500—those of Pisa, Sienna, Lucca, and Florence, taken together, not above 6000. The right of citizenship, thus limited, descended in a few families, and was as carefully guarded from invasion as the private estates of the nobility. To the conquered provinces no privileges were extended; to the republics in alliance no rights were communicated. A rigid system at once of political and mercantile exclusion directed their whole policy. The privileged classes in the dominant state anxiously retained the whole powers of government in their own hands, and the jealous spirit of mercantile monopoly ruled the fortunes of the state as much as it cramped the industrial energies of the subject territory. From freedom thus confined, no

general benefit could be expected; on a basis thus narrowed, no structure of permanent duration could be raised. Even during their greatest prosperity, these states were disgraced by perpetual discord springing from so unjust and arbitrary an exclusion; and the massy architecture of Florence still attests the period when every noble family was prepared to stand a siege in their own palace, in defence of the rights which they sternly denied to their fellow-citizens. The rapid progress and splendid history of these aristocratic republics may teach us the animating influence of freedom, even upon a limited class of society; their sudden decline, and speedy loss of public spirit, the inevitable consequence of confining to a few the rights which should be shared by a larger circle, and governing in the narrow spirit of mercantile monopoly, not in the enlarged views of equal administration.

39. Republics thus constituted were unable either to withstand the shocks of adverse, or resist the silent decay consequent upon prosperous fortune. The first great disaster stripped the selfish state of all its allies, and reduced it to the forces that were to be found within its own walls. The Venetian oligarchy gave no rights to the conquered provinces in the Trevisan March, though the senate announced, that in sending them the standard of St Marc it restored their liberties; and accordingly, in one day Venice was stripped of all its possessions, and reduced to its original limits within the lagoon of the capital. When Florence reduced the rival republic of Pisa, she received no addition of strength, because she gave no community of advantages; and the troops employed to keep the conquered state in subjection, were so much lost to the victorious power. The dissolution of the Athenian confederacy after the defeat before Syracuse, of the Lacedæmonian power after the battle of Leuctra, of the Theban supremacy after the death of Epaminondas, have all their counterparts in the history of modern Italy, when, on any serious

reverse to Venice, Florence, or Genoa, the cities of which they formed the head broke off from a subjection which they hated, and joined the arms of any invader, to destroy that invidious authority in which they were not permitted to bear a part. Without the disasters of fortune, the silent operation of time brought the weakness of age upon communities which depended only on the energies of the higher classes. The families in whose hands the sovereign power was vested became extinct from age, or enfeebled by opulence, and no infusion of vigour from the inferior orders took place to restore their energy; the number of citizens continually declined, while the discontents of those subjected to their influence incessantly increased. The experienced evils arising from such a form of government led to a very general dislike to its continuance; and, to avoid the ruinous contests of factions, as many of the Italian republics made a voluntary surrender of their liberties as lost them from the invasion of foreign power.

40. The industry and wealth of Flanders early nourished a free spirit, and the utmost efforts were long made by the inhabitants of its cities for the maintenance of their liberties. The effects of these efforts were immense; they converted arid sands into fertile fields, and overspread the land with numerous and opulent cities; they rendered Brabant the garden of Europe, the object alike of monarchs' envy and of nations' ambition. But its freedom was confined to the burghers of the towns: the peasantry of the country joined their feudal leaders, in combating the rising influence of the manufacturing classes; and the jealousies of rival industry generally prevented the inhabitants from joining in any common measure for the defence of their independence. Once only an unhopedor victory roused the whole country to arms, and a leader of greater military experience might have established their freedom on a durable basis; but the burghers of Ghent had not the firmness of the shepherds of Underwalden, and the victory of Rasebecque

crushed for centuries the rising independence of commercial industry under the barbarous yoke of feudal power.

41. Experience, therefore, had demonstrated that the freedom which arose from the independence of the desert, equally with that which was nursed in the bosom of cities, was liable to decay, and that political wisdom was incapable of forming a community in which the seeds of that decline were not perceptible, which seemed the common lot of earthly things. It became in consequence a generally received opinion, that nations, like individuals, had a certain length of life allotted to them, which it was impossible, by any means, to extend beyond the destined period; and that a season of activity and vigour was necessarily followed by one of lassitude and corruption. "The image," says Mr Ferguson, "of youth and old age was applied to nations; and communities, like single men, were supposed to have a period of life, and a length of thread, which was spun by the Fates, in one part uniform and strong, in another weakened and shattered by use, to be cut when the destined era is come, and to make way for a renewal of the emblem in the case of those who rose in succession."—"Carthage," says Polybius, "being so much older than Rome, had felt her decay so much the sooner;" and the survivor too, he foresaw, carried in her bosom the seeds of mortality. But while such was imagined, from former experience, to be the unavoidable fate of freedom wherever established, a variety of causes were silently operating, which communicated an unknown energy to the social system, and infused into modern states, even in periods of apparent decline, a large intermixture of the undecaying youth of the human race.

42. I. The first of these was the CHRISTIAN RELIGION. Slavery had been the ruin of all the states of antiquity. The influence of wealth corrupted the higher orders; and the lower, separated by a sullen line of demarcation from their superiors, furnished no accession of strength to revive their energies. But the influence of a reli-

gion which proclaimed the universal equality of mankind in the sight of Heaven, and addressed its revelations in an especial manner to the poor, destroyed this ruinous distinction. In many states slavery gradually yielded to the rising influence of Christianity; the religious houses were the first who emancipated their vassals; their exhortations were unceasingly directed to extort the same concession from the feudal barons. They were often unsuccessful during life, but more frequently succeeded on the approach of death; human selfishness was more willing to purchase eternal salvation by imposing a loss on others than by bearing it itself. On the ecclesiastical estates themselves the first shoots of industrious freedom began to spring. While the vassals of the military proprietors were sunk in slavery, or lost in the sloth which follows so degraded a state, industry was reviving under the shadow of the monastic walls, and the free vassals of the religious establishments were flourishing in the comparative security of their protection. Modern historians, living in an age when the shield of superstition was no longer required, and its influence unfelt, have erred immensely in their estimate of its importance at an earlier and in a more unhappy period. They forgot that when reason is in its infancy, passion predominant, and ignorance universal, it is by images addressed to the senses alone that violence can be restrained, innocence protected, or the supremacy of mental over physical strength asserted. But if we go back in imagination to the sanguinary passions and universal bloodshed of the dark ages, we shall feel the value of any influences, how strange soever in the eyes of enlightened reason, which restrained the excesses of power when no other means of coercing it existed; which made the baron tremble before spiritual, and therefore unseen power, even in the midst of his armed bands; and secured that protection to industry under the shadow of the monastery's cross, which it would have sought in vain beneath the shelter of the castle wall.

43. The clearest proof of the truth of these principles, and of the incalculable influence which the superstitions, wisely inculcated in a barbarous age by the Romish church, had in checking the devastation of northern conquest, and putting a curb on the violence of power when no other means of checking its excesses existed, is to be found in the wide difference between the settlement of the northern conquerors in Asia and Europe. Philosophers are never weary of expatiating on the extraordinary difference between the civilisation in these two quarters of the globe—on the restraints on tyranny which exist in the latter, while they are unknown in the former, and the vast development of mental power and social happiness which has taken place amidst European freedom, compared to what obtains under Eastern despotism. They would do well to consider to what cause this remarkable difference is really to be ascribed. The race of conquerors which overran both was originally sprung from the same root. The Cumri, who first planted their race in the British Isles, and who have given their lasting appellation to the western mountain ranges of Britain,* were a branch of the same horde as the *Kimmerioi* whom Herodotus mentions as appearing with the first dawn of history on the shores of the Bosphorus,† and a part of whose descendants afterwards perished by the legions of Marius. The Gauls spread themselves over France, Britain, Lombardy, and Greece; their conquering arms gave a lasting appellation to a province of Asia;‡ and it was their swords, more even than the Numidian horse, which so long enabled Hannibal, without aid from Carthage, to make head against the Roman power.§ The Goths and Huns, whose descendants have formed

* Cumberland and Cumbria, or Wales; and the Cumræes in the Firth of Clyde in Scotland.

† Herodotus, lib. iv. 11, 12.

‡ Galatia.

§ See this subject amply discussed in Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i. pp. 20-279; a most interesting work, by a brother of the historian of the settlement of the Normans in England, and his rival at once in industry and genius.

the most powerful nations of modern times, originally migrated from the wilds of Tartary; and the first impulse was given to the wave of barbarians which overthrew the Roman empire, by the defeats which the Scythians had sustained on the frontiers of China.* The climate of Europe does not vary from that of a similar latitude in Asia, except in the greater heat in summer and cold in winter, arising from the difference between an inland and maritime situation.

44. How, then, has it happened that the same conquerors, subduing and settling in substantially the same physical circumstances, should have given birth to nations so essentially and diametrically opposite as those of Europe and Asia? Why have freedom and knowledge been sheltered from the lances of the one, and both invariably perished, from the earliest times, under the sabres of the other? And whence is it that the same corruption, which has so speedily in every age consumed or enfeebled the descendants of Asiatic conquest, has, after the lapse of a thousand years, still made comparatively little impression on the offspring of Gothic invasion? Simply, because the religion of the two quarters of the globe in which the same conquerors settled was different; because polygamy has not in Europe spread its jealousies, nor the harem its seductions; because superstitious belief, in barbarous times, restrained power by imaginary terrors, and Christian charity, in civilised, assuaged suffering by real blessings; because slavery has generally disappeared before the proclaimed equality of men, and a perpetual renovation been thus provided to the richer classes; because war has been softened by the humanity breathed into its conflicts; because learning, sheltered under the sanctity of the monastery, has survived the devastation of ignorance; and freedom, nursed by devotion, has acquired a strength superior to all the forces of despotism.

45. It was not only by the equality which it proclaimed, and the security from violence which it afforded, that the

* See Gibbon, cap. xxvi. vol. iii. 371-575.

influence of religion favoured the growth of freedom. By the enthusiasm which it awakened, from the universal interests which it addressed, the mass of the people were called into political activity; thousands, to whom the blessings of liberty were unknown, and whose torpor no temporal concerns could dispel, were roused by the voice of religious fervour. The freedom of Greece, the discipline of Macedonia, produced only a transient impression on human affairs; but the fanaticism of Mahomet convulsed the globe. The ardour of chivalry led the nobles into action; the ambition of monarchs brought the feudal retainers into the field: but the enthusiasm of the Crusades awakened the dormant strength of the western world. With the growth of religious zeal, therefore, the basis of freedom was immensely extended; into its ranks were brought, not the transient ebullitions of popular excitement, but the stern valour of fanaticism; and that lasting support which neither the ardour of the city, nor the independence of the desert, could afford, was at length drawn from the fervour of the cottage.

46. II. While the minds of men were thus warmed by the religious enthusiasm which was awakened, first by the Crusades, and subsequently by the Reformation, the art of PRINTING, destined to change the face of the moral world, perpetuated the impressions thus created, and widened the circle over which they extended. The spirit of religious freedom was no longer nourished only from the exhortations of the pulpit, or developed in the fervour of secluded congregations; it breathed into the permanent exertions of human thought, and spread with the increasing wealth and enlarged desires of an opulent state of society. The discoveries of science, the charms of genius, may attract a few in every age; but it is by religious emotion that the great body of mankind are chiefly to be moved; and it was by the diffusion of its enthusiasm, accordingly, that the greatest efforts of European liberty have been sustained. But the diffusion of knowledge, by means of the

press, is not destined to awake mere transient bursts of popular feeling. By imbuing the minds of those master-spirits who direct human thought, it produces lasting impressions on society, and is perpetually renewed in the successive generations who inhale, during the ardour of youth, the maxims and the spirit of classical freedom. The whole face of society has been modified by this mighty discovery; the causes of ancient decay seem counteracted in a powerful manner by new principles of vitality, derived from the multitudes whose talents are brought to bear on the fortunes of the state; and the influence of despotic power shaken, by the infusion of independent principles even into the armies which are destined to enforce its authority.

47. But it is not unmixed good which has arisen from the diffusion of knowledge. If the principles of improvement have acquired a hardier growth, those of evil have been more generally disseminated; the contests of society have grown in magnitude and increased in violence, and the passions of nations have been brought into collision, instead of the ambition of individuals. Vice has here, as elsewhere in human affairs, fearfully put forth its influence to mar the benefits of this great discovery, and continued in the most advanced ages that struggle between virtue and sin, which has been the lot of man from the beginning of the world. The visions of inexperience, the dreams of philanthropy, at first anticipated the entire extirpation of evil from the extension of knowledge, and an unbroken progress of improvement from the spread of education; forgetting that the heart is the fountain from which the issues of life, the direction given to the acquisitions of science, flow; and that unless it is purified, it is of little moment what is put into the head. In the midst of these entrancing prospects, human iniquity mingled with the current; the new powers thus acquired were too often applied to the basest purposes; crime and corruption increased with the extension of desires, and vice multiplied with the enlarged

means of compassing its ends which instruction had afforded.

48. It is to a general appreciation of this bitter but wholesome truth that mankind are at length awakening, after the enchanting dreams which were followed by the dreadful nightmare of the French Revolution. Yet, while experience has now demonstrated the utter fallacy of all expectation of increased individual virtue, or augmented social felicity, from mere intellectual cultivation, it is far from discouraging more cheering prospects of the ultimate effect of moral elevation and spiritual enjoyment on the race of man. Vice is generally victorious over virtue in the outset, but it is as often vanquished by it in the end. The pleasures of sin are at first fearfully alluring, its passions vehement, its gratifications intense. But both lead to disappointment and satiety; the beautiful image of the poet—"a moment white, then lost for ever," is true, not merely of sensual, but of all merely worldly enjoyment. Nothing permanently floats down the stream of time but what is buoyant from its elevating tendency. In the progress of ages the most injurious elements in human affairs are gradually extinguished, while the causes of improvement are lasting in their effects. The contests of the Greek republics, the cruelty of the Athenian democracy, have long ceased to trouble the world; but the maxims of Grecian virtue, the works of Grecian genius, the charms of Grecian art, will permanently continue to elevate mankind. The turbulence, the insecurity, the convulsions to which the extension of knowledge to the lower orders has hitherto given rise, will in time be forgotten; but the improved fabric of society which it has induced, the increased vigour which it has communicated, may ultimately compensate all its evils, and permanently bless and improve the species.

49. III. But it would have been in vain that the influence of religion weakened the bonds of slavery, and the extension of knowledge enlarged the capacity of freemen, had no change occurred in the ARMS by which the different classes of society combat each other. While the

aristocracy of the country were permanently trained to combat, and the robber chivalry were incessantly occupied in devastation, the peaceable inhabitants of cities, the rude labourers of the fields, were unable to resist their attacks. With the exception of the shepherds of the Alps, whose hardy habits early gave their infantry the firmness and discipline of veteran soldiers, the tumultuary levies of the people were, during the middle ages, everywhere crushed by the steel-clad bands of the feudal nobility. The insurrections of the commons in France, of the peasants in the time of Richard II. in England, of the citizens of Ghent and Liege in Flanders, and of the serfs in Germany, were all suppressed by the superior arms and steadier discipline of the rural chivalry. But with the discovery of GUNPOWDER, this decisive supremacy was destroyed. The feudal array, invincible to the spears or halberds of the peasantry, yielded to the terrible powers of artillery; defensive armour was abandoned, from a sense of its insufficiency against this invisible assailant; and the weight of the aristocracy was destroyed, by the experienced inability of its forces to combat the discipline which laborious industry could bring into the field. The wealth of Flanders in vain contended with the lances of France on the field of Rasebecque; but the armies of Charles V. were baffled by the artillery of the United Provinces. The barons of Richard easily dispersed the rabble who followed the standard of Wat Tyler; but the musketry of the English yeomanry overthrew the squadrons of the Norman nobility at Marston Moor. Firearms are the greatest of all levellers; like the hand of death, they prostrate equally the ranks of the poor and the array of princes. Wealth soon became essential to the prosecution of war, from the costly implements which were brought into the field; industry indispensable to success, from the rapid consumption of the instruments of destruction which attended the continuance of the contest. By this momentous change new elements were brought into action, which completely

altered the relative situations of the contending parties: industry ceased to be defenceless, because it could purchase the means of protection; violence lost its ascendancy, because it withered the sinews by which its forces were to be maintained.

50. IV. The introduction of ARTIFICIAL WANTS, and the progress of luxury, completed the destruction of the feudal power. When the elegancies of life were comparatively unknown, and the barons lived in rural magnificence on their estates, the distribution of their wealth kept a multitude of retainers round their castles, who were always ready to support the authority from which they derived their subsistence. But by degrees the progress of opulence brought the nobility to the metropolis, while the increase of luxury augmented their expenses. From that moment their ascendancy was at an end. When the landed proprietor squandered his wealth in the indulgence of artificial desires, and seldom visited the halls of his ancestors but to practise extortion upon his tenantry, his means of maintaining war were dissipated, and the influence he possessed over his people was destroyed. Interest ceased to be a bond of union, when no reciprocity of mutual services existed; affection gradually expired, from the absence of the objects on which it was to be exerted. Debt, contracted to satisfy the cravings of urban desires, became overwhelming. Embarrassments either led to the alienation of estates, or the insolvency of their possessors. The new purchasers had no historic names or ancient influence to back their fortunes. Newly transplanted into the soil, they required several generations to overshadow it by their expansion. Such recent proprietors form an important element in the balance of political power; and as they speedily imbibe the feelings, from being actuated by the interests, of the landed aristocracy, they are of great consequence in steadying the movements of the social body; but they are scarcely ever formidable to general liberty. The old families are too jealous of their wealth,

to permit of any dangerous union being formed between them : the mass of the people have not been so long trained to respect, as now to fear them. The power of the feudal nobility was long the object of apprehension, after its real influence had been dissolved, from the remembrance of its terrors in former times. The importance of this change, like that of all others introduced by nature, was not perceived till its effects were manifested. The aristocracy of France was still the object of antiquated dread, when it stood on the brink of destruction ; and the people were doubtful of their ability to resist its power, when it sank without a struggle before the violence of its enemies.

51. From the revival of letters in the commencement of the sixteenth century, and the dawn of the Reformation, these causes had been silently operating ; and time, the greatest of all innovators, was gradually changing the face of the moral world. The stubborn valour of the reformed religion had emancipated an industrious people from the yoke of Spain, and the stern fanaticism of the English Puritans had overthrown the power of the Norman nobility. The extension of knowledge had shaken the foundations of arbitrary power ; and public opinion, even in the least enlightened countries, moderated the force of despotic sway. The worst-governed states in Europe were constitutional monarchies compared to the dynasties of the East ; and the oppression even of Russian severity was light in comparison of the cruelties of the Roman emperors. But it was not till the commencement of the French Revolution that the extent of the changes which had occurred was perceived, and the weakness of the arms of despotism felt, when brought into collision with the efforts of freedom. Standing armies had been considered as the most fatal discovery of sovereigns ; and the history of former ages appealed to, as illustrating their tendency to establish despotic authority : but the changes of time were wresting from the hands of tyranny even this dreaded weapon, and, in the

next convulsion, it destroyed the power which had created it. The sagacity of the French monarchs had trained up these formidable bands as a counterpoise to the power of the aristocracy, and they had rendered the crown independent of the control of the feudal barons ; but a greater Wisdom than that of Richelieu was preparing, in their power and discipline, the means of a total change of society. In vain the unfortunate Louis summoned his armies to the capital, and appealed to their chivalrous feelings against the violence of the people ; the spirit of democracy had penetrated even the ranks of the veteran soldiers, and, with the revolt of the guards, the French monarchy was destroyed.

52. It is this circumstance which has created so important a distinction between the progress of popular power in recent, and its fate in ancient times. Tyranny has everywhere prevailed in former times, by arming one portion of the people against the other ; and its chief reliance has hitherto been placed on the troops, whose interests were identified with its support. But the progress of information has destroyed, in the countries where it is fully established, the security of despotism, by dividing the affections of the armies on which it depends ; and the sovereigns of the military monarchies in Europe have now often more to fear from the troops whom they have formed to be the instruments of their will, than from the citizens whom they regard as the objects of apprehension. The translation of the sword from the nobility to the throne, so long the subject of regret to the friends of freedom, has thus become an important step in the emancipation of mankind : War, amidst all its horrors, has contributed to the communication of knowledge and the dispelling of prejudice ; and power has ceased to be unassailable, because it has been transferred from a body whose interests are permanent, to one whose attachments yield to the changes of society. Yet is this last and greatest shake given to the powers of despotism not unaccompanied with evil ; on the contrary, it often produces

calamities greater even than those it was intended to remove. Military caprice becomes irresistible when military subordination is overthrown: the foundations of government are laid in the quicksands of the soldier's favour; the prætorian bands of the capital become the rulers of the state. It is but a poor exchange which a nation makes which throws off the regular government of hereditary property, to incur the arbitrary rule of the sword: the soldiers who betray their oaths to induce the change are the worst pioneers of despotism.

53. The former history of the world is chiefly occupied with the struggles of freedom against bondage; the efforts of laborious industry to emancipate itself from the yoke of aristocratic power. Our sympathies are all with the oppressed, our fears are lest the pristine servitude of the species should be re-established. But with the rise of the French Revolution, a new set of perils have been developed, and the historian finds himself overwhelmed with the constant survey of the terrible evils of democratic oppression. The causes which have been mentioned have at length given such an extraordinary and irresistible weight to the popular party, that the danger now sets in from another quarter; and the tyranny which is to be apprehended is often not that of the few over the many, but of the many over the few. The obvious risk now is, in all states with a popular form of government, that the influence of knowledge, virtue, and worth, will be overwhelmed in the vehemence of popular ambition, or lost in the turbulence of democratic power. This evil is of a far more acute and terrible kind than the severity of regal, or the weight of aristocratic oppression. In a few years, when fully developed, it destroys the whole frame of society, and extinguishes the very elements of freedom, by annihilating the classes whose intermixture is essential to its existence. It is beneath this

fiery torrent that the civilised world is now passing; and all the efforts of philosophy are therefore required to observe its course and mitigate its devastation. Happy, if the historian can find, in the record of past suffering, aught to justify future hope, or in the errors of former inexperience the lessons of subsequent wisdom.

54. It is by slow degrees, and imperceptible additions, that all the great changes of nature are accomplished. Vegetation, commencing with lichens, swells to the riches and luxuriance of the forest; continents, the seat of empires, and the abode of millions, are formed from the deposits of innumerable rills; animal life, springing from the torpid vitality of shell-fish, rises to the energy and power of man. It is by similar steps, and as slow a progress, that the great fabric of society is formed. Regulated liberty, the greatest of human blessings, the chief spring of human improvement, is of the most tardy development; ages elapse before it acquires consistency; nations disappear during the contest for its establishment. The continued observation of this important truth is fitted both to inspire hope and encourage moderation: hope, by showing how unceasing has been the progress of improvement through all the revolutions of the world; moderation, by demonstrating how vain and dangerous are all attempts to outstrip the march of nature, or confer upon one age the institutions or habits of another. The annals of the great French Revolution, more than any other event in human affairs, are calculated to demonstrate these important truths; and by evincing in equally striking colours the irresistible growth of liberty, and the terrible evils of precipitate innovation, to impress moderation upon the rulers, and caution upon the agitators of mankind, and thus sever from the future progress of Freedom those bloody triumphs by which its past history has been stained.

CHAPTER I.

COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF FREEDOM IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

1. No events in history are more commonly considered parallel than the Great Rebellion in England and the French Revolution. None, with certain striking points of resemblance, are in reality more dissimilar to each other. In both, the crown was engaged in a contest with the people, which terminated fatally for the royal family. In both, the reigning monarch was brought to the scaffold, and the legislative authority overturned by military force. In both, the leader of the army mounted the throne, and a brief period of military despotism was succeeded by the restoration of the legitimate monarchs. So far the parallel holds good—in every other particular it fails. In England, the contest was carried on for many years, and with various success, between the crown and a large portion of the gentry on the one hand, and the cities and popular party on the other. In the single troop of dragoons commanded by Lord Barnard Stuart, on the royal side, in 1648, was to be found a greater body of landed proprietors than among the whole of the republican party, in both houses of parliament, who voted at the commencement of the war. In France, the monarch yielded, almost without a struggle, to the encroachments of the people; and the only blood which was shed in civil conflict arose from the enthusiasm of the peasants in La Vendée, or the loyalty of the towns in the south of France, after the leaders of the royalist party had withdrawn from the struggle. The great landholders and privileged classes, to the number in the end of a hundred and twenty thousand,* aban-

doned their country; and the crown was ultimately overturned, and the monarch brought to the scaffold, by a faction in Paris, which a few thousand resolute men could at first have easily overcome, and which subsequently became irresistible only from its having been permitted to excite, through revolutionary measures, the cupidity of the lower orders throughout the monarchy.

2. Proportioned to the magnitude of the resistance opposed in England to the encroachments of the people by the crown, the nobility, and the higher classes of the landed proprietors, was the moderation displayed by both sides in the use of victory, and the small quantity of blood which was shed upon the scaffold. With the exception of the monarch, and a few of the leading characters in the aristocratic party, no individual during the Great Rebellion perished by the hands of the executioner; no proscriptions or massacres took place; the victors and the vanquished, after the termination of their strife, lived peaceably together under the republican government. In France, scarcely any resistance was offered by the government to the popular party. The sovereign was more pacifically inclined than any man in his dominions, and entertained a superstitious dread of the shedding of blood; the democrats triumphed, with the loss only of fifty men, over the throne, the church, and the landed proprietors;† and yet their successes, from the very first, were stained by a degree of cruelty of which the previous history of the world affords no example.

* They were altogether 123,318. See PRUD'HOMME'S *Crimes de la Révolution*, vi. Table.

† See chap. iv. § 105, for the loss sustained in the attack on the Bastille, which practically overturned the monarchy.

3. RELIGION, in the English Revolution, was the great instrument for moving mankind. Even in the reign of James I., the Puritans were the only sect who were zealously attached to freedom; and in every commotion which followed, the evil contests between the contending parties were considered as altogether subordinate to their religious differences, not only by the actors on the scene, but by the historians who recorded their proceedings. The pulpit was the fulcrum on which the whole efforts of the popular leaders rested; and the once venerable fabric of the English monarchy, to which so large a portion of its influential classes have in every age of its history been attached, yielded at last to the force of fanatical frenzy. In France, the influence of religion was all exerted on the other side: the peasants of La Vendée followed their pastors to battle, and deemed themselves secure of salvation when combating for the cross; while the Jacobins of Paris founded their influence on the ridicule of every species of devotion, and erected the altar of Reason on the ruins of the Christian faith. Nor was this "irreligious fanaticism," as Carnot has well styled it, confined to the citizens of the metropolis: it pervaded equally every department of France where republicanism was embraced, and every class of men who were attached to its fortunes. Everywhere the churches, during the Reign of Terror, were closed: the professors of Christianity were dispossessed, and their rights overturned: and the first step toward the restoration of a regular government, was the reopening of the temples which the tempest of anarchy had closed, and the revival of the faith which its fury had extinguished.

4. The civil war in England was a contest between one portion of the community and the other; but a large part of the adherents of the republican party was drawn from the higher classes of society, and the sons of the yeomanry filled the ranks of the iron and disciplined bands of Cromwell. No massacres or proscriptions took place; few manor-houses were burned

by the populace, save in the fury of actual assault; none of the odious features of a servile war were to be seen. Notwithstanding the dangers run and the hardships suffered on both sides, the moderation of the victorious party was such as to call forth the commendation of the royalist historians; and, with the exceptions of the death of the king, of Strafford, and of Laud, few acts of unnecessary cruelty stained the triumph of the republican arms. In France, the storming of the Bastille was the signal for the general dissolution of the bands of authority, and a universal invasion of private property; the peasantry on almost every estate, from the Channel to the Pyrenees, rose against their landlords, burned their houses, and plundered their effects; and the higher ranks in every part of the country, excepting La Vendée and the royalist districts in its vicinity, were subjected to the most revolting cruelties. The French Revolution was not a contest between such of the rich and poor as maintained republican principles, and such of them as espoused the cause of the monarchy, but a universal insurrection of the lower orders against the higher. It was sufficient to put a man's life in danger, to expose his estate to confiscation, and his family to banishment, that he was, *from any cause*, elevated above the populace. The gift of nature, destined to please or bless mankind, the splendour of genius, the powers of thought, the graces of beauty, were as fatal to their possessors, as the adventitious advantages of fortune or the invidious distinctions of rank. "Liberty and Equality" was the universal cry of the revolutionary party. Their liberty consisted in the general spoliation of the opulent classes; their equality in the destruction of all who outshone them in talent, or excelled them in acquirement.

5. The English Revolution terminated in the establishment of the rights for which the popular party had contended, but the great features of the constitution remained unchanged; the law was administered on the old precedents even during the usurpation of

Cromwell, and the majority of the people scarcely felt, at least in their private concerns, or in their intercourse with each other, the important alteration which had been made in the government of the country. In France, the triumph of the popular party was followed by an immediate change of institutions, private rights, and laws; the nobility in a single night surrendered the whole privileges which they had inherited from their ancestors; the descent of property was turned into a different channel by the abolition of the right of primogeniture; and the administration of justice between man and man was founded on a new code, destined to survive the perishable empire of its author. Everything in England remained the same after the Revolution, with the exception of the privileges which were confirmed to the people, and the pretensions which were abandoned by the crown. Everything in France was altered, without the exception even of the dynasty that ultimately obtained the throne.

6. The great estates of England were little affected by the Revolution. The nobles, the landowners, and the yeomanry alike retained their possessions, and, under the new form of government, the influence of property remained unchanged. With the exception of the lands belonging to the dignitaries of the church, which were put under a temporary sequestration, and of the estates of a few obnoxious cavaliers, who lost them by abandoning their country, no material alterations in property took place; and after the Restoration a compromise almost universally ensued, and the ancient landholders, by the payment of a moderate composition, regained their possessions. In France, on the other hand, the whole landed property of the church, and the greater part of that of the nobility, was confiscated during the Revolution; and such was the influence of the new proprietors, that the Bourbons were compelled, as the fundamental condition of their restoration, to guarantee the security of the revolutionary estates. The effects of this difference

have been in the highest degree important. The whole proprietors who live on the fruits of the soil in Great Britain and Ireland at this moment, notwithstanding the prodigious increase of wealth which has since taken place, probably do not amount to three hundred thousand, while above five million heads of families, and seventeen millions of persons dependent on their labour, subsist on the wages they receive. In France, on the other hand, there are nearly six millions of separate proprietors, most of them in a state of great indigence, and at least twenty millions of souls, constituting their families, without resource, in great part at least, in the wages of labour, being a greater number than the whole remainder of the community. In France, the proprietors are much more numerous than the other members of the state; in England, they hardly amount to a tenth part of their number.*

7. The political influence of England since the Restoration has mainly rested in the great families. A majority in the House of Commons was long appointed by a certain number of the House of Lords, and experience has proved that, excepting in periods of uncommon national excitement, the ruling power in the state is still to be found in the hands of the principal landed proprietors, or the monied capitalists in towns. In France, the Upper House is comparatively insignificant; a great proportion of its members derive their subsistence from the bounty of the crown; and the whole, either directly or indirectly, do not possess any serious weight in the constitution. The struggle bequeathed by the Revolution to succeeding ages has from this cause become different in the two countries. In Britain, as in ancient Rome, it is between the patricians and the plebeians; in France, as in the dynasties of the East, between the crown and the people. This is the natural consequence of the maintenance

* The number of separate properties in France, by the last survey, was 10,868,000; but at least a third of these, though rated separately in the government books, are held by owners of other properties.—*Stat. de la France*, 1839.—See *infra*, chap. xcv. § 52 et seq.

of the aristocracy in the one country, and its destruction in the other. Political weight, in the end, always centres where the greater part of the national property is to be found.

8. The military and naval power of England was not materially changed by the Great Rebellion. A greater degree of discipline, indeed, was established in its armies, and a more decided tone adopted by the government in its intercourse with foreign states; but the external relations of the monarchy remained the same: no permanent conquests were effected, and no alteration in the balance of European power resulted from its success. Within a few years after the Restoration, the English waged a doubtful maritime war with the smallest state in Europe, and the future mistress of the seas was compelled to submit to humiliation from the fleets of an inconsiderable republic. In France, on the other hand, the first burst of popular fury was immediately followed by an ardent and universal passion for war; the neighbouring states soon yielded to the vigour of the revolutionary forces, and Europe was shaken to its foundations by the conquests which they achieved. The ancient balance of power has been permanently destroyed by the results of their exertions: at first, by the overwhelming influence which they gave to the arms of the conquering republic; at last, by the ascendancy acquired by the powers who subdued them.

9. Discrepancies so great, consequences so opposite, cannot be explained by any reference to the distinctions of national character, or of the circumstances under which liberty arose in the two countries. There is certainly a material difference between the character of the French and that of the English, but not such a difference as to render the one revolution bloody with all but the sovereign, the other bloodless save in the field; the one destructive to feudal power, the other confirmative of aristocratic ascendancy; the one subversive of order and religion, the other dependent on the attachments which they had created. There is a difference between the circumstances of the two countries at the

period when their respective revolutions took place, but not such as to make the contest in the one the foundation of a new distribution of property, and a different balance of power—that in the other the chief means of maintaining the subsisting interests of society, and the existing equilibrium in the world.

10. The insurrection of slaves is the most dreadful of all commotions: the West India Negroes exterminate by fire and sword the property and lives of their masters. Universally the strength of the reaction is proportioned to the oppression of the weight which is thrown off; the recoil is most to be feared when the bow has been furthest bent from its natural form. Fear is the chief source of cruelty; men massacre others because they are apprehensive of death themselves. Property is set at nought where the aggressors have nothing to lose; it is respected when the gaining party have grown up under the influence of its attachments. Revolutions are comparatively bloodless when the influential classes guide the movements of the people, and sedulously abstain from exciting their passions; they are the most terrible of all contests, when property is arrayed on the one side and numbers on the other. The slaves of St Domingo exceeded the atrocities of the Parisian populace; the revolt of the United States departed but little from the usages of civilised war. These principles are universally recognised; the difficulty consists in discovering what causes brought the one set to operate in the English, the other in the French Revolution.

These causes are to be found in the former history of the two countries; and a rapid survey of their different circumstances will best show the different character which was stamped upon the two contests by the acquisitions or losses of preceding ages.

11. The vast extent of the Roman empire gave centuries of repose to the inhabitants of its central provinces. Wars were carried on upon the frontiers alone; and the defensive forces, chiefly recruited by mercenary bands drawn from the semi-barbarous states

on the verge of the Imperial dominions, presented scarcely any resemblance to the legions which had given to the republic the empire of the world. The later emperors, departing from the generous maxims of the republican government, which admitted the conquered states to the privileges of Roman citizens, oppressed the subject provinces by the most arbitrary exactions, and acted on the ruinous Eastern system of making the inhabitants of each district responsible for the whole amount of its taxes, whatever the diminution in their number might be. The people of the provinces, long inured to protection, and unaccustomed to the use of arms, shrunk from the very idea of a contest with the ruthless barbarians of the North. The inhabitants of Italy and Gaul first sought an exemption from foot service, upon the ground that they could not bear the weight of armour, and at length obtained a practical liberation from military duties of every description. The empire was defended entirely by hiring one body of barbarians to combat another. The ignorance which universally prevailed among the working classes was almost as great as that of England in the time of Alfred, when not a clergyman to the south of the Thames could read. From the long continuance of these circumstances during many successive generations, the spirit of the people throughout the whole Roman empire was totally extinguished, and they became alike incapable of combating for their lives with the enemies of their country, or of contending for their liberties with the despots on the throne. The pusillanimity with which its inhabitants, during a series of ages, submitted to the spoliation of barbarous enemies, and the exactions of unbridled tyrants, would appear incredible, were it not only supported by the concurring testimony of all historians, but found by experience to be the uniform result of a continued state of pacific enjoyment.

12. The Britons and the Gauls, at the period of the overthrow of the empire, were alike sunk in this state of political degradation. The provinces

to the south of the wall of Severus were speedily overrun, upon the removal of the Roman legions, by the savages issuing from the recesses of Caledonia, and the British leaders bewailed in pathetic strains their inability to contend with an artless and contemptible enemy. Notwithstanding the extraordinary military talents of Aetius, the Gauls were soon subdued by their barbarous neighbours; and a small tribe, emerging from the centre of Germany, became permanent masters of the plains of France. The Anglo-Saxons gradually vanquished the helpless Britons, and gave to the future mistress of the waves its lasting appellation. These conquests in both countries were, as already noticed [Introduction, § 19], attended in the end by a complete and violent change of landed property, and an immediate prostration of a considerable part of the vanquished people to the rank of slaves on the estates of their forefathers. This last and greatest humiliation, consequent upon a long train of political and military oppressions, completed the apathy and dejection of the great body of the people, and might have finally extinguished, as in the dynasties of the East, all desire of independence in their descendants, had not misfortunes arisen with their invigorating influence, and mankind regained in the school of adversity the spirit which they had lost in prosperous ages.

13. The long and obstinate conflicts which the Anglo-Saxons had to maintain, first with the natives, and afterwards with each other, were the first circumstances which in the British Isles revived the energy of the people. These wars were not the transient result of ambition or the strife of kings, conducted by regular armies, but the fierce contests of one race with another, struggling for all that man holds dear—their lives, their religion, their language, and their possessions. For five long centuries the fields of England were incessantly drenched with blood; every county was in its turn the scene of mortal strife, and every tribe was successively driven by despair to manly exertion; until at

length the effeminate character of the natives was completely changed, while their conquerors were, by their very misfortunes, prevented from sinking into the corruption which in general rapidly follows success in barbarous times. The small divisions of the Saxon kingdoms, by producing incessant domestic warfare, and bringing home the necessity for courage to every cottager, eminently contributed in this way to the formation of the national character. Milton has said that the wars of the Heptarchy were not more deserving of being recorded than the skirmishes of crows and kites. He would have been nearer the truth if he had said that they laid the foundation of the intrepid English character.

14. In this particular, as in many others, the insular situation of Britain eminently contributed to the formation of the national character. The other provinces of the Roman empire were overrun *at once*, because a vast and irresistible horde suddenly broke in upon them, which they had no means of resisting. The settlement of the Franks in Gaul, of the Visigoths in Spain, of the Vandals in Africa, and of the Goths, and afterwards the Lombards, in Italy, all took place in a single generation. But the sea-girt shores of England could not be assailed by such a sudden and irresistible irruption of enemies. It was impossible in those times to find ships adequate for the sudden transportation of so great a number as was required to effect an immediate conquest. "The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast" arrived by slow degrees, in squadrons and small fleets, none of which appear to have conveyed, at one time, above six or eight thousand men, most of them only one thousand or fifteen hundred. These inconsiderable detachments could not at once conquer a whole country. Their devastation, equally with their power, was confined to a small district, seldom extending at first beyond the limits of a modern county. The people were encouraged to resist, by the inconsiderable number of enemies which made their appearance on any one occasion; and although

fresh invaders incessantly appeared, yet they generally assailed different districts, in the hope of discovering fields of plunder hitherto untouched. The spirit of the nation was thus everywhere called forth, both by the variety of points which were assailed, and by the encouragement to local resistance which arose from the prospect, and frequently the achievement, of success: and the northern inundation, instead of being a flood which at once overwhelmed the vanquished people, and for centuries extinguished their energy, produced rather a perpetual strife, in the course of which the warlike virtues were regained which had been lost amidst the tranquillity of the Roman sway.

15. The exposure of the English to the piratical incursions of the Danes perpetuated this martial spirit, after the union of the country into one monarchy might otherwise have wrought its extinction; and, by compelling the government for many generations to put arms into the hands of the great body of the people, whether Saxons or Britons, spread an independent feeling over the whole population. To resist these merciless invaders, the whole strength of the kingdom was trained to the use of arms, and the earls of the counties summoned to their support every man within their bounds capable of wielding a halbert. By an ordinance of Alfred, a regular militia was established throughout the realm; and it was enacted, that the entire male population should be registered and armed. That great monarch fought no less than fifty-six battles in person with the invaders, and established at the same time the main rudiments of the English constitution, by the institution of courts of justice, trial by jury, and regular meetings of parliament. The natural consequence of these circumstances was the formation of a bold and independent character, among not only the landed proprietors but the peasantry, upon whose support the former daily depended for defence against a roving but indefatigable enemy. Accordingly, from the earliest times, the free tenants held an impor-

tant place among the Anglo-Saxons, and were considered as the companions, rather than the followers, of their chieftains. Like the *comites* among the ancient Germans, they were the attendants of their leaders in peace, and their strength and protection in war. The infantry, in which the chiefs and their followers fought together, was, even before the Conquest, the chief strength of the English armies; while the cavalry, in whose ranks the nobles alone appeared, constituted the pride of the Continental forces; and this difference was so material that it appears to this day in the language of these different states. In all the states of the Continent, the word *chevalier* is derived from and means a *horseman*; while in England, the corresponding word *knight* has no reference to any distinction in the mode of fighting, but comes from the German *cnycht*, a young man or companion.

16. But notwithstanding the strong principles of freedom which the Saxons brought with them from their original seats in Germany, the causes which have proved fatal to its existence in so many other states were likewise in operation in England, and would have destroyed all liberty in it, but for the occurrence which is usually considered as the most calamitous in its history. The Saxons imported from the Continent the usual distinction between freemen and slaves, and the number of the latter class augmented to a fearful degree during the long wars of the Heptarchy, in which the prisoners were almost universally reduced to servitude. At the time of the Conquest, in consequence, the greater part of the land in the kingdom was cultivated by serfs, who formed by far the most numerous class in the community. The free tenants were extremely few in comparison. These slaves, in process of time, would have constituted the whole lower orders of the state, and the descendants of the freemen have gradually dwindled into an aristocratic order. The greatest increase of mankind is always found in the lowest class of society; because it is in

them that the principle of population is least restrained by prudential considerations. The higher orders, so far from multiplying, are never able, from the extraordinary influence of the preventive check among them, to maintain their own numbers without additions from below. This is the fundamental principle which has rendered the maintenance of liberty for any long period so extremely difficult in all ages of the world. The descendants of the poor are ever increasing, except in circumstances so disastrous as to put an entire stop to the growth of population; while those of the middle or higher orders, if not aided by recruits from below, are uniformly diminishing. The humblest class, having least political weight, are overlooked in the first struggles for freedom; the free citizens, who have acquired privileges, resist the extension of them to their inferiors; the descendants of the freemen in one age become the privileged order in the next; and on the basis of pristine liberty the oppression of oligarchy is ultimately established.

17. This change had already begun to take place in this island. The descendants of the first Anglo-Saxon settlers were now a distinct class of nobles; the unhappy race of slaves had immensely multiplied; and, notwithstanding its original principles of freedom, the Anglo-Saxon constitution had become extremely aristocratic. No middle class was recognised in society; the peasants were all enrolled, for the sake of protection, under some chieftain whom they were bound to obey in preference even to the sovereign; and the industrial classes were so extremely scanty, that York, the second city in the kingdom, contained only fourteen hundred families. The freedom of the Anglo-Saxons, therefore, was fast lapsing into oligarchy; and their descendants, like the *hidalgos* of Spain, or the nobility of France, might have been left in the enjoyment of ruinous exclusive privileges, when the current of events was altered, and they were forcibly blended with their inferiors, by one of those catastrophes which seem destined by Providence to

arrest the course of human degradation.—This event was the NORMAN CONQUEST.

18. As this was the last of the great settlements which have taken place in modern Europe, so it was by far the most violent and oppressive. The first settlers in the provinces of the Roman empire, being ignorant of the use of wealth, and totally unacquainted with the luxuries of life, deemed themselves fortunately established when they obtained a part of the conquered lands. But the needy adventurers who followed the standard of William had already acquired expensive habits; their desires were insatiable, and, to gratify their demands, almost the whole landed property of England was in a few years confiscated. Hardly any conquest since the fall of Rome has been so violent, or attended with such spoliation, contumely, and insult. The ancient Saxon proprietor was frequently reduced to the rank of a serf on his paternal estate, and nourished, in the meanest employments, an inextinguishable hatred of his oppressor: maidens of the highest rank were compelled to take the veil, in order to preserve their persons from Norman violence, or were glad to secure a legal title to protection by marrying the Norman nobles, and conveying to them the estates they had inherited from their fathers: tortures of the most cruel kind were invented, to extort from the miserable people their hidden treasures. In the suppression of the great rebellion in the north of England, the most savage measures were put in force. A tract eighty miles broad, to the north of the Humber, was laid waste, and above a hundred thousand persons in consequence perished of famine; while in Hampshire, a district of country thirty miles in extent was depopulated, and the inhabitants expelled without any compensation, to form a forest for the royal pleasure. Nor were these grievances merely the temporary outburst of hostile revenge; they formed, on the contrary, the settled maxims by which the government for several reigns was regulated, and from which the successors of the Conqueror were

driven by necessity alone. It was long an invariable rule to admit no native of the island to any office of importance, ecclesiastical, civil, or military. In the reign of Henry I. all places of trust were still in the hands of the Normans; and so late as the beginning of the twelfth century, the same arbitrary system of exclusion seems to have been rigidly enforced. The dispossessed proprietors sought in vain to regain their estates. An array of sixty thousand Norman horsemen was always ready to support the pretensions of the intruding barons. The throne is still filled by the descendants of the Conqueror, and the greatest families in the realm date their origin from the battle of Hastings.

19. The English antiquarians, alarmed at the consequences which might be deduced from this violent usurpation, have endeavoured to soften its features, and to represent the Norman as reigning rather by the consent than the subjugation of the Saxon inhabitants. In truth, however, it was the severity and continued weight of this conquest, which was the real cause of the refractory spirit of the English people. The principles of liberty spread their roots the deeper, just because they were prevented from rising to the surface of society. The Saxon proprietors, having been almost everywhere dispossessed of their properties, were necessarily cast down into the lower stations of life. A foundation was thus laid for a middle rank in society, totally different from what obtained in any other state in Europe. It was not the native inhabitants, the pusillanimous subjects of the Roman empire, who from that period composed the lower orders of the state, but the descendants of the free Anglo-Saxon and Danish settlers, who had acquired independent habits from the enjoyment of centuries of liberty, and courageous feelings from the recollection of a long series of successes. One defeat could not extinguish the recollection of a hundred victories. Habits, the growth of ages, survived the oppression of transient reigns. The power of the Normans prevented the dispossessed

proprietors or their descendants from rising into the higher stations in society; the slaves already filled the lowest walks of life. Between the two extremes they formed a sturdy and powerful body, which neither was cast down in the contests of feudal power, nor perished in the obscurity of ignoble bondage. It was from these causes that the *yeomanry of England* took their rise.

20. Had the kingdom of England been but an appanage to a monarchy of greater extent, the discontents of this middle class would probably have been treated with contempt, or have been repressed by the stern hand of military power; and the Norman barons, residing in their castles in France, might have safely disregarded the impotent clamours of their English tenantry. But, by a fortunate combination of circumstances, this was rendered impossible. The military chieftains who followed the Conqueror were either possessed of no estates on the other side of the Channel, or their recent acquisitions greatly exceeded the value of their Continental possessions. The kingdom of England was too powerful to be treated as an appanage of a Norman duchy, and the English tenantry too formidable to be resigned to the oppressive government of an absent nobility. Hence, both the sovereign and his followers made England their principal residence; and the Norman nobility, who at first had flattered themselves that they had gained an appanage to their duchy, soon found, like the Scotch upon the accession of their monarchs to the English throne, that they had changed places with their supposed subjects, and that the province was become the ruling power. The effects of this necessity soon appeared in the measures of government. At the accession of each successive monarch, and in every crisis of national danger, it was deemed indispensable to make some sacrifice to the popular wishes, and abate a little of the wonted severity of the Norman rule, to secure the fidelity of their English subjects. When Henry I. came to the throne, his first

step was to grant the famous charter, which was long referred to as the foundation of English liberties, in order to secure the support of his insular subjects against the preferable claims of his brother Robert; and, in consequence, he was enabled to lead a victorious army into Normandy, and revenge, on the field of Tenchebray, the slaughter and the calamities of Hastings. When Stephen seized the sceptre, he instantly passed a charter confirming the grants of Henry, and promising to remit the Danish tax, and restore the laws of Edward the Confessor. Henry II. deemed it prudent, in the most solemn manner, to ratify the same instrument. The pusillanimity and disasters of John led to the extortion of *Magna Charta*, by which the old charter of Henry I. was again confirmed, and the rights of all classes of freemen were enlarged and established; and the great charter itself was ratified no less than two-and-thirty different times in the succeeding reigns, on occasion of every extraordinary grant from the subjects, or unusual weakness of the crown.

21. The effects of these circumstances on the character and objects of the English struggles for freedom have been in the highest degree important. From perpetually recurring to the past, the habit was acquired of regarding liberty, not as a boon to be gained, but as a right to be vindicated; not as an invasion of the constitution, but a restoration of its pristine purity. The love of freedom came thus to be inseparably blended with the veneration for antiquity; the privileges of the people were sought for, not in the violation of present, but in the restitution of ancient right—not by the work of destruction, but by that of conservation. The passion for liberty was thus divested of its most dangerous consequences, by being separated from the desire for innovation. The progress of the constitution was marked, not by successive changes, but by repeated confirmations of subsisting rights; and the efforts of freedom in England, instead of being directed, as in most other countries, to

procure an expansion of the privileges of the people in proportion to the progress of society, have been almost entirely confined to an unceasing endeavour to prevent their contraction by the arbitrary disposition of successive monarchs. The same circumstances produced a remarkable effect on the current of public feeling in England, and the things which were regarded as the objects of national anxiety by the great body of the people. They mingled the recollection of their ancient laws with the days of their national independence, and looked back to the reign of Edward the Confessor as the happy era when their rights and properties were secure, and they had not yet tasted of the severity of foreign domination. Hence the struggles of freedom in England acquired a definite and practicable object; and, instead of being wasted in aspirations after visionary schemes, settled down into a strong and inextinguishable desire for the restoration of an order of things once actually established, and of which the experienced benefits were still engraven on the recollections of the people. For several centuries, accordingly, the continued effort of the English people was to obtain the restitution of their Saxon privileges: they were solemnly recognised in *Magna Charta*, and ratified in the different confirmations of that important instrument; and they are still, after the lapse of a thousand years, looked back to with interest by historians, as the original foundations of English liberty.

22. The effects of the same causes appeared in the most striking manner in the wars of the English, for several centuries after the Norman Conquest. Their neighbours, the French and the Scotch, brought into the field only the chivalry of the barons, and the spear-men of their serfs. No middle order was to be found superior to the common billman, or foot-soldier, but inferior to the mounted knight. But, in addition to these, the Plantagenet monarchs appeared at the head of a vast and skilful body of archers—a force peculiar to England, because it alone possessed the class from whom it

could be formed. It was the Saxon outlaws, driven by despair into the numerous forests with which the country abounded, who first from necessity obtained a perfect mastery of this weapon. And accordingly, the graphic novelist, with historic truth, makes Norman Richard the leader of English chivalry, and Robin Hood, the prince of Saxon outlaws, the first of British marksmen.* It was their descendants who swelled the ranks of the English yeomanry, and constituted a powerful body in war, formidable from their skill, their numbers, and their independent spirit. The bow continued for ages to be the favourite national weapon of the Saxons. They practised the art incessantly in their amusements, and regained, by its importance in the field of battle, their due weight in the government of the country. Not the Norman nobility, not the feudal retainers, as Hallam observes, gained the victories of Cressy and Poitiers, for they were fully matched in the ranks of France; but the yeomen who drew the bow with strong and steady arms, accustomed to its use in their native fields, and rendered fearless by personal competence and civil freedom.

23. The Scotch government, whose armies had suffered so often from the English archers, in vain passed repeated acts to compel the formation of a similar force in their own country. All these measures proved ineffectual, because the yeomanry were wanting who filled the ranks of the bowmen in the English armies. The French kings endeavoured, by mercenary troops drawn from the mountains of Genoa, to provide a match for the English archers; but the jealousy of their government, which prevented the middle orders from being allowed the use of arms, rendered all such attempts nugatory; and the Plantagenet kings, in consequence, twice vanquished their

* Sir Walter Scott in *Ivanhoe*.—It is a curious circumstance, that Thierry mentions that it was this incomparable novel which first suggested to him the idea of writing an account of the Norman Conquest, since realised in his admirable history of that event. See THIERRY, *Dix Ans d'Etudes Historiques*, Preface, p. 17.

greatest armies, and marched boldly through the country, at the head of the Saxon yeomanry. Even after the cessation of hostilities between the two monarchies, the terrible English bands ravaged with impunity the provinces of France; nor did they ever experience any considerable check till they approached the Swiss mountains, and encountered, at the cemetery of Bale, peasants as free, as sturdy, and as courageous as themselves.

24. It was a singular combination of circumstances which rendered the middle ranks under the Norman princes so powerful, both in the military array of the state, and in the maintenance of their civil rights. The Norman Conquest had laid the foundation of such a class, by dispossessing the numerous body of Saxon proprietors; but it was the subsequent necessities of the sovereigns and the nobles, arising from their insular situation and their frequent contests with each other, which compelled them to foster the Saxon troops, and avail themselves of that powerful force which they found existing in such perfection among their native forests. Cut off by the ocean from their feudal brethren on the Continent, surrounded by a numerous and warlike people, the barons perceived that, without the support of their yeomanry, they could neither maintain their struggles with the sovereign, nor insure the possession of their estates. The privileges, therefore, of this class were anxiously attended to in all the renewals of the great charter; and their strength was carefully fostered, as the main security both of the crown and the barons, in their extensive and unsettled insular possessions. It is considered by William of Malmesbury as an especial work of Providence, that so great a people as the English should have given up all for lost after the destruction of so small an army as that which fought at Hastings; but it was precisely the magnitude of this disproportion which perpetuated and extended the freedom of the country. Had the Normans not succeeded, the free Saxons would have dwindled into a feudal aristocracy, and the peasantry

of England been similar in their condition to the serfs of France: had an overwhelming power conquered, it would have utterly crushed the vanquished people; the Norman Conquest would have been similar in its effects to the subjugation of the neighbouring island, and the fields of England been now choked by the crowds and the wretchedness of Ireland. It was the conquest of the country by a force which, though formidable at first, became soon disproportioned to the strength of the subdued realm, which both created a middle class and secured its privileges; and, by blending the interests of the victor with those of the vanquished, at length engrafted the vigour of Norman enterprise on the steady spirit of English freedom.*

25. In this view, the loss of the Continental provinces in the reign of King John, and the subsequent long wars between France and England under the Plantagenet princes, contributed strongly to the preservation of English liberty, by severing all connection between the barons and their kinsmen on the Continent, and throwing both the sovereigns and the nobility, for their chief support, upon the tenantry of their estates. From the commencement of these contests, accordingly, the distinction between Norman and English disappeared; the ancient prejudices and pride of the former yielded to the stronger feeling of antipathy at their common enemies; English became the ordinary language both of the higher and lower orders, and the English institutions the object of veneration to the descendants of the very

* Long after these pages were written, I had the high satisfaction of finding that, unknown to myself, M. Guizot had about the same time adopted a similar view of the effects of the Norman Conquest, and illustrated it with the philosophical spirit and extensive research for which his historical works are so justly celebrated.—See *GUIZOT, Essais sur l'Histoire de France*, pp. 873-400. It is singular how frequently, about the same period, the same ideas are suggested to different writers, in situations remote from each other, which never before occurred to these who have treated of the subject. It would appear that political seasons bring forth the same fruits in different parts of the world at the same time.

conquerors who had overturned them. The continual want of money, which the long duration of this desperate struggle occasioned to the crown, strengthened the growth of English freedom; each successive grant by the barons was accompanied by a confirmation of ancient rights; the commons, from the frequent use of arms, came to feel their own weight, and to assert their ancient privileges; and at length England, under the Plantagenet sovereigns, regained as much liberty as it had ever enjoyed under the rule of its Saxon monarchs.

Three circumstances connected with the Norman Conquest, contributed in a remarkable manner to the preservation of a free spirit among the barons and commons of England.

26. I. The first of these was the great weight which the crown acquired, from the ample share of the conquered lands which were allotted to the sovereign at the Conquest. William received no less than fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors for his proportion—a patrimony far greater than was enjoyed by any sovereign of Europe at the same period. The consequence was, that the turbulent spirit of the barons was far more effectually checked in this island than in the Continental states; the monarch could generally crush by his sentence any obnoxious nobleman; his courts of justice extended their jurisdiction into every part of the kingdom; and the essential prerogatives of the crown, those of coining money and repressing private wars, were never, except in reigns of unusual weakness, usurped by the subjects. For a century and a half after the Conquest, the authority of the Norman sovereigns was incomparably more extensive than that of any of the other monarchs who had settled on the ruins of the Roman empire. The industry and wealth of the commons was thus more completely protected in England than in the neighbouring kingdoms, where feudal violence, private wars, and incessant bloodshed, crushed the first efforts of laborious freedom; and the middle ranks, comparatively free from oppression, gra-

dually grew in importance with the extension of their numbers, and the insensible increase of their opulence.

27. II. The second was the insular situation of the country, and its consequent exemption from the horrors of actual warfare. With the exception of a few incursions of the Scottish monarchs into the northern counties, which were transient in their duration and partial in their effects, England has hardly ever been the seat of foreign war since the Conquest; and the southern counties, by far the most important both in riches and population, have not seen the fires of an enemy's camp for eight hundred years. Securely cradled in the waves, her industry has scarcely ever felt the devastating influence of foreign conquest; her arms have often carried war into foreign states, but she has never suffered from its havoc in her own. Periods of foreign hostility have been known to her inhabitants only from the increased excitation of national feeling, or the quickened encouragement of domestic industry. The effects of this happy exemption from the devastation of foreign invasion have been incalculable. It is during the dangers and the exigencies of war that military violence acquires its fatal ascendancy; that industry is blighted by the destruction of its produce; labour deadened by the forfeiture of its hopes; pacific virtues extinguished by the insults which they suffer; warlike qualities developed by the eminence to which they lead. In every age the principles of liberty expand during the protection of peace, and are withered by the whirl and the agitation of war. If this truth has been experienced in our own times, when military devastation is comparatively limited, and industry universally diffused, what must have been its importance in a barbarous age, when the infant shoots of freedom were first beginning to appear, and could expand only under the shelter of baronial or monastic power? It is accordingly observed by all our historians, that the feudal institutions of England were far less military than those which obtained in the Continental monarchies: that

private wars were comparatively unknown, and that the armies of the kings were for the most part composed of levied troops, whose unbroken experience soon acquired a decided superiority over the feudal militia of their enemies.

28. III. The third circumstance was the fortunate limitation of the privileges of nobility to the eldest son of the family. This was owing to the weight of the commons in the constitution, which arose from the number and opulence of the Saxon proprietors, who had been dispossessed by the Normans. It prevented the formation of a privileged class, and suffered the prerogatives of nobility to exist only in that member of the family who inherited the paternal estate; and there is no single circumstance which has contributed more to confer its long permanence, its regular improvement, and its inherent vigour, on the English constitution. The descendants of the nobles were thus prevented from forming a caste, to whom, as in the Continental monarchies, the exclusive right of filling certain situations might be limited. The younger branches of the aristocracy, after a few generations, relapsed into the rank, and became identified with the interests of the commons; and that pernicious separation of noble and plebeian, which has been the principal cause of the destruction of freedom in all the European states, was from the earliest times softened in this country. The nobility in the actual possession of their estates were too few in number to form an obnoxious body; their relations, possessing no privileges above the commoners, ceased, after a few generations, either to be objects of envy to their inferiors, or to be identified in interest with the class from which they sprang. Thus the different ranks of society were blended together, by a link descending from the higher, and ultimately resting on the lower orders.

29. But this freedom, though firmly established by the feudal constitutions, was limited to the classes for whose interest alone these constitutions appear to have been intended. The villains or slaves, who still constituted the

great body of the labouring population, were almost wholly unprotected. Even in Magna Charta, while the personal freedom of every free subject was provided for, the more numerous body of slaves—that is, the whole rural labourers, probably nine-tenths of the working classes in the kingdom—were left to the mercy of their landlords, with the single stipulation that they should not be deprived of their implements of husbandry. Their emancipation, far from being the work of the barons, was accomplished by the efforts of the clergy and the progress of humanity in a subsequent age. General liberty, in our sense of the word, was unknown in England till after the Great Rebellion.

30. In the reign of Richard II., the gradual progress of wealth, and the extraordinary excitation awakened among all ranks by the military glories and lucrative wars of Edward III., produced the first effervescence of the real democratic spirit. The insurrection of Wat Tyler, which was contemporaneous with the efforts of the Flemish burghers to emancipate their country from feudal tyranny, was a general movement of the lower classes; and, accordingly, it was directed not against the power of the crown, but against the exclusive privileges of the nobility.

“When Adam delved and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?”

was the maxim on which they rested; a distich pointing to a struggle of a totally different kind from any previously known in modern Europe, and corresponding very nearly to the principles which, four centuries after, produced the French Revolution. But all the great changes of nature are gradual in their progress; the effects of sudden convulsions are as transient as the effervescence from which they spring. The insurrection of the peasants in England met with the same fate as did that of the Flemish democracy at Rasebecque: the feudal array of the barons easily dispersed a rabble imperfectly armed and wholly undisciplined. Their victory was fortunate for the progress of real liberty; the triumph of the peasants must have been shortlived, and

would have exhibited the horrors of a Negro revolt. Ignorant, disunited men, drawn from humble employments, unaccustomed to the exercise of political rights, can never long remain at the head of affairs. After the fervour of the moment is over, they necessarily fall under the dominion, if not of their former masters, at least of tyrants of their own creating, and their ultimate condition is worse than the first. Centuries of peace and increasing wealth—the unceasing operation of a beneficent religion—the influence of printing and diffused knowledge—a more general distribution of property—a change in the implements of human destruction, were all required, before a part, even, of the levelling principles then diffused among the English peasantry could be safely carried into practice.

31. The power of the feudal aristocracy received a final blow from the wars of York and Lancaster. Those bloody dissensions destroyed the fabric of Gothic power: they watered the English plains with blood, but it was blood from which has arisen a harvest of glory. From causes which it is difficult now to trace, they early assumed a character of extraordinary ferocity. Prisoners even of the highest rank, on both sides, were, from the very commencement, massacred in cold blood; and at length the exasperation of the two parties became so excessive, that quarter was refused by common consent on the field of battle, and thirty-six thousand Britons fell by mutual slaughter in a single engagement. The chasm occasioned by these losses was soon repaired by the lower orders; but to the feudal nobility they proved completely fatal. Eighty princes of the blood, and almost the whole ancient barons, perished in these disastrous wars; and, upon the termination of hostilities, the house of Peers could only muster forty members. The influence of those who remained was immensely weakened. In the different forfeitures which had been inflicted with so unsparring a hand by the factions who alternately prevailed, the estates of almost all the nobility in the kingdom had been included; and the feudal tenants, accustomed to a rapid

change of masters in the general confusion, lost great part of their ancient veneration for their superiors. The nobles became divided among each other: the survivors of the Norman conquerors viewed with undisguised jealousy the upstart families who had risen in the midst of the public distress; and these regarded with equal horror the remnant of ferocious barons, ever ready to exterminate them to regain their properties. Weakened in numbers, disunited among themselves, and severed from the affections of the people, the ancient nobility of England were never again formidable to the liberties of their country.

32. The ultimate effects of this destruction of the feudal aristocracy were eminently favourable to public freedom; but its immediate consequence was a great and most perilous augmentation of the power of the monarch. The ancient barrier had been swept away, and the new one was not yet erected. By the forfeited estates which accrued to the victorious monarch, a fifth of the whole lands of the kingdom was annexed to the crown; and notwithstanding the liberal grants to the nobles of his party, the hereditary revenue which Edward left to his successors was very great. The influence of the nobles being in abeyance, and the people having neither acquired nor become capable of exerting any share of power but through the medium of their superiors, nothing remained to resist the power of the sovereign. The inevitable consequence was the destruction of the freedom which had been won by the struggles of the barons. Hence the tyranny of the Tudor princes. Nothing, accordingly, is more remarkable than the pliant servility of parliament, and the slavish submission of the people, during the reigns of the successors of Henry VII. Civil war appears to have worn out their energies, and extinguished their ancient passion for freedom; the Houses of Peers and Commons vied with each other in acts of adulation to the reigning monarch: it seemed as if the Barons of Runnymede had been succeeded by the senate of Tiberius. Even the commons had

almost totally lost their former spirit: the most arbitrary taxation, the most repeated violations of their liberties, produced no popular convulsion; mandates issued from court were universally obeyed in the election of members of parliament; and the most violent changes of which history makes mention—the destruction of the national religion, the seizure of one-third of the national property, the execution of seventy-two thousand persons in a single reign—produced no commotions among the people.

83. This was the critical period of English liberty; the country had reached that crisis which, in all the great Continental monarchies, had proved fatal to public freedom. Notwithstanding her insular situation—notwithstanding the independent spirit of her Saxon ancestry—notwithstanding the efforts of her feudal nobility—the liberty of England was all but extinct, when the enthusiasm of the REFORMATION fanned the dying spark, and kept alive, in a sect which soon became predominant, the declining flame of liberty. The Puritans were early distinguished by their zeal in the cause of freedom. During the imperious reign of Elizabeth they maintained in silence their inflexible spirit; and so well was her government aware of the dangerous tendency of their principles, that they never were permitted, during the reign of that sagacious princess, to have the smallest share in state affairs. In the time of James I. their number became greater, and their exertions in the cause of freedom more apparent. The first serious attacks on government were made through the pulpit; and the only persons in this, as in other countries at the same period, who made any exertions in favour of their liberties, were those who were animated with religious zeal. During the reign of Charles I. a universal frenzy seized the nation; an enthusiasm almost as general, and far more lasting than that of the Crusades, pervaded the middle and a considerable proportion of the higher ranks; and, but for the strength of that feeling, the Long Parliament would never have been able to withstand the exertions which, with

their characteristic loyalty, the English gentlemen at that period made in defence of their sovereign. "From whatever cause," says Cromwell, "the civil war began, if religion was not the original source of discord, yet God soon brought it to that issue;" and he constantly affirmed that, amidst the strife of battle, and the dangers of war, the reward to which he and his followers looked forward was freedom of conscience. It is of little moment whether the future Protector and his military chieftains were, or were not, sincere in these professions. It is sufficient that such was the temper of the times, that by no other means could they rouse the energies of the great body of the people. The effects of this spirit were not confined to this island, or the period in which it arose—they extended to another hemisphere and a distant age; and from the emigrants whom religious oppression drove to the forests of America have sprung those powerful states who have tried, amidst Transatlantic plenty, the doubtful experiment of democratic freedom.

84. But while the current of popular feeling was thus violent in favour of republican principles, the effect of ancient and fondly-cherished national institutions strongly appeared, and the English reaped the benefit of the long struggle maintained through the feudal ages by their ancestors in the cause of freedom. Though the substance of liberty had fled during the arbitrary reigns of the Tudor princes, her shadow still remained: the popular attachment to ancient rights was still undecayed; the venerable forms of the constitution were yet unchanged—and on that foundation the new and broader liberties of the country were reared. But for this happy circumstance, the spirit of freedom which the Reformation awakened might have wasted itself, as in Scotland, in visionary and impracticable schemes, until the nation, worn out with speculations from which no real benefit could accrue, willingly returned to its pristine servitude. Whereas, by the course of events which had preceded it, the stream of liberty naturally returned, when strengthened

into its wonted, though now almost-neglected channels; and, without breaking its former bounds, or overwhelming the ancient landmarks, extended its fertilising influence over a wider surface.

85. "It is remarkable," says Turgot, "that while England is the country in the world where public freedom has longest subsisted, and political institutions are most the subject of discussion, it is at the same time the one in which innovations are with most difficulty introduced, and where the most obstinate resistance is made to undoubted improvements. You might alter the whole political frame of government in France with more facility, than you could introduce the most insignificant change into the customs or fashions of England." The principle here alluded to is at once the consequence and the reward of free institutions. Universally it will be found, that the attachment of men to the customs and usages of their forefathers is greatest, where they have had a considerable share in the establishment or enjoyment of them; and that the danger of innovation is most to be feared where the exercise of rights has been longest unknown to the people. The dynasties of the East are of ephemeral duration, the monarchies of Europe are modified or changed by the progress of society; but the customs of the Swiss democracies seem as immovable as the mountains in which they were cradled.* The same principles have, in every age, formed the distinguishing characteristic of the English people. During the

severities and oppression of the Norman rule, it was to the equal laws of the Saxon reigns that they looked back with a fond affection, which neither the uncertainty of oral tradition, nor the intensity of present suffering, had been able to destroy. When the barons assembled in open rebellion at Runnymede, it was not any imaginary system of government which they established, but the old and consuetudinary laws of Edward the Confessor, which they moulded into a new form, and established on a firmer basis in the great charter; tempering, even in a moment of revolutionary triumph, the ardour of liberty and the pride of descent by their hereditary attachment to old institutions. The memorable reply of the barons to the proposal of the prelates at Mertoun, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*, has passed into a fixed maxim, to which the preservation of the constitution through all the convulsions of later times is mainly to be ascribed. In the petition of right drawn by Selden, and the greatest lawyers of his day, the parliament said to the king, "Your subjects have inherited this freedom;" and in the preamble of the Declaration of Rights, the states do not pretend any right to frame a government for themselves, but strive only to secure the religion, laws, and liberties, long possessed, and lately endangered; and their prayer is only, "That it may be declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and declared, are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom." "By adhering in this manner," says Burke, "to our forefathers, we are guided, not by the superstition of antiquarians, but the spirit of philosophic analogy. In this choice of inheritance we have given to our frame of policy the image of a relation in blood, binding up the constitution of our country with our dearest domestic ties, adopting our fundamental laws into the bosom of our family affections; keeping inseparable, and cherishing with the warmth of all their combined and mutually reflected charities, our state, our hearths, our sepulchres, and our altars."

86. These principles have not been

* The French Directory, in the ardour of their innovations, proposed to the peasants of Uri and Underwalden a change in their constitution, and made the offer of fraternisation, which had seduced the allegiance of so many other states. But these sturdy mountaineers replied: "Words cannot express, citizen directors, the profound grief which the proposal to accede to the new Helvetic league has occasioned in these valleys. Other people may have different inclinations; but we, the descendants of William Tell, who have preserved without the slightest alteration the constitution which he has left us, have but one unanimous wish—that of living under the government which Providence and the courage of our ancestors have left us."—LACRETELLE, *Rev. Fran.* iii. 162.

abandoned by the descendants of England in their Transatlantic possessions. When the Americans threw off the yoke of Britain, they retained its laws, its religion, its institutions, with the exception of the monarchical and aristocratic part; no massacres or proscriptions, no confiscations or exiles disgraced the rise of their liberty; no oblivion of the past was made the foundation of their hopes for the future. The English church is still the prevailing religion of the land, at least in the higher classes; the English decisions yet regulate their courts of justice; and English institutions form the basis on which their national prosperity has been reared. Amidst the exasperations of a civil war, they have deviated less than others engaged in revolution from the usages of civilised life. Alone of all foreigners, an Englishman still feels at home when he crosses the Atlantic; and the first efforts of American eloquence have been exerted in painting the feelings of an ingenuous inhabitant of that country when he first visited the land of his fathers. It is the distinctive mark of the growth, not of the free, but the democratic spirit, that the majority of the inhabitants of the United States, in later times, have departed from this reverence for antiquity, and imbibed, with jealousy of England, and partiality for French alliance, a progressive disregard of the institutions and good faith to which their former greatness has been owing. When this spirit becomes universal, it is not going too far to affirm that the last hour of American freedom is at hand.

87. As the best proof that the Revolution of England owed its distinctive character to the circumstances which preceded it, and to the large share enjoyed by previous generations in the government of the country, it is sufficient to refer to what took place at the same period in the sister kingdoms. Ireland, conquered by Henry II., was retained for four centuries in a state of feudal subjection to Britain; none of the privileges of English subjects had been communicated to her inhabitants—they had neither tasted

of the severity of Saxon conquest nor the blessings of Saxon freedom. Feudal aristocracy, in its worst form, accompanied by national exasperation, and an absent nobility, there prevailed; and what was the consequence? Instead of the moderate reforms, the humane conquests, and the security to property, which distinguished the English Rebellion, there appeared the most terrible horrors of popular licentiousness, and the last severities of military execution—general massacres, the burning of families, torrents of blood shed both in the field and on the scaffold, the storming of cities, and the desolation of provinces. English revenge, though grievously provoked, was still more terrible. Cromwell seriously endeavoured to extirpate the native Irish Catholics, though they were eight times as numerous as the Protestants: forty thousand men were sent as soldiers to foreign states, and their wives and children hurried off to the plantations; the most severe and arbitrary laws were enforced against those who remained in the country; the estates of all who had borne arms against the parliament were forfeited, and one-third of their possessions cut off from all those proprietors who had not served in the popular ranks. A large portion of the people were removed from one part of the country to another, and any transplanted Irishman, found out of his district, might be put to death by the first person who met him. Such was the effect of these measures, that nearly one-half of the whole land in the country, amounting to above seven millions of acres, was forfeited, and bestowed on the revolutionary soldiers: even after the restoration of Charles, two-thirds of these immense possessions were left in the hands of the recent acquirers; and though the remainder was nominally restored to the Catholics, none of it returned to the dispossessed proprietors.

88. In Scotland, also, at the same period, the struggle for freedom was marked by all the horrors of popular licentiousness. In that state, neither the Saxon institutions, nor the principles of freedom, had in early times

obtained any solid footing; and, in consequence, the nobles and peasantry, without either the intervention of a middle rank or the moderating influence of previous privileges, were brought into fierce collision at the Reformation. As might have been expected, the proceedings of the Revolutionists were from the very first characterised by the utmost violence and injustice. The whole property of the church, amounting to about a third of the kingdom, was confiscated, and bestowed on the barons of the popular party; blood flowed profusely on the scaffold; quarter was almost invariably refused in the field; and the proceedings of the adverse parties resembled rather the sanguinary vengeance of savages, than the conduct of men contending for important civil privileges. The mild and humane conduct of the Civil War in England, forms the most striking contrast to the cruelty of the Royalists or the severity of the Covenanters in Scotland. The horrors of the La Vendée insurrection were anticipated in the massacres of Montrose's followers; and the *Noyades* of the Loire are not without a parallel in the atrocious revenge of the popular faction.*

39. Nor was it any peculiarity in the national character which stamped its singular and honourable features on the English Rebellion. The civil wars of York and Lancaster, not a century and a half before, had been distinguished by a degree of ferocious cruelty, to which a parallel is hardly to be found even in the terrific annals of the French Revolution. Prisoners of every rank were uniformly massacred in cold blood, after the action was over; a leader of one of the factions did not scruple to murder, with his own hands, the youthful prince whom fortune had placed in his power;

and the savage orders to give no quarter, which the French revolutionary government issued to their armies, but the humanity of the commanders refused to execute, were deliberately acted upon, for a course of years, by bodies of Englishmen against each other.

40. The humane and temperate spirit of the English Rebellion must, therefore, be ascribed to the circumstances under which the contest began in that country — the rights previously acquired, the privileges long exercised, the attachments descending from a remote age, the moderation flowing from the possession of freedom. It was disgraced by no violent innovations, because it arose among a people attached by long habit to old institutions. It was followed by no proscriptions, because it was headed by the greater part of the intelligence of the state, and not abandoned to the undirected passions of the populace; it was distinguished by singular moderation in the use of power, because it was conducted by men to whom its exercise had long been habitual; it was attended by little confiscation of property, because among its ranks was to be found a large portion of the wealth of the kingdom. The remarkable moderation of public opinion, which has ever since distinguished this country from the neighbouring states, and attracted equal attention among foreigners and ourselves, has arisen from the continued operation of the same circumstances.

The importance of these circumstances will best be appreciated, and their application to the French Revolution understood, by reviewing the past history of that country.

41. Like the other provinces of the Roman empire, Gaul, upon the irruption of the barbarous nations, was sunk to the lowest stage of effeminacy and degradation. So early as the time of Tacitus, the decay in the military courage of the people had become conspicuous; and before the fall of the empire, it was found to be impossible to recruit the legions among its enervated inhabitants. Slavery, like a can-

* The whole Irish prisoners belonging to Montrose's army, taken in various parts of Scotland, were put to death in cold blood after the battle of Philiphaugh by the victorious Covenanters; and the children of those taken in West Lothian were dropped from the bridge of Linlithgow into the river Avon; while bands of the ferocious Republicans stood by the side of the stream farther down, with halberds in their hands, to massacre such of the drowning innocents as might be thrown ashore. — NAPIER'S *Life of Montrose*, 268; and CHAMBERS'S *Revolutions*, 1648, ii. 137.

cer, had consumed the vitals of the state; patrician wealth had absorbed or extinguished plebeian industry; the race of independent freemen had disappeared, and in their room had sprung up a swarm of ignoble dependents upon absent proprietors. These miserable inhabitants were oppressed to the greatest degree by the Roman governors; they were rigidly excluded from every office of trust, civil or military. The whole freemen in the province only amounted to five hundred thousand men; and the capitation-tax, in the time of Constantine, is said to have reached the enormous sum of nine pounds sterling for each free citizen. Under this iron despotism, population in the provinces rapidly declined; the slaves went willingly off with every invader, and swelled the ranks of the northern conquerors; and while the numbers of the people steadily increased among the free inhabitants of the German forests, the human race was fast disappearing in the opulent provinces of the Roman empire. National character, as might easily have been anticipated, ere long declined under the combined influence of these degrading circumstances. The inhabitants of Gaul were considered by the northern nations, in the sixth century, as combining all the vices of human nature—the cruelty of barbarism with the cowardice of opulence—the cringing of slaves with the arrogance of tyrants—the falsehood of civilised with the brutality of savage life. They could apply no stronger epithet of contumely to an enemy than to call him a Roman.

42. When the barbarians, at the close of the fourth century, broke in on all sides upon the Western Empire, they found the whole land in the hands of a few great families, who cultivated their ample possessions by means of slaves. The province of Gaul was no exception to this deplorable state, the natural and miserable issue of corrupted opulence. Their barbarian conquerors, however, did not at once seize the whole of the vanquished lands: the Burgundians and Visigoths took two-thirds of their respective conquests; and although the proportion seized by the Franks is not

distinctly mentioned, it is evident that they occupied the largest portion of the lands of Gaul. The estates left in the hands of the Roman proprietors were termed *allodial*, which, for a considerable time, were distinguishable from the military estates by which they were surrounded; but the depressed condition of the ancient inhabitants is abundantly proved by the fact, that the fine for the death of a common Frank was fixed at 200 solidi, and that of a Roman proprietor at 100. By degrees the distinction between barbarian and Roman became still more marked; the allodial properties were gradually either seized by the military chieftains in their neighbourhood, or ranked, for the sake of security, under their protection; the feeble inhabitants of the corrupted empire yielded to the energetic efforts of barbarian independence, and by the eleventh century the revolution in the landed property was complete, except in the southern provinces, and the name of Gaul merged in that of France.

43. The military followers of Clovis, like all the other German tribes, were strongly attached to the principles of freedom. They respected the military talents of their great leader, and willingly followed his victorious standard; but they considered themselves as his equals rather than his subjects, and were not afraid to dare his resentment when the period of military command was over. When the spoil of the neighbouring Roman provinces was divided at Soissons, Clovis begged that a particular vase might be set aside for his use. The army having expressed their acquiescence, a single soldier exclaimed, "You shall have nothing here but what falls to your share by lot," and struck the precious vessel to pieces with his battle-axe. The conquest of Gaul spread these independent warriors, who did not exceed many thousands in number, over the ample provinces of that extensive country; and their annual assemblies in spring gave rise to the celebrated meetings of the Champs-de-Mai, long revered as the rudimental institution of French liberty. But the difficulty of collecting a body so widely dispersed was soon severely felt; the new pro-

priests early became occupied by the interests of their separate estates, and disliked the burdensome attendance at the convocations; the monarchs ceased to summon their unwilling followers; and the successors of Clovis gradually freed themselves from all dependence on the ancient founders of the monarchy.

44. The power of the monarch, however, in barbarous ages, can be rendered permanent only by the possession of great military qualities: the ease and luxury of a court rapidly extinguish the vigour which is requisite for its maintenance. The premature enjoyments of luxury debased the minds of the early French monarchs, while they enervated their bodies; and the kings of the Merovingian race dwindled into a succession of full-grown children, scarce one of whom was five feet high. By degrees the mayors of the palace usurped the royal authority; and a succession of sovereigns, distinguished by the emphatic name of *Rois Fainéants*, rendered the crown contemptible even in the eyes of a degenerate people. The victories of Charles Martel, the genius of Charlemagne, for a time averted the degradation of the throne; but with the termination of their rule the royal authority declined: the great proprietors everywhere usurped the prerogatives of the crown; and France was divided into a number of separate principalities, each in a great measure independent of its neighbour, and waging war and administering justice on its own authority. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable than the rapid and early degeneracy of conquering savage or pastoral states. No sooner are they settled on the vanquished lands, than they adopt the vices, and sink into the effeminacy, of their subjects; the energy of the barbarian character is lost with the necessity which created it; and the descendants of the conquerors cannot, in a few generations, be distinguished from those of the vanquished people. The human mind requires several generations to bear, even with tolerable equanimity, the seductions of riches. At once thrown into a rude and illiterate people, they prove, like ardent spirits to the Red man of America, utterly fatal. This truth was signally

exemplified in the early history of the French monarchy. Even during the reign of Charlemagne, the inherent weakness of a barbarous age was perceptible: all the splendour of his talents, all the experience of his armies, could only throw a temporary lustre over his empire; the efforts of a few thousand freemen were lost amidst the degradation of many millions of slaves; and the conqueror of the western world had the mortification, before his death, of perceiving in rapid progress the decay which was so soon destined to prostrate his empire. It is public freedom and general intelligence alone which can enable the human race to withstand the influence of too rapid prosperity; which can long continue in ages of civilisation the energy and courage of barbarous times; and, by providing for the incessant elevation of those classes who have been trained under the discipline of adversity, furnish a more durable antidote to the growing depravity of prosperous times.

45. The weakness of the empire at once appeared upon the death of the victorious monarch. Instantly, as if by enchantment, the fabric fell to pieces: separated into detached dominions, all means of mutual support were lost, and pusillanimous millions yielded almost without a struggle to the ravages of a few thousand hardy and rapacious enemies. The Normans, the Huns, the Saracens, assailed the different frontiers; a swarm of savage barbarians overspread the plains of Germany, and threatened the total extirpation of the inhabitants; the Northmen ascended every navigable stream, and from their light boats spread flames and devastation through the interior of France. Rich and poor were alike incapable of exerting themselves to avert the common calamity; villages were burned, captives carried off, castles destroyed in every province, without the slightest effort at resistance: and while the unconquered tribes of Germany boldly united, under Otho, to drive back the terrible scourge of the Hungarian horse, the degenerate inhabitants of the Roman provinces were unable to repel the detached inroads of the northern pirates.

46. The first circumstance which restored the military courage of the inhabitants of France, after the decline of the dynasty of Charlemagne, was the private wars of the nobles, and the consequent universal fortification of the castles—a result of the weakness of the throne. It is thus that the greatest human evils correct themselves, and that the excess of misery ultimately induces its alleviation. Deprived of anything like support from the government, and driven to their own resources for protection, the landed proprietors were compelled to arm their followers, and strengthen their castles, now become their only refuge. Military skill was restored with the use of arms, rendered necessary from the universality of the danger; courage revived from confidence in its defences; a race of men arose inured to war from their infancy, and strong in the consciousness of superior prowess. In the interior of the castles, arms were the only employment, and the recounting of military exploits the sole amusement of the age; the words *chivalry* and *courtesy* still attest the virtues which were learned by the mounted knights, and which were considered peculiar to those who had been bred up in the *courts* of the barons. The wretchedness and suffering of those ages have produced the most dignified features of modern manners. From the degraded followers of the Carolingian kings have sprung the heroic nobility of France; from centuries of war and rapine, the generous courage of modern warfare; from the dissolution of regal authority, the pride and independence of feudal nobility. But it was only the nobles or landed proprietors who were renovated by these intestine divisions; the serfs who cultivated the ground, the burgesses who frequented the towns, were retained in the most degraded and abject state. The Franks lived in their castles, surrounded by their armed followers, in solitary independence; the Gauls, unarmed and unprotected, toiled in the fields, alike exposed to rapine and incapable of resistance. The jealousy of their superiors denied them the use of arms; the fatal superiority of the

knights, in actual warfare, rendered revolt hopeless. Frequently, during the eleventh century, the miseries of the peasantry drove them to extremities, and led to bloody contests with the nobles; but in no one instance were they successful, and they returned to their ploughs, depressed by suffering, and disheartened by defeat.

47. The first ray which broke in upon the gloom of the middle ages, on the continent of Europe, came from the boroughs—"an execrable institution," says the old historian, "by which slaves are encouraged to become free, and forget the allegiance they owe to their masters." The first corporation in France arose about half a century after the English conquest, and these institutions were brought into general use by Louis the Fat, to serve as a counterpoise to the power of the nobles. Rouen and Falaise, the first incorporated boroughs of Normandy, enjoyed their privileges by a charter from Philip Augustus, granted in the year 1267. Prior to that time the states of the duchy were composed entirely of nobles and clergy. The kings, however, early sensible of the importance of these communities as a bulwark against the encroachments of the nobles, procured a law by which, if a slave escaped from his master and bought a house in a borough, and lived there a year without being reclaimed, he gained his freedom—a custom which seems to have prevailed equally in France, Scotland, and England. From this cause, joined to the natural influence of mutual protection and extended intercourse, boroughs everywhere became the cradles of freedom: although the nobles still looked upon them with such contempt, that, by the feudal law, the superior was debarred from marrying his female ward to a *burgess* or *villain*. But, notwithstanding their growing importance, the boroughs were, for many ages, incapable of offering any effectual resistance to the power of the nobles, from the want of skill of their inhabitants in the use of arms, to which their superiors were habituated—a distinction of incalculable importance in an age when violence was universal, and nothing but

the military profession held in any esteem.

48. The two circumstances which had mainly fostered the spirit of freedom in England, were the extraordinary power of the sovereign, and the independent spirit of the commoners, both immediate consequences of the Norman Conquest. In France, the reverse of both these peculiarities took place. The dignity of the throne was lost in the ascendancy of the nobles, and the spirit of the people extinguished by the inordinate privileges which these enjoyed. For a series of ages the monarchy of France was held together by the feeblest tenure: the Dukes of Normandy, the Counts of Toulouse, the Dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, resembled rather independent sovereigns than feudal vassals; and the real dominion of the throne, before the time of Louis VI., seldom extended beyond the capital, and twenty miles around it. It was a mere chance at that time that these great feudatories did not become formally, as well as practically, independent, and the duchies of France split asunder the monarchy of Clovis, in the same manner as the electorates of Germany broke up the empire of Otho. In moments of danger, when the vassals assembled their retainers, the king of France could still muster a mighty host; but with the transitory alarm, the forces of the monarchy melted away; the military vassals retired after the period of their service was expired; and the late leader of a hundred thousand men was frequently baffled, after a campaign of a few weeks, by the garrison of an insignificant fortress.

49. But the circumstance of all others the most prejudicial to the liberty of France, was the exclusive use of arms by the higher orders, and the total absence of that middle class in the armies, who constituted not less the strength of the English forces than the support of the English monarchy. Before the time of Charles VI., the jealousy of the nobles had never allowed the peasants to be instructed in the use of arms—in consequence of which they had no archers, or disciplined infantry, to oppose to their enemies, and were obliged to

seek in the mountains of Genoa for crossbowmen, to withstand the terrible yeomanry of England. The defeats of Cressy and Poitiers, of Morat and Granson, were the result of this inferiority. Not that the natives of France were inferior in natural bravery to the English or the Swiss; but that their armies, being composed entirely of the military tenants, had no force to oppose to the steady and experienced infantry, which in every age has formed the peculiar strength of a free people. Warned by these disasters, the French government, by an ordinance in 1394, ordered the peasantry throughout the whole country to be instructed in the use of the bow, and the pernicious practice of games of hazard to be exchanged for matches at archery. They made rapid progress in the new exercises, and would soon have rivalled the English bowmen; but the jealousy of the nobles took the alarm at the increasing energy of the lower orders. Martial exercises were prohibited, games of hazard re-established, the people lost their courage from want of confidence in themselves, and the defeat of Azincour was the consequence.

50. The circumstances which first awakened the genuine democratic spirit in France were, the misery and anarchy arising from the English wars. During these disastrous contests, in which the French armies were so frequently worsted, and military license, with all its horrors, for above a century wasted the heart of the country, the power of the nobles was for a time destroyed, and the extremities of distress roused the courage of the peasantry. Abandoned by their natural protectors, pillaged by bands of licentious soldiers, driven to desperation by suffering, and excited by the prospect of general plunder, the populace everywhere flew to arms, and the insurrection of the *Jacquerie* anticipated the horrors of the French Revolution. The effect of the despotic government of preceding ages became then conspicuous. Unlike the moderate reformers among the English barons, who themselves contended for freedom, and headed the advance of the commons, the French peasantry, aban-

doned entirely to the guidance of their own chiefs, fell at once into the horrors of popular licentiousness. The features, the well-known features, of servile war appeared. The gentry, hated for their tyranny, were everywhere exposed to the violence of popular rage; and instead of meeting with the regard due to their past dignity, became on that account only the object of more wanton insult to the peasantry. They were hunted like wild beasts, and put to the sword without mercy, their castles consumed by fire, their wives and daughters ravished or murdered; and the savages proceeded so far as, in many instances, to impale their enemies, and roast them alive over a slow fire. But these efforts were in the end as unavailing as they were ferocious. The nobles, roused by necessity, at length combined for their common defence; the peasantry, unacquainted with arms, and destitute of discipline, could not withstand the shock of the feudal cavalry; and the licentiousness of the people was repressed, after one-half of the population of France had fallen a prey to the sword, or the pestilence which followed the wars of Edward the Third. The misery occasioned by these contests, however, excited a spirit which long survived the disasters in which it originated. Nations, like individuals, are frequently improved in the school of adversity; and if the causes of the greatest advances in our social condition are accurately investigated, they may often be traced back to those long periods of difficulty, when energy has risen out of the extremity of disaster. Before the death of Edward the Third, the soldiers of France, from constant practice, had become superior to those of England; and the courage of the nation, debased by centuries of Roman servitude, was restored amidst the agonies of internal warfare. The spirit of freedom was communicated to the boroughs, the only refuge from insult, which had greatly swelled in importance during the devastation of the country; and its lofty aspirations, emanating from the opulent cities of Flanders, threatened the aristocracy both of France and England with destruction.

51. The liberty of France and Flanders, to use a military expression, advanced with an oblique front; the wealthy cities of the Netherlands took the lead; Paris, Rouen, and Lyons, were next brought into action; and all the boroughs of the south of France were ready, at the first success, to join the bands of the confederates. The firmness of Ghent, and the victory of Bruges, roused the democratic spirit through all the adjoining kingdoms; the nobility of all Europe took the alarm, and the invasion of Flanders by the chivalry of France was conducted on the same principles, and for the same object, as the inroad into France by the Allies in 1793. But the period had not yet arrived when the citizens of towns could successfully contend with the forces of the aristocracy. In vain the Flemish burghers routed their own barons, and with a force of sixty thousand men besieged the nobles of their territory in Oudenarde. The steel-clad squadrons of the French gendarmerie pierced their serried bands, and the victory of Resebecque crushed the liberties of France, as well as those of Flanders, for four centuries. The French municipal bodies, among whom the ferment had already begun, lost all hope when the burghers of Flanders were overthrown, and resigned themselves, without a struggle, to a fate which, in the circumstances of the world, appeared inevitable. Twenty thousand armed citizens awaited the return of the victorious monarch into Paris; but the display of the burgher force came too late to protect public freedom—their leaders were imprisoned and executed; and the erection of the Bastille, in 1369, marked the commencement of a long period of servitude, which its destruction in 1789 was expected to terminate.

52. The struggles of the people in France, in the reign of Charles VI., like the Revolution four centuries after, were totally distinct, both in character and object, from the efforts of the English in support of their liberties. The Norman barons extorted the great charter at Runnymede: the French peasantry formed the insurrection of the Jacquerie; the French boroughs

alone supported the confederacy of Ghent. In the one case the barons marched at the head of the popular class, and stipulated for themselves and their inferiors the privileges of freedom; in the other the nobles generally joined the throne, and combined to suppress a spirit which threatened their exclusive privileges. Moderation and humanity distinguished the former; cruelty and exasperation disgraced the latter. So early in the history of the two countries were their popular commotions marked by the character which has ever since distinguished them, and so strongly has the force of external circumstances impressed the same stamp upon the efforts of the people in the most remote ages. Various circumstances conspired, after this period, to check the growth of public freedom, and to preserve those high powers of the aristocracy in France which ultimately induced the Revolution.

53. I. The French monarchy, during the feudal ages, was rather a confederacy of separate states than a single government. The great vassals exercised all the real powers of sovereignty independent of any foreign control—those of coining money, waging private war, and judging exclusively in civil causes. They were exempt from public tribute, except the feudal aids, and subject to no general legislative control. The consequences of this independence were in the highest degree important. No general necessity, the dread of no national enemy, compelled the great vassals to court the popular assistance, or arm their tenantry against the throne. The vast power which the Conquest gave to the crown in England at once curbed the turbulence of the barons, established one general law throughout the realm, and induced the nobles, for their own support, to arm the yeomanry. The weakness of the throne in France enabled the chief feudatories to usurp the powers of sovereignty, broke down into separate and provincial customs the general law of the country, and confined the use of arms to the landed gentlemen and their military retainers. Separate interests, end-

less contentions, and domestic warfare, occupied the whole attention of the nobility. No common concerns, the preservation of no common privileges, no general danger, cemented the disunited body. The monarchy grew grey with years, without its subjects having experienced the feelings, or been actuated by the interests, or wielded the power, of a united people.

54. II. The long and bloody wars with England, which lasted, with hardly any intermission, for one hundred and twenty years, were fatal to the growth of commercial or manufacturing industry in France, and to the independent spirit which naturally arises from it. The influence of war was chiefly felt in England by the increased demand for domestic industry, the prospects of plunder which Continental expeditions afforded, and the high wages which were offered to rouse the energy of the yeomanry.* The English invasions were contemplated in France with very different feelings—as bringing defeat and disgrace to the nobles—plunder and devastation to the burghers—misery and starvation to the peasantry. After the feudal nobility were destroyed in the field of Azincour, the whole bonds of society were loosened; every castle or stronghold was fortified, and became the residence of a partisan, generally as formidable to his countrymen as his enemies; warfare and rapine universally prevailed; and the miserable peasants, driven into walled towns for protection, could only venture into the fields to cultivate the ground with scouts stationed on the tops of the steeples to warn them of the approach of danger. The consequences of this insecurity may still be seen in the total absence of cottages in all the north and east of France, as contrasted with the humble but comfortable dwellings which everywhere rise among the green fields and wooded landscape of England. Commercial opulence, the best nursery of freedom

* It appears from Rymer that the Earl of Salisbury gave a shilling a day for every man-at-arms, and sixpence for each archer—sums equivalent to fifteen shillings, and seven and sixpence of our money.—RYMER, i. 10, 392; MONSTRELET, i. 303.

in civilised times, was extinguished during these disastrous contests; industry annihilated by the destruction of its produce, and the total insecurity of its reward: violence became universal, because it alone led to distinction. It was by high pecuniary sacrifices that mercenaries were obtained from foreign states; it was the Scottish auxiliaries who stemmed the progress of disaster at Crevant and Verneuil; and the great military monarchy of France was compelled to seek protection from the arms of a barbarous people. During such public calamities the growth of freedom was effectually stopped; and the wretched inhabitants, driven to struggle for their existence, year after year, with foreign and domestic enemies, had neither leisure to contemplate the blessings of liberty, nor means to acquire the wealth which could render it of value.

55. III. When the enthusiasm of the Maid of Orleans, the valour of the nobles, and the domestic dissensions of England, had driven these hated invaders from their shores, the numerous bands of armed men in every part of the kingdom exposed the people to incessant depredations, and imperiously called for some vigorous exercise of the royal authority. From this necessity arose the Companies of Ordinance of Charles VII., the first example in modern Europe of a **STANDING ARMY**. These companies, which at first consisted only of sixteen thousand infantry, and nine thousand cavalry, soon gave the crown a decisive superiority over the feudal militia; and being always embodied and ready for action, proved more than a match in the end for the slow and desultory armaments of the nobles. From this period the influence of the crown in France steadily increased: a series of fortunate accidents united the principal fiefs to the monarchy; and neither among the feudal barons, nor the burgher forces, could any counterpoise be found to its authority. The tumultuary array of feudal power, which is only occasionally called out, and very imperfectly disciplined, can never maintain a contest of any duration with a

small force of regular soldiers who are constantly kept embodied, have acquired skill in the use of arms, and adhere to their colours equally in adverse as in prosperous fortune. But to this inherent weakness in the feudal forces was superadded in France the total want of any popular support to the nobles. The burghers, depressed and insulted by the privileged classes, could not be expected to join in their support; the peasants, unaccustomed to the use of arms, and galled by the recollection of rapine and injury, were both unable to combine against the throne, and unwilling to humble a power from which they themselves stood in need of protection. Hence, in a short time, the crown acquired despotic authority; and Louis XI., with a regular force of only twenty-four thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry, became nearly absolute master of his dominions.

56. IV. The peculiar situation of France, in the midst of the great military monarchies of Europe, led to the constant maintenance of a large standing army, and perpetuated the preponderance thus acquired by the throne. Upon the decay of feudal manners, consequent on the progress of luxury, and the destruction of the influence of the nobles which resulted from the introduction of firearms, no power remained in the state capable of withstanding the regular forces of the monarchy. The nobles flocked to Paris to share in the splendour of the court, or join in the pleasures of the metropolis; the peasants, undisciplined and depressed by their superiors, and buried in ignorance, lost even the remembrance of the name of freedom. The wars with England, however, had revived the military spirit, not only among the nobles, but among the common people; the political events which followed gave this spirit its natural direction; the physical resources of the country aided its development; and France speedily appeared as a conquering power. The courage and energy of the nation rapidly followed out this new line of ambition; the sovereign was permitted to increase the

forces, which led the van in so brilliant a career; and the people, intoxicated by the conquests of Charles VIII. and Francis I., forgot both the disasters which followed their transient success, and the decisive ascendancy which they gave to the government. The desire of military glory, fed by repeated triumphs, became the prevailing passion of the nation; the States-general, which, for half a century, had nearly acquired the authority of the English parliaments, gradually fell into desuetude, and were abandoned, after their last assembly in 1614, not so much from the encroachments of the crown as the neglect of the people. For nearly two hundred years before the commencement of the Revolution, they had never once been assembled; and the nation, dazzled by the pageant of military success, silently resigned to the crown the whole real powers of government.

57. V. From the earliest times the distinction between patrician and plebeian, between noble and base-born, had been established in France; and, by an unhappy custom, this privilege descended to all the children, instead of being confined, as in England, to the eldest son. The consequence was a complete separation of the higher and lower orders, and the establishment of a line of demarcation, which neither talent, enterprise, nor success, was able to pass. "It is a terrible thing," says Pascal, "to reflect on the effect of rank: it gives to a child, newly born, a degree of consideration which half a century of labour and virtue could not procure." Of all the circumstances in the early history of France, there was none which had a more powerful effect than this, in determining the character of the Revolution. It unavoidably created a privileged class at variance with, and an object of jealousy to, the whole remainder of the community. What was still more fatal, it deprived this class, when the contest commenced, of all sympathy or support, save in a peculiar district, from the rest of the community. But the influence of despotism in modern times cannot permanently extinguish the light of reason. The press has provided in the end an antidote to the worst

species of government, except, perhaps, that which arises from its own abuse; its influence on every other oppression may be slow, but it is progressive, and ultimately irresistible. In vain the monarchs of France studiously degraded the lower orders; in vain they veiled the corruption of despotism beneath the splendour of military glory; in vain they encouraged science and rewarded art, and sought to turn the flood of genius into the narrow channels of regulated ambition: the vigour of thought outstripped the fetters of power; the energy of civilisation broke the bonds of slavery. The middle ranks, in the progress of time, awoke to a consciousness of their importance: the restrictions of feudal manners became revolting to men enlightened by the progress of knowledge—the chains of ancient servitude insupportable to those who felt the rising ambition of freedom. Not the embarrassment of the finances, not the corruption of the court, not the sufferings of the peasantry, brought about the great convulsion of the nineteenth century; for they are to be found matched in many countries disturbed by no convulsions: but the hateful pride of the aristocracy, based on centuries of exclusive power, and galling to an age of ascending ambition.

58. VI. But the circumstance of all others which had the greatest influence in inducing that state of society in France, which ultimately brought about a contest between the government and the country, was the success with which Cardinal Richelieu succeeded in destroying the rural influence of the French nobility, by attracting them to Paris. This remarkable man was one of the master-spirits of mankind, who, for good or evil, communicate their impress to succeeding generations. He possessed, in the highest degree, that great quality, without which no ability can exert any lasting influence on human affairs, with which hardly anything is impossible to genius and activity—moral courage and unflinching determination. He was thoroughly in earnest; and his grand object was to elevate the throne at the expense of the nobles—the church by the overthrow of the Huguenots. Deeply im-

pressed with the weakness which had been communicated to the monarchy on one side of France by the independence and privileges of the great feudatories, and by the divisions which had torn England on the other from the indomitable spirit of Puritan fervour, he saw, in the extinction of these great causes of discord which had divided Germany and Britain, the only certain means of elevating the throne and consolidating the monarchy in his own country. Yet was he not a courtier, nor a slavish minister. It was to raise his country that he laboured: the king was the object of his devotion, because, as Louis XIV. said, he was himself the state; he loved France better than the monarchy.* The anarchy of feudal weakness was the great evil which then afflicted society, and it was to remedy it that he so strenuously laboured. His prophetic mind foresaw for his country—in success, the glories of Louis XIV.; in failure, a prostration like that of Poland.

59. To effect these objects required the persevering efforts of a vast genius, firmly supported by the executive, and in no small degree favoured by circumstances; but in all these respects Richelieu was peculiarly fortunate. He dislodged the Huguenots from Rochelle, the great asylum of the disaffected, from which they could communicate at pleasure with the rival government and sympathising Protestants of England. He humbled Austria, at that period the most formidable rival to France on the Continent; and to accomplish that the more effectually, being indifferent to religious controversies when they interfered with political designs, he supported the Protestants in Germany, while he crushed them in France. He favoured commerce and trade, as affording the best counterpoise to the feudal nobility; and gave greater security to justice, and more impartial regularity to

law, as the only means of restraining their excesses. Though imperfectly versed in literature himself, he had discernment enough to see its importance, especially as a means of embellishment to the capital, and an engine in the hand of the monarch; and to him France is indebted for the Academy, which concentrated its genius in one focus at Paris, where it might be brought directly under the rays of royal favour. Aware that the only practical security for independence on the part of the crown is to be found in the flourishing state of the finances, he exerted incredible diligence in augmenting the public revenue, and bequeathed a vast accumulated treasure, and an admirably arranged system of finance, to that throne which he had found the weakest and the poorest in Christendom. But the master-stroke of his policy was sweeping away all appointments for life, whether to the government of castles or the direction of provinces, and rendering all offices under the crown of such brief tenure, that they were effectually under the control of government, and could only be obtained by sedulous attendance in the antechambers of the sovereign.

60. It may readily be supposed that changes so vast, inducing as they did a total alteration in the powers of government, the structure of society, and the future destinies of the country, could not have been brought about without strenuous resistance on the part of the existing repositories of authority, and the persons benefited by the existing regime. The administration of Richelieu, accordingly, is little more than a series of constant and often evenly balanced contests with the princes of the blood, the nobles, the parliament, the queen-consort, the queen-mother, and sometimes even the very king himself. But such was the ascendancy of his genius, the fertility of his resources, and the daring of his courage, that he triumphed over them all. Little scrupulous in the means he employed to compass his designs, he imprisoned, ruined, exiled, or brought to the scaffold, every person of influence who, in the course of his long administration, opposed his projects; and their entire success ap-

* After receiving extreme unction, on his deathbed, he exclaimed: "O my Judge! condemn me if I have had any other purpose than to serve the king and the state." These words were sincere, and depict his real character; but, like other statesmen of his age, he deemed all means justifiable which tended to these ends.—See BOULAYIE, *Règne de Louis XIV.*, iv. 243.

peared in the transformation of France, in a single lifetime, from a feudal confederacy, with a nominal liege-lord at Paris, to a compact and absolute monarchy, with the real powers vested in the sovereign. Peter the Great, when he visited France, embraced his statue in admiration; he was the tamer of the Strelitzes of the monarchy of Clovis.

61. The secret of this success, however, as of all similar changes when brought about apparently by individual agency, is to be found in deeper and more general causes than Richelieu's abilities, great as they undoubtedly were. It was the coincidence of his genius with the natural tendency of the times, which was the real cause of the prodigy. The military power of the nobles was declining, from the change of manners and the introduction of standing armies, and he substituted the authority of the monarch in the room of theirs; the progress of wealth and growth of luxury had already induced in them a taste for the enjoyments of the capital, and he threw open the antechambers of the palace to their amusements, the influence and offices of France to their ambition. Hence the change, like that generally desired in France when Napoleon turned the fervour of the Revolution into the career of foreign conquest, was immediate and universal. In a few years the provincial chateaus were deserted, the rural interests forgotten; France was centred in Paris, Paris in Versailles. Before the middle of the reign of Louis XIV., the transition was complete. But this change proved fatal to the power of the nobles. Degraded in character by the frivolities of a court, drowned in debt by its expenses, retained in subservience by the prizes it held out to them, they were alike destitute of the spirit to undertake, or the resources to sustain, a contest for the public liberties. They had neither an armed force at their command, nor any constitutional mode of resisting the royal authority. They had lost all influence over the peasantry on their estates. The attachment of the feudal vassals had died away with the cessation of all intercourse between them and their lords. Dismantled chateaus, untilled fields, squalid serfs, along the Seine and the

Loire, told how entirely the rays of aristocratic favour had been averted from rural life; while Paris, flourishing, splendid, and fascinating, proved the irresistible magnet which attracted all that was great and all that was fair in France to the precincts of the court.

62. VII. The peculiar character and dazzling reign of the succeeding sovereign contributed powerfully to strengthen and consolidate the French monarchy. Richelieu laid the foundations, and constructed the whole supports of the edifice; but it was Louis XIV. who embellished the exterior, and erected the entablatures of the Corinthian columns which fascinated the beholder on his approach. A contemporary writer has left the following dazzling description of the reign of this celebrated monarch:—"Turenne and Luxembourg were his generals; Colbert, Louvois, Torcy, his statesmen; Vauban was his engineer; Perault constructed his palaces; they were adorned by Poussin and Le Brun; Le Nôtre laid out his gardens; Corneille and Racine wrote his tragedies, Molière his comedies; Boileau was his poet; Bossuet, Fénelon, Bourdaloue, and Massillon, were his preachers. It is in this august assembly of men, whose fame can never die, that this monarch, whom they acknowledged as their patron and protector, presents himself to the admiration of posterity." There is enough here to arrest the attention of the most inconsiderate, and awaken reflection in the most thoughtful of observers. The annals of literary fame have no parallel constellation of intellectual greatness of which to boast; even the glories of Napoleon, and of the revolutionary armies, sink into the shade in comparison. These were less varied and less durable; they were attended with greater waste of national strength, and wider spread of national suffering: they achieved triumphs over physical strength, they did not shine forth in the unaided majesty of intellectual power. The greatest of modern French authors, Chateaubriand, has admitted, that if we would find the classical era of French literature, we must look for it in the age of Louis XIV. In proportion as the fervour of revolu-

tionary passion, the barbarism of revolutionary taste, are swept away, or yield to the returning sense of mankind, these ancient luminaries shine from afar in unapproachable splendour, as the heavenly bodies reappear in their pristine lustre when the clouds and vapours which for a time obscure them from the view are dispelled. Perhaps they are never again destined to be equalled in French history; and future ages will be obliged to confess, that France affords another to the proofs of Montesquieu's observation,—that no nation ever yet attained to durable greatness but by institutions in harmony with its spirit.

63. It would have been well for France if the characteristics of the government of Louis XIV. had terminated here, and to the historian had only fallen, in tracing the annals of his reign, the pleasing task of recounting the triumphs of art encouraged and science enlarged—of genius transcendent and eloquence unequalled. But his measures went a great deal further; and his policy, outstripping the sagacity of Richelieu, conferred on the French government not merely the firmness of a compact, but the debasing influence of an absolute monarchy. His favourite maxim, "L'état—c'est moi," expressed the whole ideas of government by which he was regulated. He not only brought the nobility to Paris, but he nullified them when there: he not only excluded the people from all share in the administration of affairs, but he rendered them insensible to that exclusion. His great qualities, and he had many, contributed to this result, and were in the end more pernicious to France than meaner dispositions might have been; for they dazzled the eyes of the people, and, by furnishing abundant gratification to the ruling national passion for glory, blinded them to the strength of the fetters by which they were held in subjection. Such was the lustre of Versailles under his magnificent and splendid government, that he had no need of any acts of severity towards the nobles to enforce his authority, or deeds of cruelty among the people to insure obedience. The mere exclusion from court, banishment from his presence, were sufficient to humble

the proudest of the aristocratic order, and not a thought existed among the *Tiers Etat* of resistance to his commands. During the long continuance of a reign founded on such a basis, the whole administration of affairs in every department became centred in the court: the antechambers of Versailles were daily besieged by crowds of titled yet needy suppliants, who eagerly sought employment, favour, or distinction from the King's ministers or his mistresses; and mandates issuing from them were obeyed without a murmur from Calais to the Pyrenees.

64. VIII. The REFORMATION, so important in its consequences in other states, failed of producing any material effects in France, from the scanty numbers of the class who were fitted to receive its doctrines. In the maritime and commercial cities on the west coast it struck its roots; but the peasantry of the country were too ignorant, the nobles of the metropolis too profligate, to embrace its precepts. The contest between the contending parties was disgraced by the most inhuman atrocities; the massacre of St Bartholomew was unparalleled in horror till the Revolution arose, and forty thousand persons were murdered in different parts of France, in pursuance of the perfidious orders of the court. Nor were the proceedings of the Huguenots more distinguished by moderation or forbearance: their early insurrections were attended by a general destruction of houses, property, and human life; and the hideous features of a servile war disgraced the first efforts of religious freedom. But it was in vain that the talents of Coligni, the generosity of Henry, the wisdom of Sully, supported their cause; the party which they formed in the nation was too small, their influence on the public mind too inconsiderable, to furnish the means of lasting success; and the monarch who had reached the throne by the efforts of the Protestants, was obliged to consolidate his power by embracing the faith of his adversaries. France was not enslaved because she remained Catholic; but she remained Catholic, because she was enslaved: the seeds of religious freedom were sown with no sparing hand.

and profusely watered by the blood of martyrs; but the soil was not fitted for their reception, and the shoots, though fair at first, were soon withered by the blasts of despotism. The history of her Reformation, like the annals of its suppression in Spain, exhibits the fruitless struggles of partial freedom with general servitude,—of local intelligence with public ignorance,—of the energy of advanced civilisation with the force of long-established despotism. The contest arose too soon for the interests of freedom, and too late for the reformation of power; the last spark of liberty expired in France with the capture of Rochelle; and two centuries of unrelenting oppression were required to awaken the people generally to a sense of the value of those blessings which their ancestors had forcibly torn from their Huguenot brethren.

65. IX. The long enjoyment of this absolute power, coupled with the bigoted principles in religion which so often, in Roman Catholic countries, accompany individual indulgence and sensual excess, led Louis XIV. at length into a hideous act of despotism, which at once doubled the strength of his external enemies, paralysed his internal resources, tarnished the glories of his reign, induced unheard-of disasters upon the country, and revealed the real decrepitude and internal weakness of the monarchy. The Romish hierarchy had long regarded with jealous eye the privileges conceded to the Protestants by the generous toleration of Henry IV.; and the Edict of Nantes, by which his wisdom had settled the religious disputes of the sixteenth century, was to them in an especial manner the object of disquietude. The old Chancellor Tellier, at the age of eighty-three, requested the King to afford him the consolation before he died of signing the recall of that hateful edict; and, so great was the influence of the violent Romish party, that his desire was soon accomplished. On the 2d October 1685 the fatal revocation appeared, and the whole Huguenots of the kingdom were abandoned at once to persecution, violence, and military execution. Such was the fanaticism of the age among those in high

places, that the dying Chancellor, on signing the edict, repeated the beautiful song of Simeon on the advent of the gospel of peace to mankind;* and a perfidious act of despotism, which in its ultimate consequences induced the ruin of the Christian religion in France, and brought the great-grandson of the reigning monarch to the scaffold, was celebrated by the ablest divines of the Romish Church as the noblest triumph to the true faith which had occurred since the first proclaiming of revelation to mankind.†

66. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes ordained the immediate destruction of the temples for the Huguenot worship which still remained; it prohibited over the whole kingdom, a few trifling bailiages alone excepted, the exercise of the reformed faith: it banished, under pain of being sent to the galleys, all unconverted ministers of the reformed faith, and gave them but fif-

* "The Chancellor Tellier, in the eighty-third year of his age, sick, and feeling himself near death, asked the King to allow him the consolation of signing, before he died, an edict for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes: he signed it in effect on the 2d October 1685; and with a fanaticism which makes us shudder, he repeated the song of Simeon, applying to that atrocious act the expressions of joy which, in the mouth of the aged Hebrew, referred to the salvation of the human race."—SISMONDI, *Histoire des Français*, xxv. 514.

† "God reserved for him the consummation of the great work of religion; and he said, after affixing the seal to the revocation of the famous Edict of Nantes, that after such a triumph of the faith, and such a monument of the piety of the king, he had no desire but to end his days. Our fathers never had seen, like us, an inveterate heresy in an instant overthrown; the flocks returning in crowds, and our churches too narrow to receive them; their false teachers abandoning them without even waiting the order to do so, and glad to be able to assign their banishment in excuse; all calm amid a movement so important, and the world astonished to see in an event so new the most assured indications, at once of the best exercises of authority, and of the merits of the prince, more acknowledged and revered than even his authority."—BOSSUET, *Oraison Funèbre de Michel le Tellier*, Jan. 25, 1686; see also FLECHIER, *Oraison Funèbre de M. le Tellier*, 29th Mai 1686, p. 854. Eight years after these 10 Psalms were sung by the Romish hierarchy, an obscure individual was born at Chatenay, near Soeaux, who shook to its foundation the Roman Catholic faith in France, and derived his chief weapons from this atrocious act of perfidy—VOLTAIRE.

teen days to leave the kingdom. All the reformed schools were shut up; all the children ordered to be re-baptised according to the Romish ritual. Four months only were allowed to the refugees to re-enter the kingdom, and make their abjuration; at the expiration of that period, their property of every sort was confiscated; and any attempt subsequently to leave the country, was to be punished with the galleys. The means taken to enforce this decree were, if possible, still more atrocious than the decree itself. The generals, the commanders of provinces, received orders to persecute the refractory with the last severities of military execution.* In consequence of these rigorous injunctions, troops were spread over Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, the Orleansois, Languedoc, and Provence; and the severities which they inflicted on the miserable Protestants would exceed belief, if not supported by the concurring testimony of contemporary and impartial annalists.† It is affirmed, that in Languedoc alone above one hundred thousand persons were put to death, of whom a tenth part suffered by the frightful torments of the stake or the wheel. The most moderate computation makes the number of individuals who left the kingdom four hundred thousand; while an equal number perished in going into exile, of famine or fatigue, in prison, in the galleys, and on the scaffold; and a million besides, seemingly converted, maintained in secret,

* Louvois, the king's minister, sent them a circular:—"His majesty desires the *extremest rigour* to be employed toward those who refuse to become Catholics; and those who are foolish enough to desire to be the last to conform, ought to be persecuted to the *utmost extremity*."—SIMONDI, *Histoire des Français*, xxvi. 519.

† "By this edict," says St Simon, "without the slightest pretext, without the slightest necessity, was one-fourth of the kingdom depopulated, its trade ruined, the whole country abandoned to the avowed and public pillage of dragoons; the innocent of both sexes were devoted to punishment and torture, and that by thousands; families were stripped of their possessions, relations armed against each other, our manufactures transferred to the stranger; the world saw crowds of their fellow-creatures proscribed, naked, fugitive, guilty of no crimes, and yet seeking an asylum in foreign lands, not in their own coun-

amidst tears and desolation, the faith of their fathers. The rental of heritable property belonging to the Huguenots confiscated to the crown, amounted to 17,000,000 francs (£680,000) a-year; and lands producing a still larger sum annually, torn from the Protestants, were bestowed on the Catholic relations of the exiles, or the courtiers of Versailles.

67. The immediate effects of this atrocious iniquity, as often happens with great but energetic and vigorous deeds of violence, were eminently favourable to the cause of persecution. Bossuet, Flechier, and the Roman hierarchy, were in raptures at the daily accounts of conversions which were received. Six thousand abjured in one place, ten thousand in another; the churches could not hold the converts: never had the true faith achieved such a triumph since the days when, represented in Constantine, it mounted the imperial throne. But it is not thus that the real conversion of mankind is effected, or a lasting impression created; dragoons and stripes will not, in an age of intelligence, permanently enchain the human mind. It was by enduring, and not inflicting, tortures that the apostles established Christianity on an imperishable foundation. The tears of the innocent Huguenots were registered in the Book of Fate: they brought down an awful visitation on the third and fourth generations. From the revocation of the Edict of Nantes is to be dated the commence-

ment, which was in the mean time subjecting to the lash and the galleys the noble, the affluent, the aged, the delicate, and the weak, often distinguished not less by their rank than by their piety and virtue—and all these on no other account than that of religion. Still further to increase the horror of these proceedings, every province was filled with sacrilegious or perjured men, who were either forced, or feigned to conform, and who sacrificed their consciences to their worldly interests and repose. In truth, such were the horrors produced by the combined operation of cruelty and obsequiousness, that within twenty-four hours men were frequently conducted from tortures to abjuration, from abjuration to the communion-table, attended in both in general by the common executioner."

—These are the words of an eyewitness, a courtier of Louis XIV.—the Duc de St Simon.

—See ST SIMON'S *Mémoires*, vol. xiii. p. 113; and SMYTH'S *French Revolution*, i. 30.

ment of a series of causes and effects which closed the reign of Louis XIV. in mourning, induced weakness and disgrace on the French monarchy, spread the fatal poison of irreligion among its inhabitants, and finally overthrew that throne and that church which had made such an infamous use of their power. The reaction of mankind against violence, of genius against oppression, proved stronger than the power of the Grand Monarque.

68. The exiled Huguenots were received with generous sympathy in Germany, Holland, and England: far and wide they spread the tale of their wrongs and of their sufferings: they roused the indomitable spirit of the heroic William: they cemented the bonds of the Grand Alliance; they sharpened the swords of Eugene and Marlborough. Diffusing through the British Isles their industry, their arts, and their knowledge, they gave as great an impulse to the manufactures of this country as that which they withdrew from those of France; and thus contributed to that disproportion between the riches of the two rival states, which, as much as the energy of its people, brought England in triumph through the dreadful crisis of the revolutionary war. More than all, this atrocious cruelty fixed a lasting and hopeless malady in the French nation; for it at once inspired the passion for liberty, and took away the power to bear its excitements. By severing the cause of freedom from that of religion, it removed the possibility of ruling the people by any other restraint than that of force; by preventing the growth of any habits of self-government or free discussion among them, it rendered the nation, when passionately desirous of self-government, destitute of all the habits essential for the safe exercise of its power. Thence it was that philosophy, confounding religion with the enormities perpetrated in its name, became imbued with scepticism, and the cause of human emancipation synonymous in general opinion with that of the overthrow of Christianity; thence it was that the remnant of the persecuted sect nourished in secret the bitterest rancour against their oppressors, which

appeared with fatal effect in the severest crisis of the Revolution. Thence it was that the victorious Church, weakened by victory, paralysed by success, alumbered in fancied security on the very edge of perdition, and perished, without a struggle, before the infidel spirit which the comparatively guiltless Church of England had so often shaken off as the lion shakes the dewdrops from his mane.

69. The extraordinary character of the French Revolution, therefore, arose, not from any peculiarities in the disposition of the people, or any faults exclusively chargeable on the government at the time it broke out, but from the weight of the despotism which had preceded it, the magnitude of the changes which were to follow it, and the vices of the age which conducted it. It was distinguished by violence, and stained with blood, because it originated chiefly with the labouring classes, and partook of the savage features of a servile revolt: it totally subverted the institutions of the country, because it condensed within a few years the changes which should have been diffused over as many centuries; it speedily fell under the direction of the most depraved of the people, because its guidance was early abandoned by the higher to the lower orders; it led to a general spoliation of property, because it was founded on a universal insurrection of the poor against the rich, and not combated by any adequate spirit and unanimity among the aristocracy of the country. It was distinguished from the first by the fatal characteristic of irreligion, because the abuses and oppression of the Romish Church had ranged every independent and generous spirit against their continuance. France would have done less at the Revolution, if she had done more before it; she would not have so unmercifully unsheathed the sword to govern, if she had not so long been governed by the sword; she would not have remained prostrate for years under the guillotine of the populace, if she had not groaned for centuries under the fetters of the nobility.

70. It is in periods of apparent disaster, during the suffering of whole generations, that the greatest improvements

on human character have been effected, and a foundation laid for those changes which ultimately prove most beneficial to the species. The wars of the Hephtharchy, the Norman Conquest, the contests of the Roses, the Great Rebellion, are apparently the most disastrous periods of our annals—those in which civil discord was most furious, and public suffering most universal. Yet these are precisely the periods in which its peculiar temper was given to the English character, and the greatest addition made to the sources of English prosperity; in which courage arose out of the extremity of misfortune, national union out of foreign oppression, public emancipation out of aristocratic dissension, general freedom out of regal ambition. The national character which we now possess, the public benefits we now enjoy, the freedom by which we are distinguished, the energy by which we are sustained, are in a great measure owing to the renovating storms which have, in former ages, passed over our country. The darkest periods of the French annals, in like manner—those of the reigns of the successors of Charlemagne, of the English wars, of the religious contests, of the despotism of the Bourbons—are probably the ones which have formed the most honourable features of the French character; which have engrafted on the slavish habits of Roman servitude the generous courage of modern chivalry—on the passive submission of feudal ignorance the impetuous valour of victorious patriotism; which have extricated from the collision of opinion the powers of thought, and nursed, amidst the corruption of despotism, the seeds of liberty. Through all the horrors of the Revolution, the same beneficial law of nature may be discerned in operation; and the annals of its career will not be thrown away, if, amidst the greatest calamities, they teach confidence in the Wisdom which governs, and inspire hatred at the vices which desolate the world.

71. What a lesson does this retrospect teach us as to the slow growth of habits of freedom, and the lengthened period during which a nation must undergo the training necessary to bear its

excitements! Not years, but centuries, must elapse during the apprenticeship to liberty; the robust strength requisite for its exercise is to be acquired only by the continued struggles of many successive generations. During the fervour of the Revolution, the French thought a few days sufficient to prepare any people for democratic powers; during the fervour of Reform, the English deemed a few years enough to enable the Negroes safely to make the transition from slavery to freedom.* But it is not thus that the great and durable changes of nature are worked out; it is not with the rapidity of the mushroom's growth that the solidity of the oak is acquired. Nothing is lasting in the material or moral world but what is tardy of formation; but a minute may destroy what ages have produced. History tells us that the liberties of Rome grew during the contests of six centuries; that the freedom of England began with the laws of Edward the Confessor, and gradually enlarged during the subsequent struggles of eight hundred years: that predial servitude, universal in Europe during the middle ages, wore out so imperceptibly and safely in the countries where it has disappeared, that no man can say when it ceased to exist; but that the sudden abolition of slavery in St Domingo involved that flourishing island in unutterable calamities—in the British West Indies, consigned those noble colonies to hopeless ruin. Taught by these examples, the enlightened observer will augur little of a revolution which proposed at once to elevate a whole nation, without any previous preparation, from political nullity to the exercise of the highest and most perilous political powers; he will think lightly of the wisdom of those who thought they could make a child fit for the duties of maturity by merely putting upon him the dress of manhood. But he will form a clear opinion on the guilt of all who would endanger, by undue exten-

* They fixed the period of apprenticeship, by the Emancipation Act of 1834, at seven years—deeming it as easy to make a slave a freeman as to make a freeman an artisan. Even this, however, was thought too slow by the fervent spirit which then ruled the nation. Complete emancipation followed in *five* years.

sion of political powers, so noble and enduring a fabric as that of the British constitution. He will recollect that it was from that cause that Carthage perished—from it that Rome fell under the tyranny of the emperors; and he will class with the most depraved of the hu-

man race, those, of whatever rank or station, who, with such examples before their eyes, for their own selfish elevation shake a structure which it has required so many ages to raise, and which, when once cast down, can never be rebuilt.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL STATE OF FRANCE, AND CAUSES WHICH PREDISPOSED ITS PEOPLE TO REVOLUTION.

1. MORE favourably situated than any monarchy in Europe, both as regards maritime strength and internal resources, FRANCE has received from the bounty of nature gifts which qualify her to take the lead in the career both of pacific improvement and military greatness. Her territory, spacious, fertile, and compact, is capable of maintaining an incredible number of inhabitants, and at once stimulates industry, and rewards it by the riches which it obtains. Extensive sea-coasts, washed by the stormy waves of the Bay of Biscay and the ceaseless surges of the Channel, furnish the capabilities, and induce the hardihood, which lead to maritime greatness; while a happy climate, intermediate between the rigour of northern and the amenity of southern latitudes, rouses effort by necessity, and softens manners by enjoyment. Almost all the agricultural productions and materials for manufacture, which are necessary to the subsistence, the comfort, and the luxury of man, are to be met with in the different parts of this favoured region. Extensive corn-fields and boundless pastures, in the north, furnish inexhaustible agricultural resources for the maintenance of the immense population to which its coal-fields are fitted to afford employment: in the middle provinces, the vine and the maize announce to the northern traveller his approach to the regions of the

sun; while vast seams of iron, along the banks of the Loire, afford materials for a great and now rapidly increasing manufacture of hardware. In the south, the sunny banks of the Garonne, and the rocky slopes of the Rhone, yield delicious fruits and wines of the richest flavour; beetroot almost rivals the cane of the West Indies for the production of sugar; while the smiling shores of the Mediterranean sea are covered with olives, which equal those of Greece and Tuscany in vigour and luxuriance.

2. That lucrative traffic, the greatest and most lasting which can exist in a civilised community, between the wealth created by northern industry and the profusion of southern luxuries, to most other states a foreign, is to France a *home* trade. Her inhabitants reap exclusively the profits of production at both ends of the chain, and of transit along its whole extent: a vast network of internal canals, and the broad external highway of the ocean, furnish, in every quarter, ample facilities for transport; and the rapidity of returns, alike prized by the practical trader and the enlightened economist, is perpetually experienced in the most important branches of commerce which increasing wealth can require for its inhabitants. Its coal is, indeed, inferior to that of Great Britain, and only exists, at least in considerable quantities, in the northern provinces; but the industry

of the inhabitants has found a compensation in the extensive woods, periodically cut down, with which the face of the country is everywhere diversified, and which constitute not the least lucrative part of its agricultural productions; while the benignity of the climate, which permits the vine, the peach, and the olive to be reared on rocky slopes, that in England would be abandoned to furze and broom, renders almost every part of the country competent to reward the industry of the husbandman.

3. France, including Corsica, contains 208,000 square geographical miles; more than twice the extent of Great Britain, which embraces 88,000. It is in its greatest length about 660 miles long; and nearly 600 broad, measuring from Cape Finisterre to the Lower Rhone. Its extent of sea-coast is no less than 1400 miles—a length nearly as great as the entire circumference of Great Britain. The population in 1789, when the Revolution broke out, was somewhat above 25,000,000; in 1814, when it closed, 28,500,000; and in 1827, when the losses of the revolutionary wars had been nearly supplied, it contained 31,820,000 inhabitants, being at the rate, on an average of the whole kingdom, of about 150 to the square mile. Malte-Brun has justly observed, that if the whole kingdom were peopled in the same proportion as the depart-

* The division of France, according to the nature of the employments of its soil, is, as we learn from Chateauxvieux, one of the latest and best authorities, as follows:—

	Hectares, or	English Acres.
Total superficies .	58,702,871	132,646,091
Of which—		
Sterile and waste	3,702,871	9,146,091
Vineyards and plantations }	2,000,000	4,940,000
Forests . . .	6,842,623	16,901,279
Pasture . . .	1,157,877	2,858,721
Meadows . . .	5,000,000	12,360,000
Artificial grasses	4,000,000	9,880,000
Arable . . .	31,000,000	76,570,000
	58,702,871	132,646,091

—CHATEAUVIEUX, 74.

Now, to show the capability of the soil of a country of this description to maintain an increase of inhabitants, let us consider merely what may be raised from 40,000,000 of arable acres, little more than one-half of its arable ground, and considerably less than a third of its total superficies. The average produce of

ments of the north, it would contain 85,000,000 of souls, or considerably more than triple what were to be found in it when the Revolution broke out. Vast as this number may appear, a little reflection must be sufficient to demonstrate that it is much within what the agricultural resources of the country could furnish subsistence for in comfort and affluence; * and that, without pressing upon the limits assigned by the physical extent of its natural capabilities to the increase of man, a hundred and twenty millions might be maintained with ease and comfort on the French territory. This calculation will excite surprise, and by many be deemed incredible: let those who are of this opinion examine and point out what is overcharged in the data on which it is founded. It leads to a conclusion of the very highest importance, and which bears with overwhelming force upon the history of the Revolution; for it shows that the French people, when that convulsion broke out, were far within the limits of their possible and comfortable increase; and consequently that the whole suffering which had preceded, and crimes which followed it, are nowise chargeable on Providence, but are to be exclusively ascribed to the selfishness, the vices, and the corruption of man.

4. Another peculiarity in the physical arable land in all the counties of England is two quarters and five bushels to an acre.—M'Culloch's *Statistical Account of England*, l. 476. Take it as two quarters only in France, to be within the mark, and we shall have 40,000,000 acres yielding 80,000,000 quarters, which would feed 80,000,000 souls—a quarter of grain being the average consumption of a human being for a year. This is leaving 92,000,000 acres for the support of horses, and for raising wood, vines, and butcher-meat for the use of man. If we suppose that 30,000,000 of the 76,000,000 arable acres in France are cultivated in potatoes, each acre will yield, according to M'Culloch (*Commercial Dict.*, art. *Potatoes*), food for two—according to Arthur Young and Newenham, for three individuals. Take it at the lowest estimate of two individuals, these 80,000,000 acres would maintain 60,000,000 more persons, or 140,000,000 in all; still leaving 62,000,000 acres for luxuries, roads, canals, cattle, horses, &c., for this immense population.—See NEWENHAM on the *Population of Ireland*, 340; ARTHUR YOUNG's *Tours in Ireland*, Append., 12, 24, 4to edit.; and M'CULLOCH's *Statistics of Great Britain*, l. 471.

cal situation of France, both before the Revolution and at this time, is very remarkable, and deserves to be noted, both from its important bearing on economical principles, and from rendering the dreadful devastation of the Revolution the more surprising. The agricultural population at the former period was 16,500,000, and it furnished food for 8,500,000 persons living in cities, or engaged in trade or manufactures; at this time 22,000,000 of agriculturalists, in round numbers, are engaged in raising food for 11,000,000 persons engaged in pursuits unconnected with the productions of subsistence. In other words, the agricultural population, at both periods, was double the manufacturing. In Great Britain, on the other hand, in 1789, the total population was about 10,000,000, of whom only 4,000,000 were engaged in agriculture, and they furnished food for 6,000,000 occupied in trade and manufactures;—that is, the agricultural population was little more than half of the manufacturing. Since that period the proportion has increased in a still more striking manner in the same direction; and by the late census in 1841, the prodigy was exhibited of a *sixth* of the whole population furnishing subsistence for the remaining five-sixths engrossed in trade, manufactures, or professions unconnected with the raising of food.* These extraordinary facts both demonstrate in the clearest manner the superiority of British to French agriculture; the vast resources for an increasing population which exist in every country, even the most densely peopled, if developed by an improved cultivation of the soil; and they render unpardonable the crimes and devastations of the Re-

* By the census of 1831, out of a population of 3,125,175 families in Great Britain, 961,134 only were engaged in the production of food; being at the rate of 282 in 1000, or somewhat more than a fourth. In Ireland, out of a population consisting of 1,385,000 families, no less than 884,339 are employed in raising food, being at the rate of 638 in 1000.—See PORTER, *Progress of the Nation*, i. 50. By the census of 1841, however, the productive powers of agriculture appear to have gained greatly on what existed in former times or any other country; for, while the producers of food were only 3,343,974, the consumers were 23,482,115, or about 1 to 6½.

volution. In all countries, and in all ages, the rural population is the virtuous and orderly—the urban, the corrupted and turbulent portions of the people. What, then, must have been the vices of that ancient *régime*, which spread discontent so widely through the *country* population; and what the weakness of some, and the guilt of others, which, in the progress of the convulsion, subjected sixteen millions engaged in agricultural pursuits to the unresisted tyranny of less than half the number of city or manufacturing inhabitants!

5. The manufactures of France, previous to the Revolution, though brought to high perfection in some branches, were far from having attained, upon the whole, the state of advancement which the resources and riches of the country might have led us to expect. The silks and velvets of Lyons, the jewellery and watches of Paris, the muslins of Rouen, were known and celebrated through all Europe; but though the *Tiers Etat*, which carried on these lucrative employments, had increased prodigiously in wealth and consideration, yet manufacturing industry as a whole bore a small proportion to agricultural. The genius of the people, ardent, impetuous, and impassioned, not less than the character of the feudal and military institutions which prevailed among them, rendered them little qualified for the persevering industry, the strict frugality, the continued self-denial, which are essential in order to manufacturing greatness. War was their ruling passion, glory their national idol. Gay, volatile, and inconsiderate on ordinary occasions, they were yet capable, when thoroughly roused, of ardent pursuit and heroic determination, and were frequently animated by vehement passion. No people in Europe had, on different occasions, been more enthusiastic in the pursuit of civil and religious freedom, and none had prosecuted war with more impetuous ardour; yet was their government still despotic, their hierarchy still absolute, their territory still bounded by Flanders and the Rhine. Want of steadiness and perseverance in car-

rying on these objects, had always been their great defect—their passions, like those of all persons of a similar temperament, were rather vehement than lasting.

6. The foreign commerce of France, though long kept down by the superior energy and prowess of British seamen, had been the object of anxious solicitude to the government, and had been nursed by the patriotic wisdom of Louis XVI. to an unparalleled pitch of splendour. Her American colonies, planned and planted with extraordinary and prophetic sagacity, had risen up with great rapidity, and early assumed a formidable aspect; but the same defect in national character which rendered her manufactures inconsiderable, caused these to sink in the first serious conflict before the persevering efforts of her less far-seeing rivals. The opposite history of the Transatlantic settlements of the two countries is very curious, and singularly characteristic of their respective national dispositions. The English, when they first set foot on America, settled on the sea-coast, in a comparatively sterile soil—gradually cleared it by the efforts of persevering industry—and, after the lapse of a century and a half, surmounted the ridge of the Alleghany, and spread themselves over the alluvial plains of the Ohio and the Mississippi, the garden of North America. The French, with far superior penetration, followed from the first the course of the great rivers, and established stations, which, if adequately supported and sustained, would, beyond all question, have given them the empire of the New World. Ascending the course of the St Lawrence, they placed extensive colonies at Montreal, Toronto, and Quebec; descending the Ohio and Mississippi, their flag was to be seen at Louisburg and New Orleans. But though amply endowed with the genius which conceives, they had not the perseverance which matures colonies; they sought at once to snatch greatness as by the vehemence of military conquest; they could not submit to win it by the toil of pacific exertion. They did not spread into the woods, and subdue nature by the enduring

labour of freemen. Hence the different destinies of the two colonial empires in America. The English, inconsiderately formed at first, was slowly raised by persevering industry to unparalleled greatness; the French, magnificently conceived in the outset, and aiming at enclosing the New World in its arms, sunk in the first rude shock before the strokes of its less aspiring rival.

7. One great colony, however, remained to France, even after the disastrous issue of the Seven Years' War, which of itself nourished an immense commerce, and was worth all the other colonies in the world put together. In 1788, when the Revolution broke out, the exports of France to St Domingo amounted to 119,000,000*fr.* or nearly £5,000,000 sterling; and the imports from it were still greater, for they had risen to 189,000,000*fr.* or £7,567,000. It maintained 1600 vessels, and 27,000 sailors, which gave to France the elements of a powerful marine. This noble colonial establishment, and the growth of his navy, had been, from the very outset of his reign, objects of extreme anxiety to Louis XVI. He deemed no sacrifices unimportant which led to their augmentation. When reproached by the queen, or some of the royal family, for any of his economical reductions, he was wont to reply—"Hush! it will give us a ship of the line the more." The results of this steady policy, ably seconded by his ministers, and supported by the vast trade with this magnificent colony, were in the highest degree satisfactory, and, for the first time in the history of the two nations, brought the naval forces of France almost to an equality with those of England. United to those of Spain, they were decidedly superior.

8. At the opening of the revolutionary war in 1792, France had eighty-two ships of the line and seventy-nine frigates; and although Great Britain had nominally a hundred and fifty-six line-of-battle ships and eighty-nine frigates at her command, yet so many of them were unserviceable, or guard-ships, that not more than a hundred and fifteen of the line, and eighty-five frigates, could be relied on for active naval operations; and when the number of guns on the

whole, on both sides, was taken into view, the superiority of the British was little more than a *sixth*.* Add to this, that the Spanish navy consisted of seventy-six ships of the line and sixty-eight frigates; so that the French and Spanish navies, taken together, and making allowance for unserviceable vessels on either side, could bring a hundred and thirty-five line-of-battle ships to bear on the British one hundred and fifteen. And the reality of this disparity clearly appeared in the American war; for the united fleets of France and Spain had repeatedly, during that contest, proved so superior in number to that of England, as seriously to endanger the latter's maritime superiority; particularly on the occasion of the siege of Gibraltar, and when the combined fleets rode triumphant in the Channel, and blockaded the English squadron in Plymouth in 1781.†

9. The military forces of France, before the war broke out, were by no means so considerable. The infantry consisted of a hundred and sixty thousand men, the cavalry of thirty-five thousand, the artillery of ten thousand; but a great proportion of these forces had left their colours during the agitated state of the country prior to the breaking out of the war. During the stormy period of the Revolution, the discipline of the troops had sensibly declined, and the custom of judging for themselves on political questions had introduced a degree of license inconsistent with the habits of military subordination; but all these defects were more than counter-

balanced by the number of able men who speedily entered the ranks from the *l'États*, and, by their vigour and audacity, first supplied the want of military experience, and soon after induced it. The cavalry, consisting of fifty-nine regiments, brave, enthusiastic, and impetuous, were at first deficient in steadiness and organisation; but these defects were speedily supplied under the pressure of necessity, and by the talent which emerged from the lower classes of society. The artillery and engineers, the higher grades in which were not exclusively confined, under the old *régime*, to men of family, from the first were superior in intelligence and capacity to any in Europe, and contributed more than any other arm to the early successes of the Republican forces. The staff was miserably deficient; but from the general diffusion of an admirable military education, the materials of the finest *état-major* existed in France, and the ascendancy of genius, in a career open to all, soon brought an unparalleled accession of talent to that important department.

10. But the chief addition to the numerical strength of the army, when the war broke out, consisted in two hundred battalions of volunteers, raised by a decree of the Constituent Assembly; and who, although not fully completed, and imperfectly instructed in military exercises, were animated with the highest spirit, and in the best possible state of mental and physical activity. In both these respects they were greatly superior to the old regiments, which were not only paralysed by the divisions and insubordination consequent on the Revolution, but weakened by the habits of idleness and vice which they had contracted during a long residence in barracks. It is a mistake, however, to imagine that the regular military force of France at this period was of no importance, or that the independence of France was preserved, on the invasion in 1792, entirely by the revolutionary levies. Napoleon's authority is decisive to the contrary. "It was neither," says he, "the volunteers nor the recruits who saved the Republic; it was one hundred and eighty thousand old troops of the monarchy, and the discharged veterans whom

* The line-of-battle ships fit for service in the British and French navies stood, in 1792, as follows:—

	No. of Ships.	Guns.	Weight of Broadside. lb.
British line, . .	115	8718	88,957
French line, . .	76	6000	73,957

—JAMES'S *Naval History*, i. 53, and Appendix to Vol. I., No. 6.

† The combined fleet which blockaded Gibraltar consisted of forty-four ships of the line; the British which relieved that fortress under Lord Howe, only of twenty-seven: the French and Spanish fleets which entered the Channel in August 1781, consisted of fifty line-of-battle ships and twenty frigates, to which Admiral Darby could only oppose twenty-one ships of the line and nine frigates.—ADOLPHUS'S *History of George III.*, i. 257.

the Revolution impelled to the frontiers. Part of the recruits deserted, part died, a small portion only remained, who, in process of time, formed good soldiers. You will not soon find me going to war with an army of recruits."

11. One part of the French army under Louis XVI. deserves particular attention, from the share which it took, with the most disastrous effect to the monarchy, in the convulsions which terminated in the Revolution. This was the household troops, or *Maison du Roi*, as they were called, the *élite* of the army in point of discipline, appearance, and equipment, and the officers of which were exclusively drawn from the sons of the old noblesse. This body of guards was twelve thousand strong, and in some of the favoured regiments, particularly the Gardes du Corps and the Mousquetaires du Roi, which were placed immediately about the person of the sovereign, and were constantly on duty in the interior of the palace, the whole privates even were gentlemen by birth. The expense of those pampered regiments, as may well be conceived, when they were filled entirely with the young scions of the nobility, was very great; and they were a constant thorn in the side of Turgot and the economical ministers of Louis XVI., who were as anxiously bent upon reducing that costly part of the establishment, as the ladies and courtiers were on keeping it up. Yet was this magnificent body of guards not without its use, both in the field of battle and in the general arch of the social system established by Louis XIV.: more than once it had decided the fate of important actions: two of its regiments had arrested the terrible English column at Fontenoy. All great commanders have felt the necessity of such a chosen reserve, upon which they may rely with confidence at the critical moment: the Companions of Alexander, the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, the Old Guard of Napoleon, were the same institutions under a different name. Nor was its political importance less in the internal arrangement of the monarchy. It formed the keystone, as it were, of the military hierarchy, and a link, at the same time, which connected the greatest

families in the country at once with the throne and the army. Of all the reforms of Louis XVI., which preceded, and had so large a share in producing the Revolution, there was none perhaps so fatal as the sweeping and ill-judged changes of Count St Germain, which, as it will appear in the sequel, irrevocably broke up this important bulwark of the throne.

12. What, then, was it that, in a country so profusely endowed with the riches of nature, and inhabited by a race of men so brave, so active, and so enterprising, led to a convulsion attended with the unspeakable horrors of the French Revolution? The answer is to be found in the previous state of the country, and the general perversion of the national mind: in the oppressions to which the people were subjected—the vices by which the nobles alienated them—the corruptions by which morals were contaminated—the errors with which religion was disfigured—the extent to which infidelity had spread. "The people," says the greatest of French statesmen, "never revolt from fickleness, or the mere desire of change. It is the impatience of suffering which alone has this effect." Subsequent events have not falsified the maxim of Sully, though they have shown that it requires modification. If the condition of the lower orders in France anterior to the Revolution is examined, it will not be deemed surprising that a convulsion should have arisen; and if humanity sees much to deplore in the calamities it produced, it will find much cause for consolation in the grievances it has removed.

13. The observation of the French statesman, however, is true only in reference to the commencement of revolutionary troubles. The people, over a whole country, never pass from a state of quiescence to one of tumult, without the experience of practical grievances. Disturbances never assume the magnitude of revolutions, unless these grievances have come to affect the great body of the citizens. But when the minds of men have been once set afloat by successful resistance, subsequent innovations are made from mere temporary causes, and arise from the thirst for

illicit gain on the part of one class, and delusion and timidity on the part of another; the restlessness following high excitation; the distress consequent on suspended credit; the audacity arising from unpunished crime. "The people," said Robespierre, "will as soon revolt without oppression as the ocean will heave in billows without the wind."—"True," replied Vergniaud, "but wave after wave will roll upon the shore, after the fury of the winds is stilled." The universality of the disaffection which prevailed in France anterior to the Revolution, is a sufficient indication that causes were in operation affecting all classes in the state. Temporary distress occasions passing seditions; local grievances excite partial discontent; but general and long-continued suffering alone can produce a steady and extensive resistance. In France, at the convocation of the States-General, the desire for change was universal, excepting with part of the privileged orders. The cruelty of the Jacobins, and the precipitate measures of the Constituent Assembly, subsequently produced a very great division of opinion, and lighted the flames of civil war in Lyons and La Vendée; but, in the beginning, one universal cry in favour of freedom was heard from Calais to the Pyrenees. The nobles, for the most part, returned members in the interest of their order; the dignified clergy did the same; but the *Tiers Etat* and the *curés* unanimously supported the cause of independence. The bitter rancour which subsequent injustice induced between the clergy and the supporters of the Revolution, was unknown in its earlier stages; the Tennis-Court oath found no warmer supporters than in the solitudes of La Vendée; and the first body who joined the commons in their stand against the throne, were the representatives of the ordinary clergy of France.

14. Without doubt, the observation of a modern philosopher is well founded, that the march of civilisation necessarily produces a collision between the aristocratic and the popular classes, in every advancing community. Power founded in conquest, privileges handed down from barbarous ages, prerogatives

suited to periods of anarchy, are incompatible with the rising desires springing from the tranquillity and opulence of civilised life. One or other must yield: the power of the noblesse must extinguish the rising importance of the commons, or it must be modified by their exertions. But it is not necessary that this change should be effected by a revolution. It is quite possible that it may be accomplished so gradually, as not only to produce no convulsion, but to be felt only by its vivifying and beneficial effects upon society. It is sudden innovation which brings about the catastrophe; the rapidity of the descent which converts the stream into a cataract.

15. Situated in the centre of European civilisation, it was impossible that France, in the eighteenth century, could escape the general tendency towards free institutions. However despotic her government may have been, however powerful her armies, however haughty her nobility, the natural progress of opulence, joined to the force of philosophical inquiry, spread an unruly spirit among the middle ranks. The strength of the government, by suppressing private wars, and affording tolerable security to the fruits of industry, prepared the period of a reaction against itself. The burghers, after the enjoyment of centuries of repose, and the acquisition of a competent share of wealth, felt indignant at the barriers which prevented them from rising into the higher ranks of society; the enterprising, conscious of powers suited to elevated stations, repined at their exclusion from offices of trust or importance; the studious, imbued with the spirit of Greek or Roman freedom, contrasted the brilliant career of talent in the republics of antiquity, with its fettered walk in modern times. All classes, except the privileged ones, were discontented with the government, in consequence of the expanded wants which a state of advancing civilisation produced. No institutions in modern times can remain stationary, excepting under governments such as the Eastern dynasties, which, by preventing the accumulation of wealth, exclude the possibility of individual elevation in the

middle classes : if the lower orders are permitted to better their condition, their expansive force must, in the end, affect the government.

16. The universality of slavery prevented this progress from appearing in ancient times. The civilisation of antiquity was nothing but the aggregate of municipal institutions; its freedom, the exclusive privilege of the inhabitants of towns. Hence, with the progress of opulence, and the corruption of manners in the higher classes, the struggles of liberty gradually declined, and at last terminated with the supremacy of a single despot. The freest ages of these times were the earliest, their most enlaved the latest, of their history. No pressure from below was felt upon the exclusive privileges of the higher orders, because the bodies from which it should have originated were fettered in the bonds of servitude, and incapable of making their influence felt on the other classes in the state. Careless of the future, destitute of property, incapable of rising in society, provided for by others, the great body of the labouring classes remained in a state of pacific servitude, neither disquieting their superiors by their ambition, nor supporting them by their exertions. In modern times, on the other hand, the emancipation of the industrious ranks, through the influence of religion and the extension of information, has, by means of the press, opened the path of elevation to the great body of the people. Individual ambition, the desire of bettering their condition, have thus been let in to affect the progress of freedom. The ebullition of popular discontent becomes strongest in the later periods of society, because it is then that the accumulated wealth of ages has rendered the middle orders most powerful, and the simultaneous multiplication of the lower made them most formidable. The progress of opulence, and the increase of industry, thus become favourable to the cause of liberty, because they augment the influence of those classes by whose exertions it must be maintained. The strife of faction is felt with most severity in those periods when the increasing pressure

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from below strains the bands by which it has been compressed, and danger or example has not taught the great the necessity of gradual relaxation. If these bands are slowly and cautiously unbent, it is Reformation; if suddenly removed, either by the fervour of innovation or the fury of revolt, it is Revolution.

17. The operation of these causes may be distinctly perceived in the frame of society in every free country in modern times. Universally the chief spring of prosperity is to be found in the lower classes; it is the active exertion, spirit, and increasing energy of the poor, when kept within due bounds by the authority of government and the influence of the aristocracy, which both lay the foundation of national wealth, and secure the progress of national glory. Ask the professional man what occasions the difficulty so generally experienced in struggling through the world, or even in maintaining his ground against his numerous competitors; he will immediately answer, that it is the pressure from below which occasions all his difficulty: his equals he can withstand, his superiors overcome; it is the efforts of his inferiors which are chiefly formidable. Those, in general, who rise to eminence in every profession where a free competition is permitted, are the sons of the middle or lower orders; men whom poverty has inured to hardship, or necessity compelled to exertion, and who have acquired, in the school of early difficulty, habits more valuable than all the gifts which fortune has bestowed upon their superiors. The history and present state of England exhibit numerous and splendid examples of the great acquirements and deeds of persons connected by birth with the aristocratic classes; but this rather confirms than negatives these principles. But for the competition they had to maintain with the middle and lower classes, there is no reason to suppose that they would have been superior to similar ranks in France or the Continental states. It is the combined efforts of all the orders, each in their appropriate walk of life, occasioned by this incessant competition and necessity for exertion, which

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draws forth the varied talents of all, and occasions at once the wonders and deformities, the greatness and weakness, the growth and dangers of modern society.

18. So universal is the influence of this principle, so important are its effects upon the progress and prospects of society, that it may be considered as the grand distinction between ancient and modern times. All others sink into insignificance in comparison. The balance of power in a free country is totally altered in consequence of the prodigious addition thus made to the power and importance of the lower orders: a spring of activity and vigour is provided in the humble stations of life, which proves a rapid remedy for almost every national disaster, except those arising from the licentiousness of these orders themselves; a power is developed in the democratic party in the commonwealth, which renders new bulwarks necessary to maintain the equilibrium of society against its excesses. Without some advantages to counteract the superior energy and more industrious habits of their inferiors, the higher ranks, in a prosperous, opulent, and advancing state, must in general fall a prey to their ambition. The indolence of wealth, the selfishness of luxury, the pride of birth, will prove but feeble antagonists to the pressure of poverty, the self-denial of necessity, the ambition of talent. The successive elevation of the more fortunate or able of the lower orders to the higher ranks of society is no sufficient antidote to the danger, for it is rare that this energy survives the necessity which gave it birth; and nowhere does the enervating influence of wealth appear more strongly than in the immediate descendants of those who have raised themselves by their own exertions. The incessant development of vigour in the working classes, indeed, if kept within due bounds, and directed in its objects by the influence of religion and the habits of virtue, will generally bring a sufficient portion of talent and industry to uphold the fortunes of the state, but not to maintain the ascendancy of one class within its bosom; and in the strife of

domestic ambition, the aristocracy will find but a feeble support in the descendants of those whom new-born wealth has enriched, or recent services ennobled.

19. The enervating effect of wealth upon national character, and its tendency to extinguish the love of freedom, so justly and so feelingly complained of by the writers of antiquity, has not hitherto been so strongly experienced in modern times from the influence of the same cause. Corruption uniformly follows in the train of opulence; if those who have raised themselves by their exertions withstand the contagion, it rarely fails to effect their descendants. But the continual rise of citizens from the inferior ranks of society, for a time strongly counteracts the influence of this principle. How feeble or inefficient soever the higher ranks may become, a sufficient infusion of energy is long provided in the successive elevation of classes whom necessity has compelled to exertion. It is by precluding their elevation, or in consequence of corruption extending to their ranks, that an age of opulence sinks irrecoverably into one of degeneracy. The period when the public spirit, and with it the general liberty of Great Britain, will become extinct, may be predicted with unerring certainty. It will be when the people have become weary of asserting or maintaining their privileges, from a sense of the evils with which, from being pushed too far, they have been attended, or their incompatibility with the indulgence of private rest and material gratification. And that was what Montesquieu meant when he said, that the British constitution would perish when the legislature became more corrupt than the executive.

20. But immortality or perfection is not the destiny of nations in this world, any more than of individuals. The elevation and instruction of the people has opened fountains, from which the vigour of youth is long communicated to the social body; but it has neither purified their vices nor eradicated their weakness. The tree of knowledge has brought forth its accustomed fruits of good and evil; the communication of intelligence to the mass of mankind has

opened the door as wide to the corruptions as to the virtues of our nature. The progress of wickedness is as certain, and often more rapid, in the most educated, as in the most ignorant states.

—“And next to life,
Our death, the tree of knowledge, grew fast
by—
Knowledge of good, bought dear by knowing
ill.” *

The anxious desire for elevation and distinction which the consciousness of knowledge gives to the middle ranks, long an antidote to the degeneracy of the higher, at length becomes the source of corruption as great, and effeminacy as complete, as the slavish submission of despotic states. The necessary distinctions of society appear insupportable in an age of ascending ambition; and in the strife which ensues the bulwarks of freedom are overturned, not less by the party which invokes than by that which retards the march of democratic power.† After the strife is over, it is too often discovered that the balance of freedom has been destroyed, and that the elements of general liberty no longer exist, from the annihilation of all classes between the prince and the peasant, in the course of the massacres and confiscations which have taken place during its continuance. The lower orders then sink rapidly and irrecoverably into degeneracy, from the experienced impossibility of effecting anything ultimately beneficial to themselves by contending for independence. According to the condition of society, the age of the state, and the degree of public virtue which prevails, such social contests are the commencement or the termination of an era of prosperity and glory—the expansion of bursting vegetation or the fermentation which precedes corruption—the revolution which overthrew the tyranny of Tarquin, or the disas-

* *Paradise Lost*, iv. 220.

† —“He scrupled not to eat
Against his better knowledge; not deceived,
But fondly overcome with female charm.
As with new wine intoxicated both,
They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel
Divinity within them, breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the earth: but that false
fruit
Far other operation first display'd,
Carnal desire inflaming.”

Paradise Lost, ix. 997.

trous contests which prepared, in the extinction of patrician power, the final servitude of the empire.

21. These causes, however, whatever may be their ultimate effects, render a collision between the higher and lower orders unavoidable in every advancing state in modern times. The nobles are naturally tenacious of the privileges and dignities which have descended to them from their ancestors; the middle ranks as naturally endeavour to enlarge theirs, when their increasing wealth or importance enables them to demand such enlargement—the lower ultimately become clamorous for a participation in the franchises which they see exercised by their superiors, and which their increasing numbers enable them to claim with effect. It is in the prodigious rapidity with which population advances in the later stages of society among the working classes, owing to the wealth of the opulent and recklessness of the indigent, contrasted with the stationary number of the elevated—the result of their artificial wants or corrupted manners—that the real cause of this collision is to be found. The rich become a beleaguered garrison, of which the spoils are constantly increasing, the defenders diminishing, and the numbers and hardihood of the assailants augmenting. It was in the boroughs of Europe that the struggle first commenced, because there the protection of walls, and of assembled multitudes, had earliest produced the passion for independence: it next appeared in England, because there the security of an insular situation, and the efforts of an industrious people, had vivified the seeds of Saxon liberty: it lastly spread to France, because its regular government and powerful armies had long secured the blessings of internal tranquillity and foreign independence.

22. I. The destruction of the power of the great vassals of the crown, and the consolidation of the monarchy into one great kingdom, during the reigns of Louis XI., Francis I., and Henry IV., was undoubtedly an essential cause of the Revolution. This anomalous and unforeseen result, however, arose not from the oppression so much as the

protection afforded by the government to the people. Had the central power been weaker, and the privileges of the great feudatories remained unimpaired, France, like Germany, would have been split into a number of independent duchies, and all unity of feeling or national energy have been lost amid the division of separate interests. A revolution could no more have taken place there than in Silesia or Saxony: whereas, by the destruction of the power of the great vassals, and the rise of a formidable military force at the command of the central government, the unity of the nation was preserved, its independence secured, and its industry protected. For a century and a half before the commencement of the Revolution, France had enjoyed the blessings of domestic tranquillity. No internal dissensions, no foreign invasions, had broken this long period of security and repose; war was known only as affording an outlet to the ardent and impatient spirits of the country, or as yielding a rich harvest of national glory; the worst severities of aristocratic oppression had for ages been prevented by the cessation of private warfare. During this interval of peace, the relative situation and feelings of the different ranks in society underwent a total change. Wealth silently accumulated in the lower orders, from the unceasing efforts of individual industry; power imperceptibly glided from the higher, in consequence of the absorption of their revenues in objects of luxury. When civil dissensions again broke out, this difference appeared in the most striking manner. It was no longer the territorial noblesse, headed by their respective lords, who took the field, or the burghers of towns who maintained insulated contests for the defence of their walls; but the national guard, who everywhere flew to arms, animated by one common feeling, and strong in the consciousness of mutual support. They did not wait for their landlords to lead, or their magistrates to direct; but, acting boldly for themselves, they maintained the cause of democratic freedom against the powers they had hitherto been accustomed to obey.

23. II. The military spirit of the French people, and the native courage, which a long series of national triumphs had fostered, rendered them capable both of the moral fortitude to commence, and the patient endurance to sustain a conflict. But for this circumstance, the Revolution would never have been attempted, or, if begun, would have been speedily crushed by the military force at the disposal of the monarchy. In many countries of Europe, such as Italy, Portugal, and Spain, the people have lost, during centuries of peace, the firmness requisite to win their freedom. They complain of their oppressors, they lament their degeneracy, they bewail their liberties, but they have not the courage generally to attempt the vindication of these liberties. Unless under the guidance of foreign officers, they are incapable of any sustained or courageous efforts in the field: when deprived of that guidance, they sink immediately into their native imbecility. But the case was very different with the French. The long and disastrous wars with the English, the fierce and sanguinary religious contests of the sixteenth century, the continued conflicts with the European powers, had spread a military spirit throughout the people, which neither the enjoyment of domestic peace, nor the advantages of unbroken protection, had been able to extinguish. In every age the French have been the most warlike people of Europe; and the spirit of warlike enterprise is nearly allied to that of civil freedom. Military courage may, and often does, subsist without domestic liberty; but domestic liberty cannot long subsist without military courage. The dreams of inexperienced philanthropy may nourish expectations inconsistent with this position, and anticipate an adequate protection to private right from the extension of knowledge, or the interests of commerce, without the aid of warlike prowess; but experience gives no countenance to these ideas, and loudly proclaims the everlasting truth, that as regulated freedom is the greatest blessing in life, so it never can be defended for a course of ages from the assaults

of regal or democratic despotism, but by the hardihood and resolution of those who enjoy it.

24. III. Though the Reformation was extinguished in France, freedom of thought and the spirit of investigation were unrestrained in the regions of taste and philosophy. Louis XIV. made no attempt to curb the literary genius of his age, provided it did not interfere with political topics; and the intellectual vigour which was exhibited during his reign, on general subjects, has never been surpassed. In the mental strife which occurred during the Revolution, no more energetic speculation is to be found than exists in the writings of Corneille and Pascal. But it is impossible that unfettered inquiry can long subsist without political controversy becoming the subject of investigation. Religion and politics, the condition of man here and hereafter, ever must form the most interesting objects of thought; and, accordingly, they are long became so, under the feeble successors of the Grand Monarque. In the philosophical speculations of the eighteenth century, in the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, and the Encyclopedists, the most free and unreserved discussion, if not on political subjects, at least on those which were most nearly allied to them—on morals and religion—took place. By a singular blindness, the constituted authorities, despotic though they were, made no attempt to curb these inquiries, which, being all couched in general terms, or made in reference to other states, appeared to have no direct bearing on the tranquillity of the kingdom. Strong in the support of the nobility, the protection of the army, and the long-established tranquillity of the country, they deemed their power beyond the reach of attack, and anticipated no danger from dreams on the social compact, or the morals and spirit of nations. A direct attack on the monarchy, or, still more, on any of the ministers or royal mistresses, would have been followed by an immediate place in the Bastille; but general disquisitions excited no alarm, either among the higher classes or in the government. So universal was this delusion, that the

young nobility amused themselves with visionary speculations concerning the original equality and pristine state of man; deeming such speculations as inapplicable to their interests as the license of Otaheite or the customs of Tartary.

25. It is not surprising that the higher ranks mistook the signs of the times. They were advancing into a region in which the ancient landmarks were no longer to be seen, where the signs of a new heaven, and hitherto unseen constellations, were to guide the statesman. Judging from the past, no danger was to be apprehended; for all former convulsions of a serious description had been headed by a portion at least of the higher ranks. Judging from what we know of what followed, the speck was already to be seen in the horizon which was to overwhelm the civilised world with darkness. The speculations of those eloquent philosophers spread widely among the rising generation. Captivated by the novelty of the ideas which were developed, dazzled by the lustre of the eloquence which was employed, seduced by the examples of antiquity which were held up to imitation, the youth warmly embraced not only free, but republican principles. The injustice of feudal oppression, the hardship of feudal exclusion, produced a corresponding reaction in the public mind. In the middle ranks, in particular, upon whom the chains of servitude hung heaviest, and who longed most for emancipation, because they would be the first to profit by it, the passion for ancient freedom was wrought up to the highest pitch. Madame Roland, the daughter of an engraver, and living in a humble station, wept, at nine years of age, because she had not been born a Roman citizen, and carried Plutarch's Lives, instead of her breviary, in her hand, when she attended mass in the cathedral.

26. The tenor of the prevailing ideas which have moved the public mind, may always be known from the style of eloquence adopted, and the allusions made use of, by those who direct it. During the Great Rebellion in England, the language universally employed by

the popular leaders was that of gloomy austerity; their images and allusions were all drawn from the Old Testament. Fanaticism was the engine by which alone at that period the great body of the people could be moved. In France, religion was never once alluded to by the popular party; or, if mentioned, it was only to be made the subject of derision and obloquy. Classical images, reference to the freedom and spirit of antiquity, formed the great means of public excitation. The names of Brutus and Cato, of Phocion and Themistocles, were constantly upon their lips: the National Assembly never resounded with such tumultuous applause as when some fortunate allusion to the heroes of Greece or Rome was made; the people were never wrought up to such a state of fervour as when they were called on to follow the example of the patriots in the ancient republics. Even in periods of extreme peril, with the prospect of immediate death before their eyes, the same splendid imagery was employed; and it is impossible to read without emotion the generous sentiments which the victims of popular violence frequently uttered, at their last moments, in the words of ancient eloquence.

27. The circumstance of all others which chiefly contributed to this turn of the public mind, was the great influence which the masterpieces of the French stage had acquired in the capital. The Théâtre Français had, for above a century, been to the Parisians what the Forum was to the Athenians—a great arena in which political and moral sentiments of the most elevated kind were inculcated, and arguments the most admirable urged on the opposite sides of every great public question. The crowds in the pit, generally the most enlightened part of the audience, listened to the inimitable declamations of Corneille or Racine, with the same admiration which the Greek citizens felt when witnessing the oratorical contests of *Æschines* and *Demosthenes*. The grandeur of thought, the elevation of sentiment, the heroism of character, which were so nobly portrayed in these dramas, unavoidably acquired a vast

influence over the public mind. It was the greater, because it was on the stage alone that liberty of discussion could then be heard in so despotic a state, and in the representations of the social struggles of antiquity only that the yearnings of the human mind after present freedom could be satisfied—the more dangerous, because it established, in general thought, a standard of excellence wholly unsuitable to the actual character of humanity, and spread the belief that men in real life were to be influenced by the dignified considerations which swayed the heroes of dramatic fiction. Never was a more delusive belief diffused. The great Condé might shed tears* at the representation of the masterpieces of Corneille; but it was in such heroic breasts—a mere fraction of the human race—that they alone could find a responsive echo. Yet no one who has studied closely the history of the Revolution, and observed the constant allusions by the popular leaders to the heroic occurrences of antiquity, can entertain a doubt that this cause had a material influence on its fortunes, and contributed not a little to produce those magnificent ideas of the virtues of a republic, and that exalted conception of the sway of generous sentiments over emancipated man, which were destined to be so grievously disappointed by the selfishness, vice, and cruelty of the Revolution.†

28. IV. The CHURCH in France ex-

* It is recorded by Voltaire, in his admirable Commentaries on Corneille, that the great Condé shed tears at the magnanimous speech of Augustus, in the last scene of *Cinna*, where he pronounces his forgiveness. But Paris, during the Revolution, was not peopled with great Condés.—See *Œuvres de CORNEILLE*, iii. 387; edit. 1817, with VOLTAIRE'S Notes.

† It is observed by Voltaire, as a remarkable circumstance, that in the Greek tragedies, addressed to the people of all others most ardently attached to democratic institutions, there is no allusion to be found to their value; while those of Corneille, intended for the court of the Bourbons in the palmy days of its power, are full of them. But the reason is obvious, and has been abundantly illustrated since Voltaire's death. Corneille put declamations on the virtues of a republic into the mouths of his heroes, because he had never known democracy; it was a Utopia to all around him. Euripides was silent on the subject, for he knew it too well; it was the real life with which his audience were familiar.

perienced the fate of all attempts, in an advancing age, to fetter the human mind; the resistance to its authority became general, and, in the fervour of opposition, the good and the bad parts of its doctrines were indiscriminately rejected. This is the usual consequence of attempts to force incredible and absurd doctrines upon public belief. As long as the minds of the people are in a state of torpor or inactivity, they embrace without scruple whatever is taught by their spiritual guides; but when the spirit of investigation is roused, and the light of reason breaks in, the reaction becomes just as strong in the opposite direction, and infidel supplies the place of superstitious fanaticism. Religious as well as political reformers seldom content themselves with amending what is really defective in the subject of their improvement; in the fervour of innovation they destroy the whole, because part has been found corrupted. It was thus with the Catholic Church of France. Supported as it had been by the greatest names, and adorned by the most splendid ability—teaching, for the most part, the most simple and beneficent system of belief, it fell into general obloquy, in consequence of the irrational and dangerous nature of some of its tenets, and the disgraceful use which it had made of its power. How strong soever the force of superstition may be, the power of reason is still stronger: if the former is to be supported, the latter must be enchained.

29. If we would discover the cause of this remarkable bent of literary and philosophical thought in France during the last half of the eighteenth century, we must look for its principal cause in the injustice of preceding reigns. It was the REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES which occasioned that fatal direction; it was the stoppage of the comparatively gentle purification of the Reformation which induced the fiery torrent of the Revolution. The enormous cruelty, the frightful injustice, the flagrant impolicy of that deed of despotism, have been already noticed [Chap. I. §§ 65, 66] in reference to the political history of France anterior to the Revolution; but its effects upon its

ecclesiastical interests were hardly less important, and still more fatal. It at once destroyed religious freedom in that great country; by a single blow it extinguished intellectual energy in the Church. Toleration, even, was at an end; exile, confiscation, imprisonment, were to follow the slightest inclination towards the Huguenot opinions. In this complete victory, the champions of the Roman Catholic faith in France beheld an unqualified ground of triumph; but he must be blind indeed, who does not now perceive that it was the principal cause of the unbounded calamities in which the Gallican Church and the French monarchy were involved at the close of the eighteenth century.

30. As long as the Protestant faith existed in the country, and free discussion was allowed under the tolerant edict of Henry IV., abuses of a flagrant kind were prevented on the part of the national establishment, from the dread of exposure by the champions of the opposite faith. Talent, at the same time, was roused. Eloquence was called forth on both sides, not only from the polemical contests which were carried on between the professors of the new and the old opinions, but from the more useful and generous rivalry which prevailed as to which should gain the greatest number of converts to its faith, and disseminate most widely the blessings of Christian instruction. But when the five hundred thousand weeping Protestants were sent into exile—when the Huguenot worship was everywhere proscribed, and its trembling votaries, if detected celebrating its rites, were liable to stripes, confiscation, and exile—no check on the Roman Catholic worship remained. Effort on the part of its priesthood relaxed, from the necessity for it having passed away. The vast genius of Bossuet was no longer seen singly sustaining by its might the belief of the faithful: the mild spirit of Fénelon ceased to win the heart by the fervour of the gospel. Indolence and pride crept over the higher dignitaries of the church; bigotry and ignorance enveloped the lower; its errors, its superstitions, its cruelties, remained unchanged; while the talents and energy

which had adorned it passed away. At a time when the inquisitive spirit of the age was daily extending, irresistible power rendered the dignified prelates blind to their dangers; and the fetters of a former period were the more straitly drawn, when the hands which were to rivet them were rapidly becoming weaker.

31. But no effort of despotism, how energetic soever, can, in an advancing and intellectual age, permanently extinguish the light of reason. The ardent spirit of religious inquiry, banished from the pulpits of the Huguenots, broke forth within the bosom of the church: the contest of the followers of Jansen and Molina took the place of that between the disciples of Luther and the successors of St Peter. This celebrated controversy partook in many points of the characteristics of the great Protestant schism. It was distinguished by the same stern and dogmatic spirit on the one side, and the same inward fervour and bold inquiry on the other: vindictive authority commanded among the Jesuits, and intrepid enthusiasm animated the Jansenists. Pascal was the soul of the latter body: the Jesuits never recovered from the effect of his celebrated Provincial Letters. "The comedies of Molière," says Voltaire, "have not more wit than the former part of these letters, nor the writings of Bossuet more sublimity than the latter." The Jansenists, following the dogmas of their founder, Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres, maintained the principles of necessity and predestination, which pervade the tenets of extreme Calvinism; the Jesuits, with Molina, a Spanish priest of that order, asserted the doctrine of free-will, and the necessity of unity in the church. "Superstition," says Hume, "is an enemy to civil liberty; enthusiasm is a friend to it. The Molinists, while conducted by the Jesuits, are great friends to superstition, rigid observers of external forms and ceremonies, and devoted to the authority of the priests and to tradition. The Jansenists are enthusiasts, and zealous promoters of the passionate devotion and of the inward life; little influenced by authority, and, in a

word, but half Catholics. The Jesuits are the tyrants of the people, and the slaves of the court; and the Jansenists preserve alive the small sparks of the love of liberty which are to be found in the French nation."

32. V. But these sparks were destined ere long to rise up into a flame; and the declining fervour of religious controversy, warmed by the vigour of political ambition, produced that fermentation in the country which at length issued in the fury of the Revolution. The PARLIAMENTS of France bore no resemblance to the great national council of England; they were provincial assemblies, composed entirely of magistrates of rank from the order of the nobility, or the *Tiers Etat* raised by office to that station; intrusted chiefly with judicial duties, but constituting, in the absence of the States-general, which had not been assembled since 1614, the only subsisting check recognised by the constitution on the authority of the sovereign. The parliament of Paris, the most important of these bodies both in point of rank and influence, and which took the lead in all contests with the crown, was very numerous: it consisted of a hundred and seventy members, including seventeen peers, of whom two were princes of the blood. This assembly, from its numbers, its spirit, and the individual respectability of its members, early acquired great consideration, which it retained to the very commencement of the Revolution. It was universally felt to be the only remaining bulwark of public liberty, after the nobles had sunk before the ascendancy of Richelieu; and from the persevering, and often heroic courage with which it combated the despotic measures of the crown, it enjoyed a large and well-deserved share of popularity. It had one immense advantage, which will be readily appreciated by all who have experienced the debasing influence either of monarchical or popular appointment, when limited to a short period, or held at will only—its members were *independent*. They were neither nominated by the intrigues of Versailles nor by the populace of Paris; they received mandates neither from

the royal mistresses nor the popular demagogues. They acquired their offices, as commissions are obtained in the English army, by *purchase*; subject, indeed, to the royal approbation, and to certain regulations formed by themselves, to prevent the introduction of improper members; but neither the crown nor the nobility had, practically speaking, the appointment. Though this system may appear strange to English ideas, yet a little reflection must show, as Burke has observed, that it was admirably fitted both to confer independence and insure the upright discharge of duty. None could obtain admission, but persons of a respectable station; a certain fortune was requisite to purchase the situation; integrity and independence were the only passports to public esteem. Neither royal frowns nor popular despotism could dispossess them of their offices. They know little of human nature who are not aware that these are the only circumstances which can be permanently relied on to produce integrity and independence in judicial functionaries.

33. The most important constitutional power with which the parliaments were intrusted, was that of consenting to or refusing the king's edicts for the imposition of any new tax; and it was part of consuetudinary usage, that no impost, though imposed by a royal decree, had the force of law until it was registered in the parliamentary books. When the parliaments were refractory, therefore, or disapproved of the measures of the court, the course they adopted was to refuse to register the edict which laid on any new tax; and as the courts of law, till this was done, refused to enforce it, this power was often a very effectual one. The only known remedy was for the king to hold what was called a *lit de justice*, or "bed of justice;" that is, to repair to the place where the parliament sat, and ordain the registration of the edict on his own authority. Unpopular as such a measure of course was, it was not unfrequently had recourse to, and sometimes even by the mild and forbearing Louis XVI. Yet it was always regarded as an arbitrary step; the parliaments loudly protested

against its legality; many great constitutional lawyers agreed with them, as holding it an unwarrantable stretch of the royal authority; and at any rate it was sure to be an unpopular proceeding, likely to endanger any ministry by which it was recommended.

34. The contest between the crown and the parliaments had subsisted in France for two centuries; but it never became envenomed till it was mixed up with the Port-Royal controversy. Such was the legacy bequeathed to the country by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; an internal, semi-religious strife, springing from the outward extinction of religious dissent. The details of this contest would fill volumes, and belong properly to the history of France during the eighteenth century, not to the annals of the Revolution. But the general results may be stated in a few words. Orders, in the first instance, were issued by the archbishop of Paris, and the clergy acting under the influence of the Jesuits, to refuse the sacrament to those of the Jansenist persuasion: this was met by censure and prosecutions from the parliament of Paris, against those who obeyed these orders. The crown, upon this, issued a mandate to stay all such prosecutions: the parliament remonstrated, and the royal commands were renewed. The parliament retorted, by suspending all judicial business in their courts. The crown, upon this, issued a mandate enforcing the repeal of these resolutions of suspension: the parliament immediately attached the revenue of the archbishop of Paris. Rigorous measures were now resorted to by the court; *lettres de cachet* were issued; all the members of the parliament exiled; four of the most obnoxious were sent to the state prisons; and an attempt was made to form new courts of justice instead of the parliament. But the letters-patent constituting these new courts were not valid till registered in the inferior courts; and these courts, espousing the cause of the parliament, refused to record them. The nation was now roused: the provincial parliaments everywhere met and supported the parliament of Paris; the clergy who refused the sacraments were generally prose-

cut. Thus the nation was reduced to a position of inextricable confusion if the contest were any further pursued : on the one hand, the holiest rites of religion were suspended ; on the other, the most important legal courts were closed. The necessity of applying a remedy at length prevailed over the stubbornness of the court : the parliaments were recalled, and the archbishop was exiled.

35. VI. In the progress of time the Jesuits became obnoxious to the most powerful interests in the court, from the incessant intrigues which they kept up, and the disagreeable manner in which they interfered with the mistresses and council of Louis XV. Madame Pompadour, and the Duke de Choiseul, the chief minister, united their strength to effect the destruction of a rival authority ; and they were powerfully supported by the parliament of Paris, and the numerous body in France, both in and out of the church, who belonged to the Jansenist party. Louis XV. long held out against their united efforts, partly from the influence of the archbishop of Paris, and the dignified clergy in the metropolis, who were almost all of the Molinist side and party, and partly from an impression that the Jesuits were valuable as ecclesiastical agents of the crown ; and that Cardinal Fleury's maxim was well founded, that "if they are bad masters, they will prove good servants." But at length, when the monarch, in his declining years, became more devoted to sensual enjoyments, and found that the Jesuits about the court might interfere with the orgies in the *Parc aux Cerfs*, he yielded to the persecution which the parliaments had long carried on against this celebrated sect, and by a royal decree, in November 1764, their order was entirely suppressed in France.*

36. The destruction of the Jesuits had

* Frederick the Great, who, with all his partiality to the French freethinking philosophers, knew well where the real supports of the throne are to be found, exclaimed, when he heard that the government had banished the Jesuits from France—"Poor sheep! they have destroyed the foxes who defended them from the wolves, and they do not see that they are about to be devoured."
—WEBER'S *Memoirs*, i. 94.

immediately the effect of stilling the fury of the religious controversy ; but it was far from putting an end to the contest between the crown and the parliament, which continued unabated down to the close of the reign of Louis XV. Meanwhile, the cessation of the religious conflict had the effect of disarming the vigilance, and paralysing the strength of the church. The Jansenists, delivered from their oppressors, no longer exerted their talents ; the Molinists slumbered in fancied security amidst the pomp of their palaces : the inferior clergy forgot alike their zeal and their fanaticism. The age of toleration commenced—it speedily turned into one of indifference ; and such an age is in general but the precursor of one of incredulity. The spirit of the times ran violently in favour of the new opinions, the liberal ideas of enlarged philosophy, the entrancing speculations of social perfectibility. The clergy, sensible of their weakness both in intellectual and political strength, slumbered on in philosophic tolerance of the dissolution, alike of morals and opinions, which was going forward. They recovered their dignity, and stood forth with the grandeur of ancient martyrs, during the storms of the Revolution.

VII. In the great philosophic efforts of the eighteenth century, which in their ultimate effects convulsed the world, a prodigious phalanx of ability was engaged. But three men appeared as giants in the fight, and contributed in a signal manner, by the originality and force of their talents, to stamp the impress of their genius upon the opinions of their own, and the events of the succeeding age. These were Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau.

37. Charles De la Brede, Baron of MONTESQUIEU, was born at the chateau of La Brede, near Bordeaux, on the 18th January 1689. From his earliest years he gave evidence of the great talents for which he afterwards became celebrated ; and he was educated with care for the magistracy, to which his father's influence near Bordeaux promised him an early entrance. His thirst for knowledge, even in early youth, was unbounded, and continued without

abatement through life—inasmuch that he frequently used to say, that he had never felt a chagrin which an hour's reading did not dissipate. History, antiquities, travels, were his favourite study; with the classics he was familiar; and these interludes of employment formed his recreation amidst the dry details of legal acquirement. But he possessed from the first the rare faculty—the distinctive mark of genius—of extracting from this infinity of details a few ruling principles. His collections were as numerous as the eighty thousand observations of Kepler; but he knew, like the immortal astronomer, how to deduce the few laws of social order from these observations. In 1716, at the early age of twenty-seven, he was appointed president of the parliament of Bordeaux: and the laborious efforts of that dignified and responsible office, happily for himself, kept him far removed from the vices and attractions of Parisian society. Twenty years were employed in the collection of materials for the composition of his greatest work—the “*Esprit des Loix*.” His life thus afforded few materials for biography—fewer still for scandal. He travelled much, and surveyed with the eye of a philosopher all the principal countries of Europe, on which he wrote notes, which unhappily were not left in so complete a state as to be fit for publication. Like Corneille, Boileau, Pascal, and all the great men of his age—and, in truth, of every age—he lived the greater part of his life in retirement, and found in the converse of the great of former times, and in reflection on their thoughts, a compensation, and more than a compensation, for all the attractions of present society. Meanwhile his great work advanced, as he

himself said, “*à pas de géant*,” and after twenty years of labour, the immortal “*Esprit des Loix*” appeared. His disposition was generous, his temper gentle, his life unruffled: wrapt up in great objects, and the contemplation of eternal truth, he felt none of the ordinary crosses of mortality,* and terminated a life of more than ordinary happiness, serene and thankful, after a short illness, on the 10th February 1755. Voltaire pronounced his epitaph in this magnificent eulogium:—“The human race had lost its titles: Montesquieu rediscovered them, and restored them to the owner.”

38. Montesquieu was one of the greatest thinkers that the world ever produced; he is to be placed on a level in that respect with Bacon and Machiavel, and above either Cicero or Tacitus. Less-eloquent and ornate than the first of the Roman writers, less condensed and caustic than the last, he took a wider view of human affairs than either, and deduced general conclusions with more wisdom, from a vast variety of detached and apparently insulated particulars. He is greater than the Roman historian as a philosopher, but inferior to him as a writer and a delineator of events. Though his principal work, and that which has chiefly given him his colossal reputation, is the “*Esprit des Loix*,” yet it may be doubted whether the “*Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*” is not more profound, and does not contain a greater number of just philosophic conclusions. It has not the practical sagacity which an extensive experience of human wickedness gave to the Florentine sage, nor the incomparable wisdom which secured to the English statesman so deep an insight into the secret springs of human action;

* “I have hardly ever,” he said, “experienced a chagrin, still less an hour of ennui, in my life. I waken in the morning with a secret joy at beholding the light; the whole of the rest of the day I am pleased. I sleep at night without wakening; and in the evening, before I close my eyelids, a sort of delicious trance prevents me from making reflections.” Part, doubtless, of this rare felicity was owing to unbroken domestic happiness: his rank was high, his situation distinguished, his fortune affluent, his reputation uncontested, his marriage happy, his children affec-

tionate. More still was to be ascribed to the serenity of mind, springing from the constant contemplation of abstract truth, and the never-failing enjoyment which he derived from the study of the great works of former days. But most of all is to be considered owing to the inward satisfaction derived from the consciousness of a well-spent life, of great powers nobly applied, and the calm conviction that he had raised for himself a monument destined to be as enduring as the human race.—See *Biographie Universelle*, xxix. 518, 519.

but in philosophic generalisation and luminous deduction, it is perhaps superior to the work either of Machiavel or Bacon.* In the "Esprit des Lois," though deep thought is frequently to be met with, and vast erudition is everywhere conspicuous, yet there is often too great a disposition to trace fanciful analogies, and ascribe remarkable differences in national institutions, rather to accidental or trivial causes, than to great and permanent moving powers of human action—the usual fault of ingenious and philosophic minds, which carry to excess the spirit of generalisation, the foundation of all true political wisdom. Yet, such as it is, this noble work was a prodigious step in the progress of knowledge: it gave birth to a new science, the *philosophy of history*, of which antiquity had obtained only a few detached glimpses; and to its influence, more perhaps than that of any work of the eighteenth century, is the subsequent direction of human thought and the course of public events to be ascribed.†

39. It may seem ungenerous to say

*It is a curious circumstance, which has been demonstrated by a careful examination of the numerous manuscripts which Montesquieu has left, that many of his most profound and original thoughts were suggested by passages in works of imagination, and light and frivolous compositions. Whoever has reflected much on individual or national events, will probably not be surprised at this circumstance, for it is in such productions that the secret springs of the heart, the moving power in all human affairs, unconsciously are brought to light.—See *Biographie Universelle*, xxix. 520.

†D'Alembert, in his admirable eulogium on Montesquieu, prefixed to the fifth volume of the *Encyclopædia*, and since transferred to all the complete editions of his works, has given the following interesting picture of the private character and habits of this great man:—"He was alive to glory; but he only wished to obtain it by deserving it. He never sought to increase his own fame by those underhand manoeuvres, by those dark and dishonourable means, which disgrace the man without adding to the glory of the writer. Worthy of all distinctions and rewards, he asked nothing, and was not surprised at being neglected; but he dared, in the most delicate circumstances, to protect at the court men of letters who were persecuted, celebrated, and unfortunate, and to obtain favours for them. Though he mingled with the great—whether from necessity, convenience, or choice—their society was not necessary to his happiness.

of so great a man, that his labours were conducive, along with those of others, in bringing about the French Revolution; and unjust to affirm, that by leading men to think on political subjects, they were instrumental in producing that convulsion: yet nothing is more certain than that both effects took place. True it is, indeed, that revolutions are carried into *execution*, not by those who think, but by those who do not think on human affairs; but the physical strength of the greatest number is ever directed by the intellect of a few; and the spring of the ideas of those few is to be found in the recesses of individual thought. Montesquieu's celebrated doctrine, that the principle of government in a monarchy is honour—in a despotism, fear—and in a republic, virtue, though not destitute of foundation, was far too broadly expressed, and proceeded on a most erroneous view of the tendency of unrestrained human conduct. It spread abroad the idea that virtue *would be* the ruling principle in republics, whereas what Montesquieu meant was, that

He retired whenever he could to his property: there he joyfully resumed his philosophy, his books, and repose. Surrounded by the country people, in his hours of leisure, after having studied mankind in the intercourse of the world and in the histories of nations, he studied it also in those simple beings whom nature alone has taught; and he found there much to learn: he conversed gaily with them; like Socrates, he recognised intellect in them: he appeared to delight as much in intercourse with them as in the most brilliant society; while at the same time he reconciled their differences, and assuaged their wants by his beneficence.—See *Œuvres de Montesquieu*, vol. i. p. 109, Introduction. What a picture of the greatest man of his age, enjoying retirement, asking nothing, noways surprised at being forgot! He knew courts and ministers well who acted thus after having written the "Esprit des Lois."—Carlyle has well observed, that all governments have a jealousy of their teachers. Many traits in this exquisite portrait will remind the reader of the corresponding features of Sir Walter Scott in Mr Lockhart's admirable *Life*. But it would have been well for the illustrious novelist if he had practised that economy in his desires and habits, which, without diminishing his numerous deeds of generosity and charity, and leaving him funds sufficient for his numerous travels, enabled Montesquieu to transmit his paternal estate undiminished to his children.—See D'ALEMBERT'S *Éloge*, p. 111.

virtue was its safeguard, its preserving principle—and that is undoubtedly true; but he forgot to add what was equally true, that in an advanced state of society, selfishness is its demon, corruption its destroyer, and that, though virtue may be its theory, vice is too often its practice. But that was the great error of the philosophers of the eighteenth century; an error which religion had foretold, and which the French Revolution demonstrated—an undue estimate of the virtue of mankind. It was the error of noble and generous minds, who judge of others by themselves, and are unable to form a conception of that general prevalence of selfishness and timidity, which, in all social conflicts, renders the great body of men the prey of the wicked and audacious. It was the error, however, which brought about the French Revolution; which in all its phases, from the dreams of Necker to the blood of Robespierre and the carnage of Napoleon, was but a commentary on the opposite doctrines of human perfectibility, the foundation of philosophic innovation—and of general corruption, the corner-stone of Revelation.*

40. FRANÇOIS MARIE AROUET DE VOLTAIRE was born at Chatenay, near Sceaux, on the 20th February 1694. His father, though a respectable man, was a simple notary to the Châtelet, so that he had none of the advantages of birth, though by the mother's side he was descended from an ancient and

noble family in Poitou. His constitution was at first so feeble that it was with great difficulty he was kept alive in the years of infancy; and though he lived to the advanced age of eighty-four, he was always of a weak frame of body, and his infirmities in this respect contributed not a little to augment the natural irritability of his temper. He was early initiated in the mysteries of infidelity by his godfather, the Abbé de Châteauneuf, who taught him at three years of age to repeat, by heart, the "Moisade," an impious parody on the life of the Jewish lawgiver. At fourteen he was sent to the college of Louis le Grand, where he soon became distinguished by the acuteness and versatility of his talents; but such was the decided turn to scepticism which he even then evinced, that his preceptors, the Jesuits, were glad to get quit of him by sending him to Paris. It was predicted by one of the acutest of their number that he would one day become "the standard of Deism in France." Some lively and satirical verses on the priests, which he had made at college, procured for him an introduction to the gay and witty circles of the metropolis, in which the polished and profligate nobility consoled themselves for the increasing austerities of the declining and calamitous years of Louis XIV. by indulging in orgies of mingled scepticism and licentiousness. It was in this fascinating and poisonous circle, composed of those who should have been the pillars of order and morality, that the young Arouet learned the art of sapping the foundations of both. The Prince of Conti, the Duke of Vendôme, the Duke of Sully, the Marquis de la Fare, the Abbé de Chaulieu, the Abbé Courtin, the Abbé Serrier, the Abbé de Châteauneuf, were the principal wits at that period† of a society inferior to none that ever existed in the polish and charms of its man-

* Almost alone of the illustrious men of his day, Montesquieu never, in the writings at least which bear his name, attacked the truths of religion; and in the "Lettres Persannes," and those which were anonymous, it was the abuses of the Roman Church only which attracted his animadversion. He was too great a man not to be a sincere Christian. "I have always," said he, on his death-bed, "respected religion; the morality of the Gospel is the noblest present God ever made to man." Being pressed by his confessor to erase some expressions at which umbrage had been taken, from his "Lettres Persannes," he replied, "I am willing to sacrifice everything to religion, but nothing to the Jesuits; consult with my friends, and they will decide on the subject." He then received extreme unction, and the priest said, "You feel, sir, how great God is."—"Yes," replied he, "and how little man."—These were his last words.—See *Biographie Universelle*, xxix. 619, 620.

† The highest rank or literary distinction constituted there, as now in the exclusive society of London, the only passport to that magic circle.—"We are all here princes or poets," said Voltaire on one occasion, looking round a brilliant supper party at the Prince of Conti's.—*Biographie Universelle*, xlix. 464, 465.

ners, and superior to any in the depravity and licentiousness of its principles. By the last of these libertine ecclesiastics, Arouet, while yet a youth, was introduced to the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, who, though somewhat in the wane, had still the chief nobles and wits of Paris in her train, and who was so much struck with the lively turn of his repartees, that she left him by her will a legacy of two thousand francs to buy books: a curious and ominous circumstance, that the foundation of the library of the great apostle of deism was laid by the bequest of an old courtesan, to whom he had been introduced by an apostate priest.

41. These scenes of dissipation, however, and the fugitive pieces necessary to maintain his place in them, did not entirely absorb the young poet; and already, in 1712, at the age of eighteen, he was engaged with his noble tragedy of "Merope." Sent shortly after to Holland, in the capacity of page to the Marquis of Châteauneuf, ambassador there, he was soon engaged in an intrigue with a young Protestant lady at the Hague, which occasioned his recall to France, where, by means of his usual versatility of power, he succeeded in persuading some of the Jesuits and bishops that it was necessary to bring her to Paris, to save her from Huguenot heresy and Protestant corruption. As this edifying project was not carried into execution, he plunged again into the profligate noble society of the capital, in which his inextinguishable love of satire, and irritable temper, once procured for him personal chastisement which led to a challenge, and twice a place in the Bastille, where he was on the first occasion confined twelve, the second, six months. His active mind, however, was not crushed by these imprisonments: within the walls of that fortress he finished his "Merope," and made great progress in the "Henriade." Upon being liberated by the Regent Orleans, he changed his name, hitherto chiefly known only by scandal, from Arouet to Voltaire, and ere long the successful representation of "Merope" laid the foundation of his prodigious reputation. For nearly forty years afterwards he led an active

but desultory life, continually engaged in literary efforts, which augmented alike his fame and his fortune—rarely possessing a home, and almost constantly involved in difficulties, from open satire or secret libel.

42. Being ordered to leave the kingdom on account of a satire on the Duke of Sully, accompanied by a declaration of love to his mistress, he retired to England, where he remained several years, and formed an intimate acquaintance with the principal political and philosophical characters in that country. It was in their school, in the society of Bolingbroke, Tindal, Toland, and other distinguished deists, among whom at that period was to be found so considerable a proportion of British talent, that Voltaire obtained all the information and real argument which appear in his numerous declamations against Christianity. He was, at the end of two years, permitted to return to France, where he commenced his historical labours with the celebrated Life of Charles XII., soon followed by those of Peter the Great and Louis XIV. He afterwards continued for twenty years a course of desultory but incessant activity, alternately engaged in tragedy, comedy, philosophy, history, satires, lampoons, and epic poems—during the course of which he withdrew to a country chateau at Airy, on the borders of Lorraine and Alsace, with the Marchioness of Chastelet, a married lady of wit and learning, with whom he lived in no very Platonic alliance to the time of her death in 1749. After that bereavement he repaired, on the invitation of Frederick the Great, with whom he had long been in correspondence, to Berlin, and for some years inhabited the palace, and was the daily guest, of that celebrated monarch.

43. But though he admired his talents, and agreed with his freethinking principles, he was soon disconcerted by the imperious disposition of the Prussian hero. Their tempers, both irritable, could not long agree: frequent quarrels ensued, and after three years of splendid captivity, he was glad to make his escape by stealth from his royal jailer, and regain the comparative freedom of

French despotism. In 1759, he finally retired to Ferney, on the banks of the Lake of Geneva, since immortalised by his memory, where, in possession of an ample fortune, the fruit of his fortunate speculations as a contractor for the army, of his literary success, and uniform economy, he spent the last twenty, and by much the most respectable, years of his life. He continued while there his literary labours; but his great works were completed, and the never-failing activity of his mind appeared in the prodigious correspondence which now forms so large, and not the least interesting, part of his works. His life in that retirement was that of a grand seigneur of the old school. An ample revenue was expended upon the improvement of his estate; frequent acts of beneficence spread happiness around his dwelling; he chiefly appeared in the literary world as the defender of humanity in punishments; and the celebrated inscription which he put on the village church which he restored—"Deo erexit Voltaire," showed that he had not, with his hostility to Christianity, abjured the truths of natural religion. The entreaties of his niece, Madame Denis, who was worn out with the ennui of Ferney, induced him at length to issue from his retreat, and at the age of eighty-four to cross the Jura, and proceed to Paris, whither he was preceded by his vast reputation, and where his principles had now obtained nearly universal assent.

44. He arrived there, accordingly, in February 1778, and was everywhere received—at the theatres, the academies, the public places, even in the streets—with an enthusiasm which approached to adoration. Profoundly moved by this intense gratification of his ruling passion, Voltaire asked whether they meant to stifle him under garlands of roses, to make him die of joy; but the excitement occasioned by these transports proved too strong for his now feeble frame—he was seized with a mortal complaint, and soon brought to the verge of death. Apprehensive of being refused burial in a consecrated place of sepulture, he sent for a priest, and, abjuring his former errors, asked pardon of God

and the church for the offences he had committed against them; but having, contrary to all expectation, recovered for a time, he again plunged into the vanities of the world, was crowned with laurel at the theatre, and carried home by an enthusiastic crowd of admiring votaries.* This last triumph, however, proved fatal to his now exhausted constitution: his former complaint returned with increased violence, and he was soon stretched on the bed of death. Being pressed in his last moments, by the curé of St Sulpice, to acknowledge the divinity of Jesus Christ, he turned on his side, and said feebly, "For the love of God, don't mention that man: allow me to die in peace;" and soon expired. His remains were interred in one of the chapels of the Abbey of Scellières, for which humane act the prior was, to the disgrace of the French church, dismissed from his office; but it was too late to prevent the burial, and the remains of Voltaire rested there in peace, till they were transferred to the Pantheon, twelve years after, during the fervour of the Revolution.

45. The character of Voltaire's philosophy is clearly depicted in his private life. The companion of nobles, the flatterer of mistresses, the courtier of kings, the panegyrist of his patrons, the lampooner of his enemies, he was at the same time an indefatigable annalist, a voluminous pamphleteer, a great poet, an ardent supporter of humanity, and the persevering and acrimonious enemy of the Christian faith. With popular fervour he had little sympathy, for popular rights no anxiety: it was the fetters, as he deemed them, of religion, which he sought to strike off the human soul. No man was more keenly alive to the dangers of democratic ascendancy; none had read with more diligence in the great book of history the frequent lessons which it teaches, or its ruinous

* "I do not wish my corpse to be thrown on a dunghill," said he, when he found himself in danger; and he immediately sent for the Abbé Gauthier, who obtained from him a declaration that he died in the Catholic religion, in which he had been born, and that he besought pardon of God and the church for the offences which he might have committed.—See *Biographie Universelle*, vol. xlix. 487.

effects upon the best interests of society: the inimitable declamation against popular institutions which Corneille puts into the mouth of Cinna, was the object of his unbounded admiration.* It was in the destruction of religion that he perceived the antidote to all the evils of society. For the relaxation of the frightful barbarities of ancient punishment, he often and eloquently contended; but it was chiefly when instigated by priests that they were the object of his detestation; if emanating from civil authority, he felt for them little aversion. Philanthropy was the ostensible object of his philosophy, but it admitted of large exceptions when ecclesiastics or women were concerned; and of him, even more truly than of the great English historian, it may be said, that "his humanity never slumbered, except when Christians were tortured or women ravished."†

46. Though far from being a profound, he was a lively and entertaining histo-

* "When the people is master, all is tumult: the voice of reason is never attended to; honours are sold to the most ambitious; and authority is abandoned to the most forward in treason. Those petty sovereigns, whom the mob elevates for a year, knowing their reign limited to so short a time, labour to make the best designs abortive, lest the successful results of them should fall to their successors. As they have little share in the good which they dispose of, they reap largely from the public field, assured of an easy pardon from all—each looking forward to a similar course in his turn. The government of the populace is the worst of all governments."—*Cinna*, Act II. scene 1.

"What a vast superiority," says Voltaire, in his commentary on this passage, "in fine poetry over prose! Writers on politics have invariably diluted this sentiment: not one of them approaches the force, the depth, the neatness, the precision, of this discourse of Cinna's. All state officials ought to assist at this piece, in order to learn how to think and speak."—*Œuvres de Corneille, avec les Commentaires de Voltaire*, iii. 308.

† "The same man, who was with reason so affected by the cruel fate of Calas, a Protestant, indulged in savage irony when his pen had to do with the Jesuits. They write me that three Jesuits have at last been burned at Lisbon. This is most consolatory intelligence; but it is, after all, a Jansenist who communicates it."—(Voltaire à M. Vernet, 1769.) "It is said that Father Malegrida has been broken on the wheel—God be thanked! I should die content could I see the Jansenists and Molinists mutually extirpated."—(Letter to the Countess of Lutzelburg, 17—) Du TOQUEVILLE, *Règne de Louis XV.*, ii. 303.

rian, and the first in modern times who directed the attention of his readers to the progress of arts and civilisation, and other subjects than the annals of war or courts. The prodigious stores of varied information which he possessed were applied, with surprising effect, in his other voluminous prose writings, to elucidate almost every country of the world, and every subject of human thought. Often superficial in matters of science, always prejudiced in those of religion, he yet never failed to throw an air of plausibility over even his most dangerous paradoxes, by the admirable clearness, the pithy good sense, with which his opinions were stated. Many writers have exceeded him in the accuracy and depth of their views on particular subjects; none have equalled him in the vast and various subjects of knowledge which he embraced in his labours. As a critic, though sometimes envious, he was clear, judicious, and discriminating, and often gave way to impassioned and generous bursts of admiration. Though never aspiring to the highest flights of the muse, he has yet produced, in the "Henriade," the best epic poem in the French language. But the great theatre of his glory was the drama; and it is impossible to read his immortal tragedies, abounding as they do with pictured character, noble feelings, skilful combinations, pathetic incidents, eloquent declamation, and vehement action, without feeling that to him, for good or for evil, was indeed given the richest fruit of the tree of knowledge. They have not the dignified language, the profound thought of Corneille, nor the felicitous expression and exquisite pathos of Racine; but they are more impetuous, more varied, more graphic, and embrace a wider sphere of human action, and a far more extensive portraiture of human character. His lasting disgrace was the "Pucelle d'Orléans;" and when we reflect on the wicked prejudice which made him conceal what he knew to be the truth in regard to that extraordinary woman,‡ and cover the heroine

‡ It appears from what Voltaire himself has written on the Maid of Orléans, that no one was better aware of the great and noble qualities of the French heroine who perished in the

and saviour of France with obscene ribaldry, merely because she had thrown lustre by her exploits over the cause of religion, we feel that the offence, too great for an individual, was a national one, and that it was rightly requited when the English standards, from the ultimate consequences of the very doctrines of the infamous libeller, passed in triumph through the gates of Paris.

47. Voltaire, however, was not an atheist; had he been so, the mischief he produced would have been much less considerable. No man who openly denies the existence of a Supreme Being will ever acquire a general influence over mankind, how great soever his ascendancy may be in particular depraved circles. The avowed atheists were the object of more cutting sarcasm on his part than the Roman Catholic clergy themselves; and to him we owe the striking sentiment which Robespierre, taught by experience, was driven to reiterate amidst the blood of the Revolution—"If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent his being."* It was under the specious but delusive guise of deism that his attacks against Christianity were veiled; it was the philanthropic tendency of his principles, as to the administration of the Supreme Being and the government of men, which gave them their fatal ascendancy, by enlisting so many of the generous feelings on his side. But in the

flames, by English barbarity, within the walls of Rouen—a crime which "the execrations of ages have inadequately censured," but which the more generous spirit of English genius has striven, in our times at least, to expiate. "She returned," says he, "to her judges an answer worthy of immortal record. Interrogated why she had dared to assist with her standard at the coronation of Charles, she replied—'It is just that he who has borne his share in the labour should likewise in the honour.' Accused of having once resumed the dress of a male, which had been left for the express purpose of tempting her, her judges—who had certainly no right to try her, seeing she was a prisoner of war—declared her a relaxed heretic, and condemned to the stake her who, the saviour of her king, would have had altars consecrated to her in those heroic times when men thus honour their deliverers."—*Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations*, c. 50.

* VOLTAIRE, *Dialogues*, li. 41.

sense of moral responsibility he was utterly deficient; of the feeling of duty he had no steady conception. It is doubtful if he believed in the immortality of the soul; and of the great principle of moral probation and inherent corruption, he was throughout life the determined antagonist. Man, in his estimation, was made for happiness, not duty; he was sent here to enjoy, not to win enjoyment. Innocent, pure, and elevated in his original nature and native tendencies, his vices were all owing to the oppression of priests or the bigotry of creeds—his misery to the pernicious restraints thrown by the dogmas of the church over the enjoyments provided by nature. The great object of his philosophy was to cast down these selfish systems of artificial restraint. By following the dictates and impulses of nature, he thought man would arrive at once at the greatest happiness and highest destiny of his being. Hence it was that the author of "*Zaire*" was at the same time the author of the "*Pucelle*," that the historian of Louis XIV. composed "*Candide*." In these different and seemingly opposite works he was tracing out, with an equally skilful hand, the various and unrestrained inclinations and passions of the human heart, and at the same time indulging his own thirst for universal and indiscriminate admiration. He was all things to all men. With equal readiness he dealt out generosity for the generous, bravery for the brave, wisdom for the wise, selfishness for the selfish, voluptuousness for the voluptuous, and profligacy for the profligate.

48. Voltaire stopped short with the church: he never ventured to assail the palace. It was under the shadow of monarchy, emancipated from the fetters of superstition, that he contemplated the perfection of society.† But

† He contemplated

"La liberté publique,
Sous l'ombrage sacré du pouvoir monarchique."
—*Brutus*, Act ii. scene 1.

"Why do you not stop," said the Duke de Choiseul, minister of Louis XV. in 1764, to the new philosophers, "where Voltaire did? Him we can comprehend. Amidst all his sallies he respected authority; but you are mysterious and obscure, and lay down your doctrines in

those who destroy the altar will find it difficult to uphold the throne; and a native-born genius soon appeared, who carried into the theory of government the principles which the apostle of deism had arrayed only against the truths of Christianity. JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU, a humble watchmaker's son in Geneva, was born on the 28th June 1712; and the throne of Louis XIV. crumbled under his strokes. Like Voltaire, his character is portrayed in the history of his private life. Endowed by nature with an ardent imagination, a boundless fancy, and susceptible feelings; awkward in manner, and at the same time vain in thought; shy, but yet ambitious; diffident, but not ignorant of his powers;—he spent his early years in dreaming over romances, or devouring Plutarch's Lives; and was sometimes seduced, according to his own admission, into discreditable and criminal actions. He early wandered from his father's home, and was sheltered, while yet a boy, by Madame Warens, a benevolent old Catholic lady at Anneci, who was so shocked with the laxity of his religious principles that she sent him to a monastery at Turin to correct his opinions. He was too glad to escape from its rigid austerities, by entering the service of the Countess of Vercelli as a *laquais*, where he committed a theft, and had the baseness, on his own admission, to charge with it a young female fellow-servant who was entirely innocent of the offence. Dismissed from his situation for this affair, he entered into the employment of another noble family in Turin; but, soon disgusted with the drudgeries of domestic service, he fled to the house of Madame Warens, whose kindness had rescued him from destitution when a boy, and by whom he was again sheltered in misfortune. Madame Warens boarded him with the music-master of the cathedral, whom he accompanied at her desire to Lyons; but the latter having been seized with a fit of epilepsy, which made him fall down in the street, Rousseau seized the opportunity to take to flight, and shake himself clear of the burden, leaving the unhappy wretch, as he himself has told us, "deserted by the only friend he could rely on in the world."

49. This disgraceful inhumanity met with its appropriate reward. Rousseau, on returning to Anneci, found Madame Warens from home; her domestics could not tell what route she had taken, and he was obliged to wander away destitute and unbefriended, as he had left his unhappy master on the streets of Lyons. He reached Lausanne, hardly knowing where he was going, and there and at Neuchâtel earned a precarious subsistence for some time by teaching music, in which he was himself, at that time, very superficially instructed. Thence he visited Paris; but, finding himself immersed in an inferior society, he returned to Anneci, where Madame Warens again sheltered him, and his increasing passion for music made him take to teaching that art as a profession. Impetuous in all his designs, however, he could not rest in that employment; he fled, with extravagant passion, to games of hazard, and nearly killed himself by the vehemence with which, during some months, he devoted himself to those exciting pursuits. The study of Latin, of geometry, astronomy, and medicine, afterwards absorbed him, each for a few months of intense labour; and such was his facility in acquiring knowledge, that in that short period he obtained an extraordinary degree of proficiency in those different branches of information. Volumes would be required to recount all the follies and vices of this extraordinary man: suffice it to say, that at one period he was a preceptor for some months in the family of the brother of the celebrated Abbé de Mably, who was grandprovost of Lyons, where, neglecting the duties of his station, he spent his time, while dreaming over romances, alternately in drinking the delicious wine which he had stolen from the provost's cellars, and in making love to his wife; while at another, he conceived a passionate attachment for a vulgar young

a harsh and pedantic manner. We abandon to you religion and the clergy—will not this suffice? We surrender many of our prejudices: but cannot you at least show some regard for those which are useful?"—SMYTH'S *Lectures on the French Revolution*, I. 86, 87.

woman of the name of Theresa, whom he met when she was acting as a servant in an obscure inn at Paris, and who, during more than thirty years, exercised a tyrannical sway over his mind. She soon made him a father; but Rousseau sent his son to the foundling hospital, having first taken the precaution to efface all marks by which he could ever be recognised; and he was so pleased with this expeditious mode of ridding himself of the burden of maintaining his family, that he continued it through life. The author of so many eloquent declamations against the unnatural feelings of mothers who do not nurse their offspring, had the disgrace of sending *fee* of his own children to the foundling hospital, with such precautions against their ever being recognised, that he never could or did hear of them again.*

50. Despite all these disgraceful acts of selfishness and turpitude, the genius of Rousseau was such that it broke through all obstacles, and raised him to the highest pinnacle of literary glory. His first essay in the career in which he ultimately acquired such celebrity, was at once characteristic of the turn of his mind, and decisive as to the future tendency of his writings. It was an essay for a prize proposed by the Academy of Sciences at Dijon, on the question—"Have the arts and sciences contributed to the corruption or purification of morals?" He undertook to compete, by the advice of Diderot; boldly supported the side that they had contributed only to the progress of corruption, and carried off the prize. From that moment his fate was fixed: he determined, as he himself has told us, "to break at once with the whole maxims of his age."† Such, however, was the ardour of his passion for music, that his next essay was an opera, "*Le Devin du Village*;" the simple and pathetic lan-

guage of which charmed the court, and obtained unqualified success. So entirely artificial had manners and ideas become in the French capital, that the imagery and language of nature came upon its inhabitants with the charm of novelty: the feelings of rural life were as unknown to them as the music of the spheres.

51. His literary success neither improved his principles nor softened his heart. He passed soon after by Chambéry, where he visited Madame Warens, who had been a second mother to him during his youth and distress: he found her so reduced in her circumstances, by subsequent imprudence and misfortune, that he hardly knew her amidst the desolation with which she was surrounded. He hastened from the scene, and left scarcely any succour to her who had been so generous to him in his own evil days. He had even the barbarity to look, in the midst of her afflictions, to her little succession, and tell her that he expected to inherit a black dress which had caught his fancy. At Geneva, whither he repaired after leaving Madame Warens, his head was turned, on his own admission, by the republican ardour of which that little state was the theatre, and he had some thoughts of settling in its vicinity for life—a design from which, however, he was turned aside by the jealousy he felt at Voltaire, who had recently established himself with seigniorial splendour at Ferney, in the neighbourhood of that city. He returned in consequence to Paris, and took refuge with Madame d'Épinay, who received him readily, in the house since so well known under the name of the Hermitage, in the valley of Montmorency.

52. There his principal works, the "*Contrat Social*," and "*Nouvelle Héloïse*," were written; but having fallen desperately in love with the Countess d'Houdelot, sister-in-law to Madame d'Épinay, and mistress to the Marquis St Lambert, who received his passion with disdain, he quarrelled with his benefactress, and after a variety of discreditable adventures, found shelter in an apartment of the chateau of Montmorency, from the kindness of the

* It augments the indignation which all must feel at this heartless, unnatural conduct on the part of Rousseau, that the three last children whom he thus abandoned were born when he was in circumstances which, compared with those of his previous life, were affluence.—*Biog. Univ.* xxxix. 132.

† "De rompre brusquement en visière aux maximes de son siècle."—*Confessions*, ii. 124; *Biographie Universelle*, xxxix. 132.

Duke of Luxembourg; and soon after his greatest work, "Emile," appeared. He was now past fifty, but so little had his numerous repulses in love checked his vanity that he again conceived a ridiculous passion for a lady of fashion, the Countess Boufflers; indeed, so unconscious was he at this period of the awkwardness of his manner, that he openly avowed, in his correspondence, that he thought no woman, even of the highest rank, could resist him.* All these weaknesses are revealed in his "Confessions," from which principally the preceding detail has been taken—a sure proof that he had repented of none of them, for no man confesses a fault of which he is really ashamed. Subsequently he retired to Neufchatel, and soon after took up his abode in a cottage in the little island of St Pierre, in the middle of the beautiful lake of Bienne: but an order of the Senate of Berne at length compelled him to leave that charming retreat. He then married Theresa Levasseur, after twenty-three years of irregular connection, and of rude despotism on her part. At length he expired suddenly at Ermenonville, on the 3d July 1778, not without suspicions of having hastened his end by poison.

53. From a life so irregular, and in many periods so disgraceful, no fixed principle or firmness of mind could be expected; and yet such was Rousseau's genius, that it may be doubted whether any author ever produced so great an impression, both upon his own age and that which succeeded him. His writings, more even than Voltaire's, brought about the French Revolution. He followed up and applied to social life what that great philosopher directed only

against the institutions of religion. It was to their entire novelty, and the entrancing eloquence of the language in which they were couched, that this extraordinary success was owing. Surrounded as the Parisians were with the vices and the corruptions of a highly artificial mode of life, the language of nature, the fervour of unsophisticated affection, fell on them with inexpressible charms. It was like the sudden mania with which the votaries of fashion, half a century later, were seized for the melodramatic corsairs of Lord Byron. What particularly distinguished Rousseau's works, and gave them a decided superiority over all of a similar kind which had preceded them, was the brilliant and highly-coloured descriptions of nature, and genuine bursts of passion, with which they abounded. His pencil was literally "dipt in the orient hues of heaven." If his works had stopped here, they would have been only interesting as a picture of the times, and a step in the progress of literature, and have deserved little attention in general history. But they went a great deal further; and in the fundamental doctrine of Rousseau's philosophy is to be found both the antagonist principle, in every age, of the Christian faith, and the spring of revolutionary convulsions all over the world. This is the doctrine of HUMAN INNOCENCE and SOCIAL PERFECTIBILITY.

54. It was his constant affirmation that the human mind was born innocent, and with dispositions only to goodness; that the hunter and the savage were the model of every virtue; and that all the subsequent vices and miseries of man were owing to the tyranny of kings, the deception of priests, the oppression of nobles, and the evils of civilisation. Property, he argued, was the grand abuse which had ruined mankind; reason the source of all iniquity.†

* "There are few females, even of the highest rank, of whom I would not have made conquest, if I had attempted it."—See *Biographie Universelle*, xxxix. 136. It is a curious circumstance that Abelard, the Rousseau of the twelfth century, and whose doctrines on the Natural Innocence of Man very closely resembled those of the Philosopher of Meilleraie, said just the same. "I have come to this point," said he, "that out of all the women whom I have honoured with my love, I have not had to fear a single refusal."—ABELARD, *Liber Calam. Meorum*, p. 40; and MICHELLET, *Histoire de France*, ii. 290.

† "The man who reasons is the man who sins," was his favourite maxim. Rousseau and Diderot openly proclaimed the doctrine, that *Property* was the origin of all the social evils, and that a remedy for them could be found only in its abolition. "The first who says," said Rousseau, "this field is mine," introduces into society the germ of all calamities: the fearless reply should be, 'the fruits belong to all, the earth to no one.'"

This doctrine, which ever will be agreeable to the visionary, and ever condemned by the experienced of mankind, was received with unbounded acclamations by a generation which, itself immersed in frivolity, corruption, and sensuality, gladly embraced any principles which laid the whole consequences of these indulgences on others, and proclaimed that, in a state of nature, every inclination and desire might be gratified, alike without danger and without criminality. These doctrines lie at the root of Rousseau's social contract; they are the foundation of the scheme of education which he developed in his "Emile;" they breathe in the "Letters from the Mountains," and received their practical development in the fervour of the "Nouvelle Héloïse." It did not require the glowing pages of his eloquence, nor the brilliant colours which he lent alike to virtue and vice, to give popularity to a system which proclaimed impunity to passion and innocence to gratification; which dignified indulgence with the name of freedom, and profligacy with that of happiness; which stigmatised self-control as a violation of nature, and denounced restraint as an inroad on the benevolence of the Almighty.

55. The preceding detail, minute as it is, and trifling as to some it may appear, will not, by the reflecting reader, be deemed misplaced, even in a work of general history. It is thought, not physical strength, which really rules mankind; it is to the masters of mind that it is alone given to open the cavern of the winds. More even than by Mirabeau and Danton, the French Revolution was brought about by Voltaire

"Property," said Diderot, "is the general and abiding cause of all disorders; by it everything is overturned. Do you desire to regenerate the world? Leave the true sages of mankind fully at liberty to attack the errors and prejudices by which the spirit of property is maintained. I point out the blow which must be struck at the radical principle of all evils: abler men than I will possibly succeed in inducing the blow to be struck."

—See CAPEFERRÉ, *L'Europe pendant la Révolution Française*, l. 64. The doctrines of the followers of Babeuf in France in 1797, and of the Socialists and Chartists in England in 1840 and 1841, were nothing but the practical application of these principles.

and Rousseau; their dominion over the opinions of men has been more durable than that of Robespierre and Napoleon over their bodies. The Encyclopedists, who openly professed the principles of atheism; the Democrats, who commenced that great convulsion; the Jacobins, who carried it on, merely pushed to their natural and unavoidable result the principles of these mighty magicians. It is well to see the private life of those by whom thrones are overturned; it is sometimes instructive to trace out the self-reform of the men who undertake to purify the world. Nothing, too, is so characteristic of the state of society in the French capital at that period—of that unparalleled mixture of polish of manners with thirst for indulgence; of talent in conversation with frivolity of conduct; of elegance in habit with baseness in inclination; of sentiment in writing with selfishness in conduct; of taste in feeling with corruption in practice; of freedom of thought with servility of action; of declamations on liberty with dispositions to slavery—as the lives of those extraordinary men. And little was to be expected of a revolution which commenced with a library bequeathed to a young infidel by an old courtesan, and was fanned by the declamations on parental affection of a libertine father who had consigned his five children to a foundling hospital.

56. As with other great changes in the current of human thought, the doctrines of these powerful intellects were pushed by their successors beyond what they themselves had intended. Like all profound and original writers, they were followed by a crowd of imitators, who carried to the verge of extravagance at once their excellences and their defects. So powerful did the society of Men of Letters at Paris become, in the latter years of the reign of Louis XV., that they openly aspired to effect a total revolution in almost all the subjects of human thought, and remould the world, its institutions, habits, and opinions, after a model of their own. To effect this object, they combined all their strength in that immense undertaking, the "Encyclopédie"—the first work of

that description which had ever been attempted, and which, by the combination of talent which it embraced, and its extending to every branch of human knowledge, aimed at spreading its influence through all classes of the next generation. Its principles, sometimes just, in part generous, were always seductive, at least to a superficial generation. They denounced external restraint and severity of every kind; denied the rigours and asceticism of religion; declaimed against torture, and all the frightful cruelties of ancient punishment, and inveighed against the powers and fetters of the feudal system; loudly claimed entire liberty of conscience in matters of belief; supported freedom of commerce and action of every kind; and proclaimed a certain remedy for all imaginary grievances, in the general adoption of representative governments and popular institutions. But, amidst so many philanthropic projects, there was one fatal defect which rendered them all, when applied to practice, entirely nugatory. They made no provision for coercing the selfish passions of our nature; amidst all their reforms, they forgot the one on which they all depend—thereform of the human heart. They tried to solve the problem, of all others the most insoluble, "Given a world of knaves, to produce happiness out of their united actions."* Against religious influence, which alone has ever proved adequate to that herculean work, they declared the most envenomed hostility: they trusted to the united virtue of mankind for a safeguard against all the temptations which arise in the course of extensive changes in society—and the French Revolution was the consequence.

57. In the warfare against the church, which formed so remarkable a characteristic of French literature in the latter part of the eighteenth century, many able and learned men took an active part. The Abbé Raynal, in his philosophical history of the two Indies, laboured by all the powers of eloquence, and the charms of historic painting, to portray the supposed innocence and virtue of primitive man, and the unbounded calamities which the bigotry

* Carlyle.

of priests and the thirst for gold had brought into the regions of his unsophisticated abode. D'Alembert, Helvétius, and Diderot took bolder ground, and, without stopping short at oblique insinuations, openly denied the existence of God, and ascribed the whole material and moral universe to the fortuitous concourse of atoms, the inherent and immutable laws of matter, or the not less rigorous and compulsory subjection of mind to the laws of necessity. These frightful doctrines, which tended at once to extinguish all feeling of moral responsibility, and all motive to self-control in men, and to reduce society to a mere game of chance, where success was the only test of excellence, were rendered the more dangerous by the admirable and lucid talent with which the first of these highly-gifted men traced out the deepest mysteries of the modern analysis, and the prodigious and varied industry, as well as graceful taste, with which the two last touched equally on the lightest and most fascinating, as on the deepest and most abstruse branches of literature.

58. These really eminent and able, though dangerous and deluding writers, were followed by a crowd of others, whose names have already sunk into oblivion, but whose writings exercised at the time, and for long after, an unbounded sway over public thought in France and great part of Europe. Openly supporting the doctrines of materialism, denying the existence of a Supreme Being and a future state, they applied all the energy of their talent to add to the force of present passion, and minister to the variety of sensual gratification. The novels of Crébillon and Laclos, Louvet's memoirs of Faublas, and innumerable madrigals, belong to this class. Licentious adventures, highly painted scenes of voluptuousness, erotic poems, or undiagnosed obscenity, were the stimulants which they incessantly applied to emancipate man. To gain money, which might purchase such enjoyments, was held forth as the only rational object in existence. Future punishment was not to be thought of; it was a mere invention of priests to terrify mankind. It is not in such studies

that the moral preparation necessary to qualify man for the powers of freedom is to be found. This was the great cause of the downward progress, unbounded wickedness, and ultimate failure of the Revolution. The character of these men has been drawn by the hand of a master—himself an eternal monument of the consequences of their doctrines. "The Encyclopedists," says Robespierre, "embraced several estimable men, but a much greater number of ambitious charlatans: many of their chiefs have become considerable statesmen; whoever is ignorant of their influence and politics will have a very incomplete idea of our Revolution. They introduced the frightful doctrines of atheism—were ever, in politics, below the dignity of freedom: in morality, they went as far beyond the dictates of reason. Their disciples declaimed against despotism, and received the pensions of despots; they composed, alternately, tirades against kings, and madrigals for their mistresses; they wrote books against the court, and dedications to kings; were fierce with their pens, and rampant in antechambers. They propagated with infinite care the principles of materialism. We owe to them that selfish philosophy which reduced egotism to a system, regarded human society as a game of chance, where success was the only distinction between what was just and what was unjust,—probity as an affair of taste and good breeding, the world as the patrimony of the most dexterous of scoundrels."

59. The writings of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal, Diderot, Helvetius, and their successors, exercised an influence over the opinions of the whole educated classes in France, of which no previous example had existed in the world. Almost the whole philosophical and literary writers in Paris, for a quarter of a century before the Revolution broke out, were avowed infidels; the grand object of all their efforts was to load religion with obloquy, or, what was more efficacious in France, to turn it into ridicule. When David Hume was invited, at Paris, to meet a party of eighteen of the most celebrated literary men in the French capital, he

found, to his astonishment, that he was the *least sceptical* of the party: he was the only one present who admitted even the probability of the existence of a Supreme Being.* It was to propagate and extend these principles that all their exertions, both in teaching, writing, and conversation, were directed. Such productions are not permanently hurtful to the cause of religion over the world, but they often destroy a particular state: the reaction comes with unerring certainty; and the cause of Christianity, purified in the furnace from its human imperfections, at length comes forth in primeval simplicity, and with renovated strength. Already the reaction has begun, alike in France and England. Religion is again, as in its best days, the basis of the highest class of British literature; and in the French capital, the calm eye of philosophical investigation, undeterred by the sneers of an infidel age, has traced to admiring multitudes the blessings of religious institutions. But the immediate effects of these sceptical writings were to the last degree destructive. By accustoming men to turn into ridicule what others most revere—by leading them to throw off the principles and faith of their forefathers, they prepared the way for a general dissolution of the bonds, not only of religion, but of society. It is a slight step for those who have thrown off restraint in religious, to disregard authority in civil concerns.

60. The sceptical doctrines of the philosophers, permitting, as they did, unbounded gratification to the senses, without either restraint in this world or punishment in the next, were too agreeable to the wishes of a corrupted and libertine age, not to meet with almost universal assent in the French capital. Towards the latter part of the reign of Louis XV., no one at court but the King, the Dauphin and Dauphiness, and a few of the older part of the nobility, evinced any respect for religion. Even the external acts of worship were abandoned to the tradesmen and the lower people. Such of the higher ranks as did not openly turn religion into ridicule, from a lingering respect for ancient

* ROMILLY's *Memoirs*, i. 179.

opinions, confined themselves to three slight and ambiguous observances of its forms. On Sunday they went out and paid visits, to avoid going to the mass; they might be thought to have been there. During Lent, they passed one half of the season in Paris, the other in the country. In this way they eluded observation, or inquiry as to whether or not they joined in the religious observances of that period of devotion. Finally, on the death-bed of one of two married persons, the family kept the confessor at a distance; they were unwilling that the priest should be made acquainted with the infidelities of the dying spouse, in an age when regularity of manners was regarded only as a subject of ridicule. The children and relations concealed from the curé the dangerous nature of the malady, and only sent for him when it was too late to obtain a confession. Religion, banished from the palaces of the great, found shelter only in the cottages of the poor; and it was there alone, accordingly, in the western provinces, that any effectual stand against the Revolution was made.

61. It is a remarkable proof how completely ignorant the most able persons in Europe were of the ultimate effects of this irreligious spirit, that the greatest encouragement which the sceptical philosophers of France received, was from the clear-sighted and imperious despots of the north. Frederick the Great of Prussia and the Empress Catherine of Russia not only corresponded regularly with Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Diderot, but evinced in their letters the most lively interest in the great work going forward, of destroying the church in France. The former of these sovereigns gave Voltaire an asylum, with an ample establishment, in his palace at Berlin; while the latter settled a pension on Diderot, and corresponded with him on such flattering terms as amply consoled him for all the persecution he underwent from the government of Louis XV. No man was better aware than Frederick how unqualified men of abstract habits of thought, in general, are for the regulation of mankind; to him we owe the

caustic saying, the truth of which probably few practically acquainted with human affairs will be disposed to dispute, "If I wished to destroy one of my provinces, I would intrust its government to the philosophers." Nevertheless, so enamoured was he of the warfare against the Christian religion, which the Parisian *savans* were carrying on, that he, as well as Catherine, never gave the French church any other name, in their correspondence with Voltaire and D'Alembert, but the sobriquet "*l'Infâme*," which they had invented for it; the initial letters of which so long perplexed the French police, who opened their letters.* Catherine, in the later years of her reign, was so sensible of the encouragement she had

* In 1759, Voltaire wrote to the King of Prussia, "Your Majesty reproaches me with sometimes caressing *l'Infâme*. No, indeed, before God! my whole labours are for her utter destruction, and I am succeeding in this aim among honest men."—VOLTAIRE TO KING OF PRUSSIA, 26th June 1760. On the 8th January 1766, Frederick wrote to Voltaire, "*L'Infâme* gives only poisonous herbs: it is reserved for you to crush her with your redoubtable club, by the contempt which you heap upon her, and which inflicts weightier blows than all arguments." Again, on 25th February 1766, "Your age is like the infancy of Hercules; that god crushed the serpents in his cradle, and you—loaded with years—you crush *l'Infâme*." In 1767, Frederick and Voltaire mutually congratulated each other on the success of the efforts of the philosophers against *l'Infâme*. "I have read," says the Prussian monarch, "all the pieces you sent me: those against *l'Infâme* are so powerful that, since the time of Celsus, nothing more trenchant has been published. No refuge remains to the Phantom of Error: it has been scourged on all its faces—on all its sides. The time has come for pronouncing its funeral oration, and committing it to the tomb." And on the 16th March 1771, Frederick wrote to Voltaire, "I highly approve the method of pouring jeers on *l'Infâme*, and combating it by civilities."—See *Correspondance de Frederick avec Voltaire, Œuvres de Voltaire*, vols. III. IIII. edition 1829. This "*l'Infâme*," so much the object of their philosophic horror, was the church of France—the church of Bossuet and Fénelon, of Fléchier and Bourdaloue, of Pascal and Saurin! Voltaire and D'Alembert, for a series of years, generally closed their letters with *écr. l'Inf.* (*écrases l'Infâme*), which long puzzled the French police, who opened them. What a picture of an age! The first of monarchs and the first of philosophers corresponding on their efforts to destroy the church, and their letters regularly opened by the police of a despotic monarch! See *SouLAVIE, Règne de Louis XVI.*, I. 206 et seq.

given to sceptical opinions in France, and their disastrous effects, that she entertained a serious dread that she would be regarded by history as one of the causes of the Revolution.

62. The clergy in France were far from being insensible to the danger of this flood of irreligion which deluged the land, and they raised their voice in the loudest strains to denounce it; but they did not possess ability sufficient to stem the torrent, and had no other resource but to call on the government to enforce the laws against works of an irreligious tendency, and get the writings of the modern philosophers burned by the hands of the executioner. The Romish church now felt the consequences of the entire overthrow of the Protestant faith in France, so long the subject of congratulation; the barbarous injustice of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes at length recoiled on the head of its authors. Victory had abated their energies, the cessation of controversy had destroyed their powers; indolence and luxury in the noble dignitaries, poverty and ignorance in the inferior functionaries of the church, rendered them wholly unequal to a contest with the giant powers of newly-roused infidelity. The race of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, of Pascal and Fénelon, was extinct: the Roman Catholic faith did not now possess their robust arms to defend its tenets; the followers of Molina and Jansen had ceased to contend for victory; their fierce contests no longer divided the religious world. These acrimonious antagonists had suspended their polemical quarrel on the approach of civil conflict; the Port-Royal controversy had merged in that of the parliaments with the throne. So low had the talents of the once illustrious church of France fallen, that in the latter part of the eighteenth century, when Christianity itself was assailed, not one champion of note appeared in its ranks; and when the convocation of the clergy in 1770 published their famous anathema against the dangers of unbelief, and offered rewards for the best essays in defence of the Christian faith, the productions called forth were so despicable

that they sensibly injured the cause of religion.

63. The prophecies of the French church, however, though their defence of Christianity was feeble, are well deserving of attention as historical documents. They demonstrate, what is often so conspicuous in human affairs, that whenever any great change in society is taking place, its ultimate effects are foreseen and foretold by one party as clearly as they are denied and ridiculed by another; and that it is not ignorance, but prejudice, which is the evil principally to be dreaded.* In a general assembly of the clergy held in 1770, the most vigorous remonstrances against the multiplication of irreligious books were made, and the denunciations of Isaiah and Jeremiah repeated against the modern dereliction from the faith of their fathers. "Impiety," said they, "has passed from the capital to the provinces; it is found under the roof of the artisan, and in the cottage of the peasant; it misleads alike their ignorance and their simplicity. Impiety is making inroads alike on God and man; it will never be satisfied *till it has destroyed every power, divine and human*. Anarchy and independence are the two gulfs into which irreligion would plunge the nation. To accomplish that infernal object, it breaks down by degrees all the bonds which attach man to his duties. It looks abroad over society and the chiefs who govern it, and sees there nothing but a vile mass of ignorant corrupted men, prostrated before priests who deceive, and princes who oppress them. It teaches, that there is in

* The present is one remarkable instance of this truth, which deserves the most attentive consideration from political philosophers. Others not less striking will be found in the sequel of this work; in particular, the predictions of the opponents of the abolition of the slave-trade on the ultimate effects of that measure, c. xiv. § 22; of the opponents of Catholic emancipation on its consequences, c. xxxix. § 24, and c. xlv. §§ 77, 78; and of the Opposition on the effects of Mr Vansittart's breaking in upon the Sinking Fund in 1818, in c. lxxvi. §§ 28, 29. A similar instance of the exact prediction of the consequence of a great political change, wholly disregarded and ridiculed at the time, occurred on occasion of the great monetary change of reverting to cash payments in 1819, particularly in the petition from the merchants of Bristol.

existence neither a Supreme Being, nor a soul, nor a world to come. It sees in the priesthood nothing but a vile league against virtue and the human race. It teaches nations, that kings have no power but such as it has pleased them to intrust their sovereigns with; that the people have a right to restrain or moderate it, to demand an account of it, and even to extinguish it, according to their supreme pleasure. It is this spirit which has given birth to the endless multiplication of sects among our neighbours in England, but it is fitted to produce effects far more disastrous among the French. There it will be found, in the inconstancy of the nation, in its activity, its love for novelty, its inconsiderate ardour, an additional means of producing the most frightful revolutions, and precipitating it into all the horrors of anarchy.*

64. The temporal constitution of the French church, however, rendered it as unfit to withstand these political dangers as its intellectual power was to grapple with its spiritual enemies. Within the bosom of the establishment, and in all who fell within the sphere of its influence, the seeds of deep-rooted discontent were to be found. This arose from the invidious exclusion of all persons of plebeian birth from the dignities and emoluments of the ecclesiastical profession. In extraordinary cases, indeed, the force of talent may have procured elevation without the advantages of blood; but, generally speaking, the dignitaries of the church were drawn from the same class as the marshals or princes of the empire. While the bishops and elevated clergy were rolling in wealth or glittering in the sunshine of royal favour, the humbler clergy, on whom

the whole practical duties of the pastoral office devolved, toiled in virtuous obscurity, hardly elevated, either in rank or comfort, above the peasantry who composed their flocks.† The dubious class of abbés brought discredit on the church, from the profligate lives which many of them led, and the general devotion of the whole body to worldly interests and enjoyments. The simple piety and unostentatious usefulness of the rural priests, while it endeared them to their parishioners, formed a striking contrast to the luxurious habits and dissipated lives of the high-born dignitaries of the establishment. The enormous wealth of the latter excited the envy both of their own body and of the lower classes of the people; while the general idleness in which they passed their lives prevented all possibility of justifying the scandalous inequality of their fortunes. The sceptical philosophers took advantage of these real abuses, connected with the established church, to influence the public mind against an establishment of any kind; and to represent the appropriation of any proportion of the landed property of the kingdom to the support of religion, as the most flagrant abuse which existed in society. Hence the universal indignation in 1789, at the vices and corruption of the church, and the facility with which, in the very commencement of the Revolution, their property was sacrificed to relieve the embarrassment of the finances.

65. IX. A school of philosophy, too, had risen up at this period in France, which, although far from being so important in its ultimate effects as the great atheistical phalanx which aimed at destroying all the foundations of

* The same denunciations were repeated in an assembly of bishops held two years after, in 1772. "Impiety," said they, "abuses too audaciously the art of writing, to break all the cords which unite us to the Christian faith. Irreligious books have become a general pest which pervades the nation. Hence the general effervescence of minds, and that afflicting revolution which is taking place every day under our eyes in the public morals. In many provinces the Protestants are again holding their assemblies no longer secretly, but in the open light of day."—*Sou-LAVIE, Règne de Louis XVI.*, i. 224.

† The total revenues of the church, derived from tithes, amounted to 130,000,000 francs, of which only 42,000,000 were in the hands of the parochial clergy; the number of the ecclesiastics was 80,000. But this revenue, large as it was, was inconsiderable, compared to the extent of the territorial possessions of this body, which embraced almost a third of the whole land of France. The nobles and the clergy possessed nearly two-thirds of the whole estates of the kingdom; and the other third was in the hands of the *Tiers Etat*, upon whom fell the greater proportion of the burdens of the state.

religious belief, yet exercised a most important influence on its political history. This was the sect of the *Economists*, the founders of that school of philosophers who first applied abstract principles to human affairs, and sought to enunciate in a few propositions the principles on which social prosperity depended. Many bright lights had been thrown on this noble science in the beautiful work which Fénelon composed to instruct his royal pupil in the science of government;* but the founder of the School of the Economists, properly so called, was Quesnay, a physician in Mantes, who about the year 1761 began to inculcate the simple and original ideas which afterwards made their doctrines so celebrated. His maxims were, that there is a natural order intended by Providence for society; that if this order is observed in human institutions, everything prospers and mankind are happy; if it is violated, misery is engendered and the people are wretched. The only source of wealth, according to him, was to be found in agriculture; commerce or manufactures did not create riches, they only changed their form from that of rude produce to that of manufactured articles: the artisan or the merchant consumed as much in food, in altering the form, or changing the place of rude produce, as they added to its value.†

66. It followed from these principles, that unlimited freedom should prevail, both in external and internal commerce; but that government should look for the principal and only secure source of national riches, to the improvement of the cultivation of the soil. They carried this principle of free trade so far as to apply it to the whole relations of social life, and proposed to abolish all incorporations, crafts, faculties, apprenticeships, and restrictions of every kind, from those of medicine and theology downwards, and to let every man exercise any profession, set up any trade, or carry on any employment in any part

of the kingdom. Religion was not to be excluded from the general competition: no peculiar creed was to be supported by the state: every man was to pay his priest as he did his butcher and baker. A heavy tax on the rent of land should, according to Quesnay, be the sole public burden permitted in the state, as it directly reached in the cheapest form its real revenue. These doctrines, from their novelty and simplicity, soon attracted general notice; they formed the basis of the political opinions of the statesmen and philosophers who rose to eminence immediately before the French Revolution; and from having been in great part embraced, and attempted to be put in practice by Turgot, when minister of Louis XVI., they deserve a place in the history of that great convulsion. In the belief which these doctrines spread among the thinking classes in France, that the existing structure of society was essentially defective, and that unbounded social blessings would follow its entire change, is to be found one of the most powerful causes of that violent convulsion which so soon after entirely uprooted all its institutions.

67. Certainly in these doctrines abstractly considered, apart from their fatal error as to religion, there is much truth which the philosopher must admire, and some which the statesman might cautiously embrace; but they require to be essentially modified before they are put in practice. If rashly adopted, they cannot fail, from the vast extent of vested interests they injure, to produce widespread misery or dreadful convulsions. It is true that all wealth in the world originally comes from the soil; but it is not less true that a particular state, such as Holland or Venice, may attain the greatest riches and importance without any considerable territorial possessions, by merely drawing to itself, in exchange for its mercantile industry, the agricultural resources of other states. It is true that all incorporations and statutes of apprenticeship are restraints on the freedom of human action; but it is not the less true that they provide for the classification of men according to their pro-

* *Télémaque*.

† Quesnay was a great favourite of Madame de Pompadour, and the first reunions of the Economists were held in her drawing-room. At that period, not even the speculations of philosophers could be fostered anywhere but in the boudoirs of mistresses.

fessions and crafts—the best system which human wisdom has ever devised to extend their legitimate influence, and assuage their unavoidable misfortunes. It is true that all taxation must ultimately be paid from the produce of the soil in the country where it is imposed, or in those which exchange their rude produce for its manufactured articles; but it is not less true that the sum drawn from the latter source may, in a commercial community, come to be greater than that derived from the former, so that the taxes it can afford to pay may greatly exceed the whole rent of its land.* It is true that there is an order to which nature points, and which wisdom approves, in human society; but it is not the less true that this can be nowhere completely established, in consequence of the innumerable existing interests which have grown up under a different system; and the philosopher who unfolds, in one chapter, the benevolent intentions of Providence in the adaptation of the human mind to the varying exigencies of society, would do well to devote the next to the modification which these principles must ever receive from the follies, the vices, and the selfishness of man.†

68. X. Insult is more keenly resented than injury. The pride of nobility is more difficult to tolerate than all the exclusive advantages which its order possesses. "Numerous and serious as are the grievances of the French nation were," says the ablest of the royalist writers, "it was not they that occasioned the Revolution. Neither the taxes, nor the *lettres de cachet*, nor the other abuses of authority, nor the vexations

of the intendants, nor the ruinous delays of justice, have irritated the nation; it is the *prestige* of nobility which has excited all the ferment: a fact which proves that it was the shopkeepers, the men of letters, the monied interest—in fine, all those who were jealous of the nobility—who roused against them the lower classes in the towns, and the peasantry in the country. In truth, it is an extraordinary circumstance, that the nation should say to a child possessed of parchment,—'You shall one day be either a prelate, a marshal, or an ambassador, as you choose,' while it has nothing to offer to its other children." In fact, the men of talent and the men of fortune found this distinction so insupportable, that they invariably purchased a patent of nobility when they had the means of doing so; but from this arose a new difficulty, and fresh dangers to the monarchy. The wealth which bought titles could not confer eminence; it could not give historic names, or remove the stain of ignoble birth. Hence the distinction between the old families and those newly ennobled, and a division in the aristocracy itself, which prevented that body as a whole from ever adopting any common measures for the general safety. The great families were more jealous of the *parvenus* than of the inferior classes of the people. From the last they anticipated no danger; the first were placed in a situation approaching too closely to their exclusive domain, to admit of their ever combining with them in measures for their common defence.

69. The distinction of nobility and base-born was carried to a length in

* This has long been the case in Great Britain. The rental of the land in the island is now £45,753,615, while the taxes are upwards of £50,000,000; and during the latter years of the war were above £70,000,000, or double the whole land rent of the country at that period.

† The doctrines of the Economists, which deserve much more attention than they have hitherto received, or are likely to receive, in the mercantile community of Great Britain, are disclosed in several able works. The "Physiocratie, ou Constitution Naturelle des Gouvernemens," by Quesnay, published and edited by Dupont de Nemours, contains, in three small volumes, their whole principles;—but this work is exceedingly rare. In

"L'Ordre des Sociétés," by Mercier de la Rivière, in two volumes, the same doctrines are very ably stated; and again more fully developed in La Trône's "Ordre Social," in one large volume. The Comte de Mirabeau (father of the great Mirabeau), in his celebrated work entitled "L'Ami des Hommes," in five volumes, has fully expounded the same views in an eloquent and systematic manner. The great defect which strikes an English reader in them all, is the ignorance of real business, and of the practical working of men in society, which was, without doubt, the unavoidable result of ingenious minds speculating under a despotic government on such subjects, without the benefit of any real experience.

France, of which it is difficult, in this free country, to form a conception. Every person was either noble or *roturier*; no middle class, no shades of distinction were known. On the one side were a hundred and fifty thousand privileged individuals; on the other, the whole body of the French people. All situations of importance in the church, the army, the court, the bench, or the diplomatic line, were exclusively enjoyed by the former of these classes. Louis XIV., indeed, had laboured to break down this exclusive system, and the great talent which has immortalised his reign, in every walk of knowledge, was mainly selected by his discriminating eye from the middle classes of society. But the abuses and rigid exclusion of the old regime reappeared during the weakness of his successors, and had now been acted on for nearly a century. In a flourishing and prosperous country, such a system is of itself sufficient to produce a revolution. Men of fortune will not long submit to the insolence of aristocratic pride—men of talent, in the end, will scorn the trammels of patronage and the condescension of fashion. When a public has arisen, and the means of arriving at distinction, independent of the support of the nobility, exist, genius will generally incline, in a country so situated, to the side, whatever it is, which is opposed to the government. This tendency may be observed in all free countries, and in none more than in England, as shown by its recent history.* It is provided for in the independence of thought which is the general accompaniment of intellectual strength, and is the counterpoise provided by nature to the influence of government, which might otherwise prove overwhelming. This change, accordingly, had taken place in France before the Revolution. The industrious classes, the men of talent, the men of wealth, were unanimous in their hatred of the nobility; the universal cry was for Liberty and EQUALITY,—a cry almost unknown during the English Rebellion. Equality of rank, abolition of privileges, equal eligibility for office,

were the universal objects of desire to the nation; because they were the pressing evils which had excited the discontents, and thwarted the vanity which has always, by their own admission, been the leading feature of the French character. The insurrection was less against the throne than against the nobility; against the oppressive weight of feudal tyranny, inconsistent with the spirit of the age, and bequeathed by the power of barbarian conquest.

70. The noble families of France had contrived, in a long course of years, to engross the whole offices in the gift of the crown. The higher situations in the magistracy were confined to fifty families, in which they had become almost hereditary, and which could number among their ancestors some of the greatest men and purest patriots of France. Still, though their merit in this respect was universally admitted, the monopoly they enjoyed of all elevated situations in the judicial establishment was justly complained of as a very serious grievance. The whole commissions in the army, above the rank of a lieutenant, were given to persons of noble birth: those in the *Maison du Roi*, or body-guards, who were twelve thousand strong, were confined to the higher nobility; and in the more favoured corps of that body, the privates even were required to be of noble birth. Notwithstanding these substantial advantages, the nobility, generally speaking, had much declined from their ancient splendour. There were in France about eighty thousand families claiming noble descent, and to them belonged nearly a hundred and fifty thousand individuals, who formed the privileged class. Four thousand civil offices either conferred or transmitted the rights of nobility; but instances of their being thus acquired by the *Tiers Etat* were not frequent. Of these eighty thousand families, about one thousand could trace back their origin to the distant ages of the monarchy; but such had been the extravagance of successive generations, or the misfortunes in which they had come to be involved, that not more than three hundred of them were in affluence when the Revolution broke out.

* "Lords and Ladies don't like to have their mouths stopped."—JOHNSON.

Only two hundred had historic names, or could boast of public services rendered by their ancestors to the state; the remainder, unknown alike in past and present times, enjoyed no advantage but exemption from several of the most oppressive direct taxes, and the favour of the court in the obtaining of commissions in the army. Most of them were miserably poor, and debarred alike by private pride and public opinion from engaging in those lucrative commercial pursuits by which the *Tiers Etat* had been so much enriched. Many of this latter class were superior to the most prosperous of the nobility, a few great families alone excepted, in wealth, talents, and personal respectability; but still they were ineligible to the higher situations in the magistracy, the church, or the army; and they could not, if strictly watched, obtain a place in any of the parliaments in the kingdom. In the nobility itself, a distinction, considered to the last degree invidious by the older families, existed. This arose from the *nouveaux nobles*, or new nobility, who had acquired titles in recent times by purchase, or by the holding of offices which conferred that distinction, and whose newly-acquired wealth often eclipsed the decayed and now antiquated splendour of the ancient houses. The most part of the great estates which conferred titles had fallen into the hands of farmers of the finance, or rich merchants, while the titled heirs of their original owners hung about the court, a useless and discreditable burden on the state. Thus power and influence were confined to a class little qualified to exercise them; while the vast majority in numbers, and no inconsiderable part of the holders of property in the state, were excluded from any enjoyment of either.

71. XI. While the nobility was thus lowered in consideration and divided in feeling, the third estate, or *Tiers Etat*, had immensely advanced, during the eighteenth century, in numbers, wealth, and respectability. The calamitous termination of the wars of Louis XIV. had, for a quarter of a century, diverted the ambition of France from foreign conquest; and the subsequent contests,

terminated by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1749 and that of Paris in 1763, had not been of such extent or duration as seriously to affect the internal prosperity of the kingdom. During this long period, the industry and activity of the *Tiers Etat* had brought about an extraordinary change in their condition and feelings. France had founded colonies in America. She had immensely extended her maritime commerce; that to the single island of St Domingo maintained, as already noticed, sixteen hundred vessels and twenty-seven thousand sailors.* Domestic manufactures had spread to a very great degree; foreign commerce was flourishing; her commercial marine was second only to that of Great Britain; her warlike navy, as the American War proved, was almost on a level, for the first time in history, with that of her great antagonist. The riches flowing into the state, from this prodigious increase of mercantile industry, had all been centred in the *Tiers Etat*: the nobility, disdaining the humble employments of commerce, remained in secluded pride, strangers alike to the wealth which this industry had produced, and the feelings to which it had unavoidably given rise.

72. As a natural consequence of this state of commercial prosperity, the principal harbours and manufacturing towns in France had greatly increased in wealth, population, and influence. Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Nantes, were larger cities than the capitals of most of the adjoining kingdoms. Paris had increased to a degree that had even become alarming; it numbered nearly seven hundred thousand inhabitants, and their intelligence and mental activity rendered them more influential than did even the vast aggregate of their numbers. During a succession of ages, they had largely profited by the policy of Richelieu and Louis

* The exports of France to the Spanish and French St Domingo, in 1789, amounted to no less than 250,000,000 francs, or £10,000,000 sterling; its imports from that island, to 189,000,000 francs, or £7,560,000. The whole exports of Great Britain to all her West India islands put together are only £3,600,000 at this time (1842).—See DUMAS, *Guerre de 1790* & 1803, viii. 112, 113.

XIV., who attracted the nobles to the capital: the extravagance and prodigality of these haughty seigneurs had insensibly, but certainly, caused their wealth to glide into the coffers of the jewellers and money-lenders. Almost all the provincial towns were the seats of flourishing branches of manufacture, or of a multitude of legal practitioners before the local courts, stewards and factors on estates, or other functionaries, who largely partook in the spoils of the absent and heedless nobility.* In a higher class, the farmers of fief, or of the royal revenue, had in great part accumulated considerable, sometimes great fortunes; and it was hard to say whether the royal influence was most impaired by the large portion of the revenue which they diverted from the public treasury, or by the consideration they imparted to the *Tiers Etat*, now, if not in open hostility to, at least in sullen alienation from the crown.

73. It was the natural result of this prosperous condition of the middle classes, that they had, in great part at least, received an education which might put their superiors to the blush, if they reflected on the greater advantages they had enjoyed, and the larger means of acquisition which they had misapplied. This was the unavoidable consequence of their situation; for they were brought up to professions, such as the law, medicine, commerce, or the humbler stations in the church, in which a certain degree of information was indispensable to the obtaining even of the most inferior employment; and the higher could only be reached by intellectual cultivation of no ordinary kind. It had long been observed in France, accordingly, that the middle classes were, with some brilliant exceptions, not only better informed, but incomparably superior in ability to the noblesse or the clergy; and

the greater part of the literary men or philosophers, who for half a century before the Revolution directed the public thought, had sprung from this class. In all countries, even the most free, intellectual vigour and ability, arising from the middle class, is in the general case inclined to the democratic side; for the very obvious reason that, sprung from its ranks, it sympathises with its feelings, and is identified with its real or supposed interests. If this tendency is clearly discernible in Great Britain, where the career of talent is open to all, and the son of a commoner is so frequently raised to the woolstack or the archiepiscopal chair, it may be conceived with how much vehemence it must have operated in France, where a sullen line of demarcation prescribed a limit to the elevation even of the most transcendent abilities in the middle class; and all elevated situations at the court, in the army, the magistracy, the church, and the diplomatic line, were rigorously confined to persons of higher birth, but inferior qualifications.

74. XII. The taxation of France afforded a practical grievance of the most serious kind, rendered yet more galling by the inequality with which it was imposed. The two privileged orders, the nobles and the clergy, were exempted from several of the most oppressive imposts—a privilege grounded on the feudal fiction, that the former defended the state by their swords, while the latter interceded for it by their prayers. Such a ground of exemption was peculiarly untenable after a long period of peace, during which the nobility were exclusively occupied in the frivolities of the court, and many of the higher clergy were suspected, with too much reason, of sharing in its vices. The actual addition which the exemption of so large a proportion of the most opulent classes made to the burdens of the people, though by no means inconsiderable, was the least part of the evil: the bitterness lay in the sense of its injustice. But much misrepresentation has taken place on this subject, and the freedom from taxation by the privileged orders has been generally described as

* If the birth and parentage of a large proportion of the persons who played an important part in the Revolution is examined, it will be found that they were the sons or grandsons of stewards of estates, bailiffs, and factors, or domestic servants and valets-de-chambre in the chateaus of the neighbouring proprietors, the descendants of whom had risen to the rank of advocates, physicians, attorneys, or surgeons in the provincial towns where they had been born.—BOULLÉE, 55, note.

much more extensive than it really was. They certainly did not contribute equally with each other, or with the commons; but they both paid largely to the public service. Neither the nobility nor the clergy enjoyed exemption from any of the indirect impositions which in France, as in other countries, constituted so large a proportion of the public revenue. The former paid the capitation tax and the twentieth penny or vingtième, which, together, sometimes amounted to four shillings in the pound. The clergy in the provinces annexed by conquest to France, comprehending about an eighth of the territory and a sixth of the wealth of the kingdom, also paid the capitation and the vingtième; and although the clergy in the old provinces did not pay the capitation, this was because they had redeemed it by payment of 24,000,000 of francs, or £1,000,000 sterling: they did not pay the vingtième, but they, in return, made free gifts and were subject to other charges, which amounted to nearly as much as their proportion of what was paid by the other orders. The real ground of complaint, and it was a most substantial one, was the exemption of both the privileged orders from the taille—a direct burden on the produce of land of the most odious and impolitic kind, and the weight of which, being borne exclusively by the Tiers Etat, led to the general impression that the privileged orders were entirely freed from taxation of any sort.

75. The taxes of France were not only heavy, and liable to hateful exemptions, but they were unequally distributed even upon the classes who bore them, and were, in an especial manner, oppressive to the cultivators of the soil. The taille and the vingtième imposts—exclusively affecting agricultural labour, and rising in proportion to its profits—with other smaller burdens, amounted to no less than 171,000,000 francs, or £8,840,000 sterling, a sum at least equivalent to £15,000,000 on the land of England. So excessive was the burden which this created upon agricultural labour, that it has been calculated, by a very competent observer, that in some districts where the value-

tion was rigorously taken, supposing the produce of an acre worth £3, 2s. 7d., the proportion which went to the king was £1, 18s. 4d.; that to the landlord, 18s.; that to the actual cultivator, 5s.; or, if the proprietor cultivated his own land, his share was only £1, 4s. 3d., while that of the king was £1, 18s. 4d. In other words, if the produce of an acre had been divided into twelve parts, nearly seven and a half went to the king, three and a half to the proprietor, and one to the farmer; whereas in England, at the same period, if the produce of an acre were £8, the land-tax and poor-rates would be 10s., the rent £1, 10s., and the share of the cultivator £6—three-fourths of the produce instead of one-twelfth, as under the French monarchy. Nearly one-third of France, at this period, was in the hands of small proprietors, upon whom these taxes fell with unusual severity; and some of these, particularly in the Limousin, the Cevennes, the lower Pyrenees, and Dauphiné, had abandoned cultivation altogether, from the weight of the burdens to which they were subjected.

76. The taxes on consumption amounted to 260,000,000 francs, or £10,400,000, and the total revenue to 469,000,000 francs, or £18,750,000; but this immense burden was imposed without any regard to equality in the different provinces. Some had obtained commutations unreasonably favourable to themselves; others, from having evinced a refractory spirit, had been saddled with more than a just proportion of the public burdens. Those who had acquired no commutation, were liable to a progressive and most vexatious increase of their imposts. The fixing of the amount of these taxes affecting each individual was in the hands of the intendants of the provinces, from whose decision there was, practically speaking, no appeal, and who frequently exercised their powers in an arbitrary manner. Royal commissions had been established to take cognisance of questions regarding the revenues, of which the decision properly belonged to the ordinary tribunals; several contributions were judged of by the king in council—a species of judicature in which justice, in a question

between the crown and a subject, was not likely to be obtained.

77. XIII. When the weight of the taxes under which they groaned is considered, it will not appear surprising that the cultivators of France were in the most miserable state. Mr Young calculated, in 1789, that the rural labourer in France, taking into view the price of provisions, was seventy-six per cent poorer than in England; that is, he had seventy-six per cent less of the necessaries and conveniences of life than fell to the lot of a similar class in this country. Rural labour being seventy-six per cent cheaper in France than in England, it follows that all those classes which depend on that labour, and are the most numerous in society, were, in a similar proportion, less at their ease, worse fed, worse lodged, worse clothed, than their brethren on this side of the Channel. With a very few exceptions, accordingly, the peasantry were in the most indigent condition—their houses dark, comfortless, and almost destitute of furniture—their dress ragged and miserable—their food the coarsest and most humble fare. "It reminded me," says Mr Young, "of the miseries of Ireland!" Nor was the condition of the people more comfortable in those extensive districts of the country where small properties existed; on the contrary, these were uniformly distinguished by the most numerous and squalid population. Nor is this surprising: nothing can conduce so much to a redundant population as a minute division of landed property and an oppressive government; the means of subsistence, without the means of enjoyment; scope to the principle of increase, without any development of its limitations.

78. In addition to an indigent peasantry, France was cursed with its usual attendant, a non-resident body of landed proprietors. This was an evil of the very first magnitude, drawing after it, as is invariably the case, a discontented tenantry and a neglected country. The great proprietors all resorted to Paris in quest of amusement, of dissipation, or of advancement; and, excepting in La

Vendée, where a totally different system of manners prevailed, the country was hardly ever visited by its landowners. The natural consequence of this was, that no kindly feelings, no common interest, united the landlord and his tenantry. The former regarded the cultivators in no other light than as beasts of burden, from whose labour the greatest proportion of profit was to be extracted; the latter considered their lords as tyrants, known only by the vexatious visits and endless demands of their bailiffs. From being neglected by their natural guardians, and experiencing no benefits or encouragement from them, the labouring classes everywhere imbibed a sour and discontented spirit, and were ready to join any incendiaries who promised them the pillage of the chateaux of their landlords, or the division of their estates. Nor was this all: all those useful and beneficial undertakings, so common in England, which bind together the landed aristocracy and their tenantry, by the benefit they confer upon the estates of the former, and the employment they afford to the industry of the latter, were unknown in France. No improvements in agriculture, no advances of capital, were made by the proprietors of the soil; roads, harbours, canals, and bridges, were undertaken and managed exclusively by the government; and the influence naturally arising from the employment of industry, and the expenditure of capital, was wholly lost to the French noblesse. In La Vendée alone, the landlords lived in pristine simplicity, consuming in rustic profusion the produce of their estates upon their own lands; and in La Vendée alone the tenantry supported them in the hour of trial, and waged a long doubtful and glorious war with the Republican forces.

79. XIV. The local burdens and legal services due by the tenantry to their feudal superiors, were to the last degree vexatious and oppressive. The peasantry in France were almost all ignorant; not one in fifty could read, and in each province they were unaware of what was passing in the neighbouring one. At the distance of twenty leagues from Paris, they were unacquainted with what

was going forward during the most interesting era of the Revolution. They rose at the instigation of the demagogues in the neighbouring towns to burn the chateaus of their landlords, but never carried their ideas beyond the little circle of their immediate observation. No public meetings were held, no periodical press was within their reach, to spread the flame of discontent; yet the spirit of resistance was universal from Calais to Bayonne. This affords decisive evidence of the existence of a serious mass of oppression or numerous local grievances, capable of producing discontent so general, and hatred so implacable. The feudal rights of the landed proprietors stood foremost in this list of grievances. The most important operations of agriculture were fettered or prevented by the game-laws, and the restrictions intended for their support. Wild animals of the most destructive kind, such as boars and herds of deer, were permitted to go at large, through large districts called *Captaineries*, without any enclosures to protect the crops. The damage they did to the farmers, in four parishes of Montceau alone, amounted to 184,000 francs, or £7500 a-year. Numerous edicts existed, which prohibited hoeing and weeding, lest the young partridges should be killed; mowing hay, lest the eggs should be destroyed; taking away the stubble, lest the birds should be deprived of shelter; manuring with nightsoil, lest their flavour should be injured. Complaints for the infraction of these edicts were all carried before the manorial courts, where every species of oppression, chicanery, and fraud was practised. Nothing can exceed the force of expression used in the cahiers of the provincial bodies, in describing the severity of these feudal services.

80. Fines were imposed at every change of property in the direct and collateral line; and at every sale on purchasers; the people were bound to grind their corn at the landlord's mill, to press their grapes at his press, and bake their bread at his oven; *corvées*, or obligations to repair the roads, founded on custom, decrees, and servitude, were enforced with the most rigorous severity; in many places the use even of handmills was not

free, and these seigneurs were invested with the power of selling to the peasantry the right of bruising buckwheat or barley between stones. It is vain to attempt a description of the feudal services which pressed with so much severity upon industry in every part of France. Their names cannot find parallel words in the English language.* Long before the Revolution broke out, complaints were loudly heard over the whole country, of the baneful tendency of these feudal exactions.† They became better understood by the higher classes as it advanced, from the clamour which was raised by the nobility at their abolition. The *corvées*, or burdens imposed for the maintenance of the highways, annually ruined vast numbers of the farmers. In filling up one valley in Lorraine, no less than three hundred were reduced to beggary. The enrolments for the militia were also the subject of general complaint, and styled in the cahiers "an injustice without example." But the people soon found that they had made a grievous exchange in substituting for it the terrible conscription of Napoleon.

81. Indeed, although these services were numerous and vexatious, they did not constitute so considerable a grievance.

* We should be at a loss to know what was meant by "Chevauches, Quintaines Soule, Saut de Poisson, Baiser de Mariés, Chansons, Transports d'Œuf sur Charrette, Silence des Grenouilles, Corvée à Miséricorde, Melods, Leede, Couponage, Cartilage, Barrage, Fouage, Maréchaussée, Ban Veu, Ban d'Août, Troussés, Gilinage, Civirage, Taillabilité, Vingtaine, Stertage, Bordslage, Meriage, Ban de Vendanges, Droit d'Accepté," if the universal voice of the French people, manifested in their cahiers, or official instructions to the Deputies at the States-general from the electors, had not proclaimed that they signified real and oppressive burdens.—*Young's Travels in France*, i. 206.

† An old law, long obsolete, but characteristic of the state of the people in feudal ages, was mentioned in the debates in the Assembly on the feudal services, which declared it illegal for a seigneur in some provinces to put to death more than two *serfs* in order to warm his feet, by putting them in their entrails, when returning from hunting. This appears hardly credible; but the *Mercheta Mulierum*, or right of the seigneur to lie with his vassal's wife the first night of her marriage, before her husband, was common to France with other feudal countries, and was long claimed in some parts of the kingdom by the seigneurs.—See *Histoire de la Révolution, par Deux Amis de la Liberté*, ii. 212.

ance as the indignant feelings of the French provincial writers would lead us to imagine. "The people of Scotland," says Sir Walter Scott, "were in former times subject to numerous services which are now summed up in the emphatic word *rent*;" and this, in truth, was equally the case with the French tenantry. Their general condition was that of *métayers*; that is, they received their implements and stock from their landlords, and divided with him the gross produce after the tax-gatherer was satisfied. The numerous feudal services were just a payment of rent in kind; a species of liquidation universal and unavoidable in all rural districts in a certain state of civilisation, when a ready market for agricultural produce is, from the absence of great towns, or the want of internal communication, not to be found. The people expected, when feudal services and tithes were abolished during the Revolution, that their amount would form a clear addition to their gains; but they soon found that they only augmented the rent of their landlords, or were exchanged for an enormous land-tax rigorously collected by government, and that their own condition was in no degree ameliorated. Without doubt, the multitude of demands on the French tenantry was often in the highest degree vexatious; but it may be doubted whether their weight has been alleviated by their condensation into a single payment; and whether the terrors of the words *RENT* and *TAXES* do not now equal those of the whole catalogue of feudal obligations.*

82. XV. The administration of justice, as in all countries where public opinion has not its due weight, or the judges are exempted from its control, was liable to many abuses in France. In some places it was partial, and said to be venal. Fortune, liberal presents, court favour, the smiles of a handsome wife, or promises of advancement to relations, sometimes swayed the decisions of the judges in the inferior tribunals. This evil was felt in many parts of the

country. The common opinion, though often unfounded, was, that to obtain justice in any of the provincial courts was out of the question. Nor were the decisions of the parliaments or supreme courts, whether of the capital or provinces, altogether unsullied. These numerous and public-spirited bodies, notwithstanding their loud professions of patriotism, were not always immaculate; and the diversity of their customs introduced a degree of variance into their determinations, which rendered all attempt at uniformity impracticable. But although, like the other institutions of the monarchy, the provincial parliaments stood much in need of amendment, yet they had several particulars in their constitution deserving of the highest approbation, and which had rendered them the cradles of freedom during the corruptions and oppression of preceding reigns. They possessed one fundamental excellence—they were independent. The most doubtful circumstance connected with their mode of appointment, that of its being by purchase, contributed to this independence of character. The members of these courts held for life, indeed many may be said to have held by inheritance. Though appointed in the first instance by the monarch, they were nearly beyond his power, for he could not remove them; and for long they had enjoyed the power of electing the members of their body, subject to his approval; so that they were practically independent. The more determined the exertions of that authority against them became, the more their spirit of freedom and independence became manifest. They composed permanent bodies politic, and, from that corporate and lasting constitution, were well calculated to afford both certainty and stability to the laws. They had been a safe asylum to these laws in all the revolutions of opinion, and under all the frowns of power. They had saved that sacred deposit of the country during the reigns of arbitrary princes and the struggles of arbitrary factions. They were the great safeguard to private property: their decisions, though varying with the customs of the different provinces, were

* The land-tax in France is now twenty per cent on an average, at the very lowest, on the gross agricultural profits; often forty or fifty per cent on the landowners' gains.

generally speaking, honest and upright: they had furnished no inconsiderable corrective to the vices and excesses of the monarchy. The independent spirit which terminated in the Revolution began in the free and courageous conduct of these assemblies, during a contest of nearly half a century with the crown; and it is one of the strongest proofs of the insanity which ultimately got possession of the public mind, that one of the first acts of the democratic party, upon attaining supreme authority, was to sweep away those venerable bulwarks by which the people had so long been sheltered from the invasion of despotic power.

83. XVI. The royal prerogative, by a series of successful usurpations, had reached a height inconsistent with anything like real freedom. The most important right of a citizen, that of deliberating on the passing of laws, and the granting of supplies, had fallen into desuetude. For nearly two centuries, the kings, of their own authority, had published *ordinances* possessing all the authority of laws, and which originally could not be sanctioned but by the representatives of the people. The right of approving or registering, as it was called, these ordinances, was transferred from the States-general, which were rarely convoked, to the parliaments and courts of justice; but their deliberations were liable to be suspended by *lets de justice*, or personal interventions of the sovereign, and infringed by arbitrary imprisonments. The regulations, which could legally be made only by the king in council, were frequently adopted without the intervention of that body; and so common had this abuse become, that in many departments of government it was habitual. Taxes were imposed without the consent of the nation, or of its representatives: those originally laid on by legal authority continued after the stipulated period of their endurance had ceased, or were augmented far beyond the amount agreed to by the people. Criminal commissions, composed of persons nominated solely by the crown, were frequently appointed, and rendered both personal liberty and real property insecure. Warrants of

imprisonment, without either accusation or trial, might deprive any subjects of their freedom, and consign them to dungeons for the remainder of their lives. Debts to an enormous amount, and of which the annual charge absorbed more than half the revenue of the state, had been contracted without national authority, or increased without its knowledge. The public creditors, kept in the dark as to the state of the finances, or of the security which existed for their payment, were daily becoming more apprehensive as to the ultimate solvency of the state. The personal expenses of the kings had risen under the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. to a very great height, and they were not distinguished from the ordinary expenditure of government, except in a secret record, no part of which was divulged to the people. The salaries of all the civil servants of the crown, and of the higher officers in the army, were deemed excessive; while the duties of their several offices were too often either neglected or performed by deputy.

84. What rendered this tremendous power of imprisoning any person at the mere whim of the king, or any of his ministers or mistresses, the more obnoxious, was the extreme inconsistency with which it had been exercised, and the total impossibility of foreseeing what doctrines or measures might not, at no distant period, consign the most eminent men in France to confinement in the Bastille for years, perhaps for life. During the course of the long contest of the king with the parliaments, and the still more acrimonious disputes of the Jesuits with the Jansenists, the opposite parties had alternately been successful, and each had invariably applied, without mercy, the terrible engine of solitary imprisonment, to overawe or coerce its opponents. The ministers of the crown opened the gates of the Bastille with equal readiness to the enemies of whichever of the contending parties had, for the moment, got possession of the royal confidence. Nay, their mistresses were often ready, for a small gratuity, to procure *lettres de cachet* for any applicant, to further the purposes of intrigue or domestic jealousy. Sel-

dom were they refused to the powerful or the affluent.* When M. de la Vrillière surrendered the seals of the home office, which he had held for half a century, to Malesherbes, in 1775, there was no party, religious or political, in France, the chiefs of which he had not, on some previous occasion, sent into exile, or immured in the Bastille. The Jesuits and the Jansenists, the partisans of the court and the leaders of the parliament, the leaders of the church and the philosophic atheists, had been indiscriminately visited with this terrible penalty. The numbers of *lettres de cachet* he had signed was incalculable:† he had immured the Molinist friends of the Pope at the desire of the Regent Orleans, who depended on the parliaments; he had next sent to the Bastille the Jansenists in great numbers, to pay court to the Abbé Dubois, who was intriguing at Rome to obtain a cardinal's hat: under Cardinal Fleury and M. Arguella, he had confined within the same walls the leaders of the parliament who opposed the court; and more recently had sent into exile the Abbé

* "I have heard the melancholy adventure of a young flower-girl, remarkable for her beauty, called Jeanneton. One day the Chevalier de Coigny met her radiant in bloom, and sparkling with happiness. He questioned her as to the cause of her vivid satisfaction. 'I am fortunate,' said she: 'my husband is a viper, a brute—he annoys me. I have just been with Count St Florentin: Madame—, who enjoys his favour, has received me in the most favourable manner; and for ten louis I am to obtain a *lettre de cachet*, which will deliver me from my jealous husband.'

"Two years after, de Coigny again met Jeanneton, sad, thin, yellow, with downcast eyes. 'Ha! my poor Jeanneton,' said he, 'where have you been—one never sees you.' 'Alas! Monsieur,' said she, 'I was a fool to congratulate myself. My rascally husband, having conceived the same idea as myself, had also gone to the minister, and the same day, through the same interposition, had obtained an order for my incarceration; so that it cost us twenty louis to secure each other's imprisonment.'—*Souvenirs du Comte de Ségur*, ii. 187; DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Histoire de Louis XV.* ii. 489.

† It has been stated to have amounted to the enormous number of 50,000; but this estimate appears to be exaggerated; but 25,000, or 500 a-year, is probably within the mark; considerably less in half a century than, under the Convention, were sometimes imprisoned in a single month.—See BOISSY D'ANGLAS, *Vie de Malesherbes*, ii. 23, 26.

Terray, and M. de Maupeou—the very ministers who had directed the last arrests. Finally, he had imprisoned numbers of the philosophers, who are long supplanted him in office; and M. de Malesherbes, to whom he surrendered the portfolio of the home office in 1775, had himself been confined in the Bastille, under his warrant, only four years before.

85. XVII. Another frightful remnant of feudal cruelty which existed in France down to the close of the reign of Louis XV., was the use of TORTURE—not only in order to extract confessions from prisoners previous to trial, but to increase the sufferings and aggravate the horror of their punishment. This dreadful barbarity, the bequest of ages of violence and anarchy, was continued in France with a blindness which appears incredible, not only after the long establishment of regular government had rendered it unnecessary, but when the increasing humanity and laxity of the age had made it insupportable. All Europe had shuddered at the atrocious and prolonged cruelty with which Damians, who had attempted the life of Louis XV. in 1757, was executed—a cruelty which sets, if possible, in a brighter light the admirable clemency which induced George III. in England to save the life of every one of the numerous assassins who had tried to murder him.‡ Nor was it only for such great state offences that these horrible torments were inflicted, or for the crimes, such as parricide, which all ages have stigmatised as of the deepest dye: the barbarity of the church—for it deserves

‡ "On the 28th March 1757, at four o'clock in the afternoon, his terrific punishment commenced. First, his right hand was burned; then his flesh was everywhere torn by red-hot pincers. Melted lead was poured into his wounds, and finally he was broken on the wheel."—See LACRETELLE, *Histoire de France pendant le xviii. siècle*, iii. 285. On the 9th May 1766, the heroic Lally, wholly innocent of the crimes laid to his charge, who had so gallantly defended Pondicherry against the English, after having been imprisoned four years, and repeatedly tortured, was drawn on a hurdle, by sentence of the parliament of Paris, to the place of execution, and there beheaded, with his mouth closed by a wooden gag, to prevent his addressing the people.—*Biographie Universelle*, voce LALLY, xxiii. 252, 253.

no lighter name—had perpetrated similar punishments for offences against religion, in themselves rather disorders than crimes, and for which a fine or a few months' imprisonment would have been an adequate expiation.

86. So late as the year 1766, two young officers, in a drunken frolic, insulted, during the night, a crucifix of wood, which stood on the bridge of Abbeville. For this offence, which would rightly have been visited by a fine of twenty louis, or imprisonment for three months, they were both indicted: one fled, and received a commission from the King of Prussia; but the other, named La Barre, a youth of seventeen years, the son of an ancient family in the magistracy, was sentenced to be put to the torture, to have his tongue cut out, and to be afterwards beheaded, which inhuman sentence was actually carried into execution. Voltaire, from his retreat at Ferney, raised his powerful voice against this abominable proceeding: on this occasion, at least, it may safely be affirmed, he had all the right-thinking men in Europe on his side. As if, too, it had been specially intended to excite public indignation to the highest possible degree, torture was inflicted on criminals, not only in the dungeons of the Bastille, but in broad daylight in the streets of Paris; and so late as 1790, the citizens of the capital were excruciated by the cries of a

wretched human being, who during several hours was exposed on the wheel, in the Place de Grève. The historian can hardly bring his pen to transcribe the awful details of the sufferings of these unhappy victims: but he who wishes to write or read the history of the French Revolution, must steel his mind to the contemplation of scenes of horror; and before entering on the dreadful atrocities of the Reign of Terror, it is well to consider the barbarities of the ancient regime, to which they are, in part at least, to be ascribed.* It is to the honour of the Revolution that it put a stop, it is to be hoped for ever, to these frightful barbarities; and amidst the innumerable crimes of its authors, this at least is to be recorded to their praise, that they never reverted, except at first, and in the most vehement excitement, to those ancient cruelties; and that their victims, save in a few instances of popular violence in the outset, suffered only by the edge of the guillotine.

87. XVIII. Corruption in its worst form had long tainted the manners of the court as well as the nobility, and poisoned the sources of influence. The favour of royal mistresses, or the intrigues of the court, openly disposed of the highest appointments, both in the army, the church, and the civil service. Since the reign of the Roman emperors, profligacy had never been conducted in

* "The punishment of the wheel, which was suppressed in 1790, was one of the most frightful which can be imagined. The criminal was extended on a St Andrew's cross. There were on it eight notches cut, one below each arm, between the elbow and the wrist, another between each elbow and the shoulders: one under each thigh, and one under each leg. The executioner, armed with a heavy triangular bar of iron, gave a violent blow on each of these eight places, and, of course, broke the bone; and a ninth on the pit of the stomach. The mangled victim was now lifted from the cross, and stretched on a small wheel, placed vertically at one of the ends of the cross, his back on the upper part of the wheel, his head and feet hanging down. The sentence bore, that he was to remain there as long 'as it please God to prolong his life.' Many lingered there five or six hours; some longer. A son of a jeweller, in the Place Dauphine, who had murdered his father, was only relieved by death at the end of twenty-four hours. These unhappy wretches, often uttering horrible blasphemies, always tor-

mented by a continual thirst, incessantly called out for something to drink: a man of God, a priest, never left their side during their excruciating agony, but incessantly put water to their parched lips, wiped the sweat from their burning brow, and pointed to a merciful God above the scaffold, extending his arms to receive them. This holy duty was always discharged by a doctor of the Sorbonne."—DUVAL, *Souvenirs de la Terreur*, i. 157, 158. On reading these heart-rending details, one is almost tempted to forget all the cruelties of the Revolution, and to exclaim with Byron, after recounting the inhuman sports of the Roman amphitheatre, "Arise, ye Goths, and glut your ire!" And yet, marvellous circumstance! decisive of the informal agency which was at work in the Revolution, these horrid cruelties did not excite nearly so much obloquy as the religion which assuaged them; the Revolutionists could find some apology for the government which stretched the fractured criminal on the wheel, but none for the priest who wiped the sweat from his agonised brow.

to open and undisguised a manner as under Louis XV. and the Regent Orleans. From the secret memoirs of the period, which have now been published, it is manifest that the licentious novels which at that time disgraced the French literature, conveyed a faithful picture of the manners of the age; that the scenes in *Faublas*, the *Liaisons Dangereuses*, and *Crébillon*, are by no means overcharged. Favourites of women of rank, selected often from the middle classes of society, were not unfrequently rewarded for their fidelity by a place in the Bastille, at the instance of their treacherous paramours, when they became tired of their embraces.* The reign of Louis XV. is the most deplorable in French history. If we seek for the characters who governed the age, we must search the antechambers of the Duke de Choiseul, or the boudoirs of Madame Pompadour or Du Barri. The whole frame of society seemed to be decomposed. Statesmen were ambitious to figure as men of letters; men of letters as statesmen; the great seigneurs as bankers; the farmers-general as great seigneurs. The fashions were as ridiculous as the arts were misplaced. Shepherdesses were represented in hoops in saloons, where colonels were engaged in feminine pursuits: everything was deranged in the public feeling and manners, the sure sign of an approaching convulsion. Society had reached that puerile stage which appeared in Rome at the time of the Gothic invasion, and in Constantinople under the Byzantine emperors; instead of making verses in cloisters, they made them in drawing-

rooms; a happy epigram rendered a general more illustrious than a victory gained.

88. It is difficult to treat of this subject without disclosing particulars at which purity may blush, or on which licentiousness may gloat; but general observations make little impression on the mind even of the most reflecting reader, if not attended with a detail of facts which proves that they are well founded, and one authentic example of the manners of the court and aristocratic circles in Paris, anterior to the Revolution, will produce a stronger conviction than whole chapters of assertion. All that we read in ancient historians, veiled in the decent obscurity of a learned language, of the orgies of ancient Babylon, was equalled, if not exceeded, by the nocturnal revels of the Regent Orleans, the Cardinal Dubois, and his other licentious associates. They would exceed belief, if not narrated on the undoubted testimony of concurring eyewitnesses. To such a length did the license of manners go under the Regent, that the young Duchess de Berri, the beautiful daughter of that prince, assisted at his nocturnal revels with his mistresses and several opera-dancers, and even, with two of the fairest of this troop, occasionally personated the three goddesses which appeared in the fable, and in the costume in which they displayed their charms to the son of Priam.† Nor were manners improved on the accession of Louis XV.; for

* Such was the dissoluteness of the manners of the court, that no less than 500,000,000 francs of the public debt, or £20,000,000 sterling, had been incurred for expenses too ignominious to bear the light, or to be even named in the public accounts; and the amount of expenditure of this description was ten times greater in the time of Louis XV. than it had been in that of Louis XIV. And it appears from an authentic document, quoted in Soularie's History, that in the sixteen months immediately preceding the death of Louis XV. Madame du Barri had drawn from the royal treasury no less than 2,450,000 francs, or £100,000—equal to fully £200,000 of our money at this time.—See *Histoire de la Décadence de la Monarchie Française*, par SOULARIE l'Aîné, iii. 330.

† "At the suppers of the Regent, very strange society was assembled—his mistresses, opera-girls, frequently the Duchess de Berri, certain ladies of easy virtue, men whom he did not hesitate to name *roués* [the origin of the phrase] and others without name, but notorious for their wit and their profligacy. The fare was exquisite; and the guests, and the Prince himself, often aided the cooks in the preparation of it; and during the sittings, the characters of every one, their own acquaintances, the ministry, as well as others, were discussed with fearful license. They drank much, and of the best vintages; they inflamed themselves; they poured forth obscenities at the pitch of their voices, and impieties to an equal degree; and, when satiated with riot, and far gone in intoxication, they retired to sleep."—*Mémoires de M. LE DUC DE ST SIMON* (an eyewitness); and LACRETELLE, i. 147, 148.

although, during his earlier years, his manners were correct, and he was enthusiastically beloved by his subjects,* yet, as he advanced in life, he fell under the government of successive mistresses, each more dissolute and degraded than her predecessor; until at length decorum was so openly violated at court, that even the corrupted circles of Versailles were scandalised by the undisguised profligacy which was exhibited. Female society had come to realise the state foreshadowed by the genius of Milton—

"For that fair female troop thou saw'st, that seem'd
Of goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
Bred only and completed to the taste

* When Louis XV. lay at the point of death, at Metz, in 1744, the grief and consternation at Paris were extreme. "Paris," says the contemporary annalist, "all in terror, seemed a city taken by storm: the churches resounded with supplications and groans, the prayers of the priests and people were every moment interrupted by their sobs, and it was from an interest so dear and tender that his surname Bien-aimé was acquired—a title higher than all the rest this great prince has yet earned."—HENAULT, *Abbrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, p. 701; and VOLTAIRE, *Siècle de Louis XV.*, c. 5. But when the same prince lay on the real bed of death, thirty years afterwards, no symptoms of grief were shown; and the decease of the sovereign excited only a passing remark among the people—so completely had the unmeasured profligacy of his later years alienated the affections even of that little scrupulous nation.—See BESSEVAL's *Mémoires*, ii. 59-90. It was no wonder the Parisians were tired of Louis XV. The *Parc aux Cerfs* alone cost the nation, while it was kept up, no less than 100,000,000 francs, or £4,000,000 sterling.—LAURETTE, iii. 172.

† *Paradise Lost*, xi. 615.

‡ Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, afterwards Marchioness of Pompadour, was born in 1722. Her father was a butcher. The vivacity and grace of the young damsel soon led her relations to speculate on her attractions, as a source of profit to themselves; and she was so conscious of her power to please, that she afterwards admitted that from the first she had a secret presentiment she was destined to captivate the king. She was early married to Lenormand, a landed proprietor; but her disposition to gallantry being decided, after being for some time the chosen favourite of a select circle of admirers, it was resolved to try the effect of her charms on royalty. For this purpose she drove out in an open calèche, elegantly dressed, in the forest of Senart, where the king hunted, and was purposely made to cross the royal path. The monarch was so captivated by her grace and beauty that he sent her the spoils of the chase; but the reign-

Of lustful appetite, to sing, to dance,
To dress, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye;

To these the sober race of men, whose lives
Religious titled them the sons of God,
Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame,
Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
Of these fair atheists, and now swim in joy
Eye long to swim at large, and laugh, for which
The world ere long a world of tears must weep."†

§ 89. Madame Pompadour ‡ concealed the ambiguous nature of her situation by the elegance of her manners, the discretion with which she exercised her power, and the encouragement which she afforded to literature and the arts; but when Madame du Barri,§ with younger years, more seducing charms,

ing favourite, the Duchesse de Chateauroux, succeeded at that time in keeping her at a distance from the court. After the duchess's death, in 1744, he again met her at a masked ball in Paris, and on this occasion her conquest was complete: she was soon after removed to apartments in Versailles, received a pension of 240,000 francs (£10,000) a-year, was made Dame de Palais to the Queen, created Marchioness of Pompadour, and soon saw all France at her feet. The Jesuits, the Jansenists, the noblesse, the parliaments, alternately experienced her indulgence and her persecution. Her sway continued nearly unabated till her death, in 1764, at the age of forty-two. Her tastes were elegant and refined, though expensive; and she made, on the whole, a better use of her unbounded power than might have been expected.—See *Biographie Universelle* (POMPADOUR), 288, 290.

§ Madame du Barri was born at Vaucouleurs, in 1744, of humble parents—the same district which had, by a singular coincidence, given birth to Joan of Arc, the noble and immortal defender of the throne. Her extraordinary beauty led to her being early sent to Paris, to make her way in that great mart of corruption, where she was placed with a *marchande de modes*, the usual school for such aspirants. She was shortly transferred to a celebrated establishment of courtesans, of which, under the name of Mademoiselle Lange, she soon made the fortune; and her celebrity attracted the notice of Lebel, the valet-de-chambre of Louis XV., who introduced her to the monarch, who was soon entirely captivated by her charms and address. She was in form married to Count du Barri, and gradually acquired such an ascendancy over the king that she was formally presented at court in 1769, and had influence enough to occasion the downfall of his favourite minister, Choiseul, and to place her creatures, the Duke d'Aiguillon and Maupeou, in his stead. Her name will appear again, on a mournful occasion, in the course of this history.—See *Biographie Universelle* (BARRI), vol. iii. 481, 482.

and more abandoned habits, succeeded to the royal favour, no bounds were set to the general license and corruption which prevailed. What is very remarkable, her lasting ascendancy was founded, in a great degree, on the skill with which she sought out, and the taste with which she arrayed, other rivals to herself; and the numerous beauties of the establishment called the *Parc aux Cerfs*, who were successively led to the royal couch, never diminished her lasting influence. Though resplendent with personal attractions herself, she never failed to exert her utmost powers to prevent the inclinations of the King from becoming torpid by want of variety, and studied to exhibit a constant succession of new objects of desire to his palled senses.* Yet, in the midst of these undisguised scenes of scandal, she was treated with the highest honours at court; the long-established influence of the Duke de Choiseul over the royal mind was overturned by her intrigues; Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were obliged to submit to the degradation, to them to the last degree galling, of dining at table with her; and the destruction of the whole parliaments of France, in 1771, which first brought the crown into open collision with the country, and was the first step in the Revolution, was occasioned by the anxiety of the monarch to secure a presentation at court to the abandoned favourite, who, after having exhausted in person

all the arts of profligacy, had become the directress of the royal seraglio.

90. Corruption in exalted stations can hardly be conceived to exceed this: but the Orleans family, with some honourable exceptions, showed that the first prince of the blood could outdo royalty itself in unbridled license of manners. The taint introduced by the Regent descended, with its accompanying curse, through some noble individuals, to the third and fourth generations. Without polluting these pages by the details of the private life of other members of the family, it is sufficient to say, that the dissipations of the Duke de Chartres, afterwards so well known in Paris as Duke of Orleans, and who ultimately perished on the scaffold, were carried to a length of which modern Europe had not hitherto exhibited an example. It renders credible all that is narrated in Suetonius and the historians of the Roman empire, as to the manners of the ancient rulers of the world. The French annalists must speak for themselves on this subject, for the scenes they describe could hardly bear the eye of an English reader in our own language: yet, painful as the quotation is, it must be made.† It is indispensable to see the private habits of those who sometimes take the lead in the much-vaunted regeneration of society—and the details do not more paint an individual than portray an epoch, for no individual hardihood can much outstrip the man-

* It augments the indignation which all must feel at this conduct, that no pains were spared to discover, even in respectable families, new objects of desire for the king, and that they were immediately abandoned, after they had gratified his caprice, to misery and destitution. "Corruption," says Lacretelle, "found its way into the most peaceable establishments and obscurest families. Its way was with consummate skill, and during long time, prepared by those who ministered to the debaucheries of Louis XV. Emissaries were employed to seduce girls still under the age of puberty, and to combat in youthful minds the principles of modesty and honour. A debased lover, he sold to public prostitution those of his subjects whom he had prematurely corrupted. He left the progeny of his infamous pleasures to share the obscure and dangerous fate of those whom no father had ever acknowledged."—LACRETELLE, iii. 171, 173.

† "M. le Duc de Chartres avait réussi à épouser Mademoiselle de Penthièvre; et la cour et la ville s'accordaient à dire que toutes les vertus étaient réunies dans cette princesse, comme toutes les vices et toutes les erreurs l'étaient dans l'esprit et le cœur de son mari. Uni à cette femme aussi vertueuse que belle, le Duc de Chartres continua de vivre en libertin, de parcourir les lieux de débauche de la capitale, et d'y commander des soupers fins. Les plaisirs du mariage n'avaient pour lui rien de piquant; les orgies sales étaient ses délices. Il avait élevé près de Paris un temple à la prostitution, où sa cour se permettait des scènes impudiques de toutes les espèces; il avait donné à ce mauvais lieu de nom de Folies de Chartres. Là étaient conduites, de nuit et les yeux bandés, les prostituées les plus hardies, plutôt que les plus séduisantes; et elles y étaient transportées quelquefois jusqu'au nombre de cent à cent-cinquante. Elles y trouvaient un repas splendide,

ners of those with whom it associates. It is not to be imagined, however, that the manners of the young Duke de Chartres were universal, or even general, in the aristocratic circles, or that many estimable characters did not yet remain at that period among the French nobility. Their conduct in adversity proved that many such existed. But it may be imagined to what a height general corruption must have risen, when, even in a single palace, such scenes could have been witnessed without reprobation by numerous spectators.

91. It was the peculiarity of that age, that manners had assumed this frivolous and corrupt tone in the higher circles, at the same time that nobler and more generous sentiments had, from the progress of knowledge and the spread of civilisation, sprung up in the middle ranks. Madame Roland, a citizen's daughter, has given a graphic picture of the horror with which the rising ambition and conscious talent of the middle classes regarded the frivolity and vices of their hereditary rulers. "It excited my early astonishment," says she, "that such a state of things did not occasion the immediate fall of the empire, or provoke the avenging wrath of heaven." But with the overthrow of the aristocracy these evils did not cease. The example of vice is contagious; it seldom fails to descend in society. With the acquisition of the power which belonged to the old noblesse, the middle classes have since succeeded to their licentiousness, and it has now descended, in Paris and the chief towns,

qu'elles étaient obligées de prendre toutes nues; et lorsque les vins brûlans, les liqueurs, et les alimens du plus haut goût, avaient jeté ces femmes dans la situation des bacchantes de l'antiquité, elles tombaient ivres et pêle-mêle dans les bras des laquais du Duc d'Orléans, dans les siens, et dans ceux de la compagnie." — SOULAVIE, *Règne de Louis XVI.*, ii. 103, 104.

Weber in his *Memoirs* gives the same account:—"The husband of the incomparable daughter of the Duke de Penthièvre, he tore himself from her chaste embraces to abandon himself to orgies of which the description would be incredible, if there had not been, among all classes of society, eyewitnesses enough still to testify to them. To these authors alone belongs the shame of divulging these infamous mysteries." — WEBER, *Mémoires*, i. 317; *Rév. Mém.* vol. xiv. See also *Mémoires du BARON DE BISENVAL*, i. 264, 279.

to the lowest. The nobility in France are now, for the most part, religious. Irreligion has become unfashionable, having gone down to the labouring ranks, at least in the towns. But the attractions of profligacy remain the same, and have now become more widespread in their effects than ever they were in the ancient monarchy. The effects of this general dissoluteness of principles have appeared in the strongest manner, both in the habits of the people and in the literature of the age. From thence has flowed that stream of depravity and licentiousness which has so long been peculiarly and characteristically the disgrace of French literature; and from these examples has followed that general profligacy of manners which has now descended, with the growth of sceptical principles, so far that the illegitimate births in Paris will possibly in time be equal to the legitimate, and already every third child to be seen in the streets is a bastard.*

92. XIX. Embarrassment in the finances was the immediate cause of the Revolution. It compelled the King to summon the States-general as the only means of avoiding national bankruptcy. Previous ministers had tried temporary expedients, and every effort had been made to avert the disaster; but the increasing expense arising from the weight of the annual charge of the debt rendered them all abortive. The annual deficit, at the time the Revolution broke out, was 189,000,000 francs, or above SEVEN MILLIONS AND A HALF sterling. No adequate provision was made for the liquidation or reduction of the debt, or even the regular payment of its interest. It is true a large proportion of the public burdens consisted of life annuities; but still the exhausted state of the treasury made some extraordinary expedient necessary to satisfy even their passing demands. No other measure appeared practicable but the con-

* In 1824, out of 27,812 births, 18,691 only were the result of marriage; 9221 were illegitimate. The proportion of illegitimate births is now greater. In 1831, the legitimate births were 19,152; the illegitimate, 10,978. — *Statistique de la France*; art. *Administration Publique*, 64, 68.

vocation of the States-general, from whom some relief, by the appropriation of part of the church property, was expected by all parties; and the immediate cause of the Revolution, as will appear in the sequel, was the impvidence and waste of preceding reigns, coupled with the obstinate resistance of the parliaments to any new taxes.*

93. The sovereigns of France, having, with an exhausted exchequer, to supply the demands of an expensive court, a vast military establishment, and an insatiable nobility, had made, as might well be expected in such circumstances, the most strenuous efforts, during the course of preceding reigns, to augment

* The net revenue for the year 1789 amounted to 469,988,245 francs, or £18,800,000; the debt to 6,500,000,000 francs, or £260,000,000 sterling; and its annual charge to 259,000,000 fr., or £10,400,000 sterling. The annual expenses at this period amounted to 400,000,000 fr., or £16,000,000, exclusive of the charges of the debt; so that while the annual expenses were 400,000,000 fr. or £16,000,000 Interest of debt, 259,000,000 fr. or 10,400,000

	659,000,000	£26,400,000
The annual income was	470,000,000	or 18,800,000

Annual deficit,	189,000,000	or £7,600,000
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The following Table will exhibit the steady progress of the deficit under the various administrations which preceded the Revolution:—

1783—D'ORMESSON, *Minister*.

Income,	510,000,000 fr.	or £20,400,000
Expenditure,	610,000,000	or 24,400,000

Deficit,	100,000,000	or £4,000,000
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1786—CALONNE, *Minister*.

Income,	474,047,649 fr.	or £19,000,000
Expenditure,	589,184,995	or 23,600,000

Deficit,	115,137,346	or £4,600,000
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1787—CALONNE, *Minister*.

Income,	474,048,289 fr.	or £19,000,000
Expenditure,	599,135,795	or 24,000,000

Deficit,	125,087,506	or £5,000,000
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1788—BRIENNE, *Minister*.

Income,	472,415,549 fr.	or £18,840,000
Expenditure,	527,255,089	or 21,100,000

Deficit, Ordinary,	54,839,540	or £2,260,000
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Extraordinary	76,502,367	or 3,026,000
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Deficit,	29,298,585	or 1,170,000
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Total,	160,635,492	or £6,456,000
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—See *Comptes Rendus par CALONNE et NECKER*, 1781, 1787, and 1788, 2 vols. 4to; and NECKER, *sur les Finances de France*, i. 92; ii. 517, 518.

the revenue, and fill up the void which, for above a century before, had been so painfully felt between the receipts and the expenditure of the public treasury. But all their endeavours had been rendered abortive by two causes: *First*,—The nobility, though abundantly ready to engross for their own families the whole offices and lucrative employments in the state, could never be brought by any effort to abandon their privileges of exemption from the taille, the most productive of the direct taxes; and in this resistance they were cordially supported by the clergy, who enjoyed a similar exemption, as well as exemption from the vingtième. Their mode of resistance was perfectly simple, and, withal, entirely efficacious. They had influence enough in the parliaments, when a royal decree, imposing any new tax, required to be registered to give it legal validity, to prevent its registration, if it imposed any burden upon themselves. These legal bodies, though in part composed of the descendants of the Tiers Etat, yet formed a sort of subordinate noblesse, and were entirely in the interest of the old aristocracy, many of the highest of whom were proud of a seat in their councils, and with whom they were all associated, either by marriage, or by the nobility conferred by holding office. The financial and internal history of France, for a century before the Revolution, is for the most part made up of successive efforts, on the part of the crown, to get new taxes registered by the parliaments, met by refusals on the part of these bodies to comply with the demand. *Secondly*,—The old taxes, all of which were exacted from the Tiers Etat, and part only from the nobility, had become so oppressive, chiefly in consequence of the greater part of them being imposed in the direct form, that experience had proved that any augmentation of these imposts, levied according to the existing system, was wholly unavailing, as the increased burden brought no additional revenue into the public treasury. Thus, the only resource of the crown to meet its constantly increasing expenses was to borrow money; and to such a length was this carried that,

during the four years alone of Necker's administration of the finances, ending in 1781, the loans contracted had amounted to 580,000,000 francs, or £21,200,000 sterling; the annual interest of which, being for the most part on life annuities, was no less than 45,000,000 francs, or £1,800,000 yearly—an immense burden for a nation, the whole net income of which at that period did not exceed £18,000,000.*

* Necker gives the following account of the income in France in 1784, when he published his work on the Finances. Those marked * are those from which the nobility and clergy are exempt,—†, those from which the clergy only:—

	Francs.	£
Vingtièmes, †	55,000,000 or	2,200,000
Troisième Vingtième, †	31,500,000 -	860,000
Taille,*	91,000,000 -	3,600,000
Capitation, †	41,500,000 -	1,660,000
Impositions locales,	2,000,000 -	80,000
Fermes Générales,	166,000,000 -	6,640,000
Régie Générale,	51,500,000 -	2,060,000
Domaines Royaux,	41,000,000 -	1,640,000
Postes Royales,	10,300,000 -	412,000
Messageries,	1,100,000 -	44,000
Loterie Royale,	11,500,000 -	460,000
Contribution du Clergé,	11,000,000 -	440,000
Octrois des Villes,	27,000,000 -	1,080,000
Aides de Versailles,	900,000 -	36,000
Corvées,	20,000,000 -	800,000
Contraintes,	7,500,000 -	300,000
Objets divers,	2,500,000 -	100,000
Corse,	600,000 -	24,000
Gardes Françaises et Suisses,	800,000 -	32,000
Princes et engagistes,	2,500,000 -	100,000
Droits des pays d'état,	10,500,000 -	420,000
Marcs d'or,	1,700,000 -	68,000
Poudre,	800,000 -	32,000
Monnaies,	500,000 -	20,000
Fermes Royales,	1,100,000 -	44,000
Revenus casuels,	5,700,000 -	228,000
Total income,	585,000,000 -	23,400,000
<i>Deduct—</i>		
Frais de recouvrement, (Costs of collection,)	58,000,000 -	2,320,000
Corvées employées sur les routes,	27,000,000 -	1,080,000
	85,000,000 -	3,400,000
Total revenue,	585,000,000 -	23,400,000
Costs of collection, &c.,	85,000,000 -	3,400,000
Net revenue,	500,000,000 -	20,000,000

—NECKER, *Sur les Finances*, i. 35, 91.

From this table it appears, that out of a clear revenue of £20,000,000 annually, no

94. XX. While so many different causes were conspiring to produce at once weakness in the government, deep-rooted discontent among the people, and a general departure from ancient landmarks on the part of the leaders of public thought,—the aristocracy and clergy, the natural defenders of the throne, were, from another set of causes, daily becoming feebler and more divided. The policy, so long and success-

less than £8,320,000 belongs to the direct taxes, the taille, vingtièmes and capitation—the most obnoxious of any, from which either the nobility or clergy, or both, holding fully half the lands of the kingdom were exempt; and that from the taille, amounting to £3,600,000, they were both relieved. The national expenditure was as follows:—

	Francs.	£
Intérêts de la dette,	207,000,000 or	8,320,000
Remboursements,	27,500,000 -	1,100,000
Pensions,	25,000,000 -	1,120,000
Guerre,	105,600,000 -	4,224,000
Affaires étrangères,	8,500,000 -	340,000
Maison du Roi,	13,000,000 -	520,000
(Gardes),		
Batimens et Prévôté,	3,400,000 -	136,000
Maisons Royales,	1,500,000 -	60,000
Maison de la Reine,	4,000,000 -	160,000
Frères du Roi,	8,300,000 -	332,000
Frais de recouvrement,	58,000,000 -	2,320,000
Ponts et chaussées,	8,000,000 -	320,000
Secrétaires d'état, &c.,	4,000,000 -	160,000
Intendants de provinces,	1,400,000 -	56,000
Police,	2,100,000 -	84,000
Pavé de Paris,	900,000 -	36,000
Justice,	2,400,000 -	96,000
Maréchaussée,	4,000,000 -	160,000
Mendicité,	1,200,000 -	48,000
Prisons,	400,000 -	16,000
Aumônes,	1,800,000 -	72,000
Dépenses ecclésiastiques,	1,600,000 -	64,000
Routes,	20,000,000 -	800,000
Villes, hôpitaux, &c.,	26,000,000 -	1,040,000
Provinces,	6,500,000 -	260,000
Treasure Royal,	2,000,000 -	80,000
Palais de Justice,	800,000 -	32,000
Ile de Corse,	800,000 -	32,000
Dépenses diverses,	61,300,000 -	2,452,000
	610,000,000	24,400,000

—NECKER, II. 517, 518.

DETTE PUBLIQUE.

	Francs.	£
Intérêts perpétuels,	125,600,000 or	5,024,000
Intérêts viagers, (liférants,)	81,400,000 -	3,256,000
Total,	207,000,000 -	8,280,000

—NECKER, II. 356.

fully carried on by Richelieu and Louis XIV., of attracting the principal nobility, by the lavish distribution of court favours and honours, to the capital, had at once weakened their influence on their own estates, alienated them from the more humble rural proprietors who still remained in the country, and destroyed their respectability and consideration in the eyes of the nation. It was impossible that the peasantry on the estates of the absent proprietors could retain, through successive generations, any attachment to a succession of nobles whom they never saw—except, perhaps, for a flying visit of a day or two at the interval of years. Their very names even would have been unknown to them, except for the constant and grinding requisitions for rent or services with which they were associated. The *noblesse campagnarde*, or rural nobility, whose fortunes were too inconsiderable to permit of their following the general bent to Paris, had no ideas in common with the elegant but frivolous seigneurs, to whom they were an object of contempt, who spent their time in the saloons of the capital or the antechambers of Versailles. The nation, in an age of increasing knowledge and vehement aspirations, could feel no respect for a body of privileged aristocrats who monopolised all the elevated and honourable situations in the kingdom, without possessing any other qualifications for them but their insinuating manners or address in intrigue, and who increased, by the pensions which they enjoyed from the crown, the burdens of the country, without contributing anything in return, at least in a direct form, towards the public revenue.

95. The influence of the nobility was also weakened, in a most serious degree, by the great number of persons belonging to that order who were to be found in all parts of the country in destitute circumstances, or discreditable employments. Four-fifths of the eighty thousand noble families who existed were in extreme poverty: the young men of these families were ignorant, idle, and dissolute, lounging away an ignoble existence in provincial theatres, coffee-

houses, or billiard-rooms: the young women, for the most part, were consigned to the hopeless seclusion of the convent. All public respect was lost for a body, the great majority of which was composed of such characters, while it rigidly excluded all persons of inferior birth from the principal situations in the country. Although, too, the old families of historic names and extensive possessions still enjoyed great influence, and some of the greatest men in France had sprung from their ranks, yet the highest nobles, as a body, were far from possessing the talent, information, or habits requisite to have enabled them to take a decided or beneficial lead in public affairs. Trained in the antechambers of a palace, perfect in the elegances of a court, pre-eminent in the graces of a drawing-room, they were but little qualified to struggle in public debate with the aspiring leaders, accustomed to legal contest, who were rising out of a robust democracy. They had never been habituated to the habits of business, the ready elocution, the coolness in argument, which is acquired in England by the aristocracy on the hustings, in conducting county business as grand-jurors, in either house of parliament, or in the public meetings which characterise a free country. Hence their marked inferiority in the hour of trial to a similar class in this country, and the extraordinary facility with which the French monarchy was overturned, when contrasted with the protracted, and in the end successful struggle, which, during so many ages, the aristocracy of Great Britain have maintained with the enemies of the throne.

96. Nor was this all: the aristocracy itself was divided in France to a most calamitous degree, by the jealousy between the old families and the new noblesse, who had obtained patents of nobility by holding certain official employments, or had purchased them, during the necessities of former reigns, from the crown. Such had been the distressed state of the royal treasury on many occasions, particularly during the War of the Succession, that patents of nobility were openly sold to the richer bankers and merchants for two thousand

crowns (£500) each.* Although these *nouveaux nobles*, as they were called, were far from enjoying the consideration or influence of the descendants of the great historic houses, yet they were their equals in privileges of every kind; and their great number, amounting as it did to a half of the whole noble families, as well as the riches which some of them possessed, rendered them too important to be passed over by the old families with silent contempt. Hence an implacable feud, an inextinguishable jealousy, between these two classes of the nobility, which permanently prevented them from adopting any measures for their common defence, and which not even the prospect of dangers that threatened both with destruction was able to allay. The old families regarded with aversion the upstart nobles, some of them descended from the stewards and factors of their ancestors, who now equalled them in privilege and often eclipsed them in fortune; the *nouveaux nobles* were jealous of the lustre of historic descent, and envied a consideration which all their modern riches were unable to acquire. The latter were so numerous, in consequence of the great number of channels by which nobility had during the last two centuries been reached,† that the King was obliged, out of regard to the great families, to establish regulations at court, making a distinction between them and the old

noblesse. This again led to another evil of a still more serious kind. Though these rules related only to the matter of presentation at levees, entries, admission in carriages, and the like, yet they gave rise to incessant heartburnings, and alienated those from each other whose united strength was hardly able to contend with the increasing weight of the Tiers Etat.

97. XXI. While such was the divided state of the noblesse on the approach of the national crisis, the clergy were, if possible, still more alienated from each other; and the effects of that ruinous system which threw all the labour upon the plebeian, and reserved all the honours for the aristocratic portion of the church, became fatally conspicuous. A large number of the prelates, all persons of high birth and aristocratic connections, lived habitually in Paris, to the entire neglect of their dioceses, and too often spent their time and fortunes in the dissipation of the capital. The prestige of their situations, the respect due to their sacred character, was thus weakened, and the aristocracy of the church came to be considered as subject to the same weakness as the lay nobility. The dignities in the cathedrals and elevated offices in the hierarchy were also entirely in the hands of the aristocratic clergy, who were chiefly to be found in Paris or the provincial capitals; while the immense body of curés, or country clergy, toiled in obscure usefulness among their flocks, hardly distinguishable in fortune or education from the burghers and peasants by whom they were surrounded. This numerous class, the representatives of which composed three-fourths of the clergy in the States-general, all sprung from the Tiers Etat, had no sympathy of feeling, and still less identity of interest, with the high and dignified clergy. On the contrary, they considered them as their bitterest enemies; because, belonging to the same profession, they monopolised alike its emoluments and its honours, without discharging the heaviest parts of its duties. The bishops had no influence over them, because their plebeian birth precluded their rising to any of the dignities of the church. It will appear

* Nobility was for the first time attached to the holders of the higher situations in the magistracy, and of course to their descendants, in 1644, by a royal edict, passed under the direction of Cardinal Mazarine. The same prerogatives were successively granted in subsequent reigns, under certain restrictions, to public offices of lesser importance, and the descendants of those who held them.—NECKER, *Sur la Révolution Française*, i. 166.

† "More than half the order of nobility, as it existed just before the last States-general, was composed of families ennobled during two centuries, for the services of counsellors to the parliaments, counsellors to the courts of Aids, auditors, correctors, and masters of accounts, counsellors to the court of the Châtelet, masters of requests, treasurers of France, secretaries to the king, and of the great and small college, and for other services; as also for having held the situations of chief magistrates, sheriffs, and by warrants issued by the sovereign, the ministers, and the first clerks."—NECKER, *Sur la Révolution Française*, i. 164, 165.

in the sequel with what fatal consequences this preponderance of the plebeian clergy was attended, on the opening of the States-general. But the evil was inherent in the state of the church, as it was constituted in France, and would not have been remedied by keeping its representatives in a separate chamber from the *Tiers Etat*; for the number of the curés was so considerable, that it greatly preponderated over the representatives of all the noble clergy put together.*

98. XXII. The extraordinary preponderance of the CAPITAL was another circumstance which contributed, in the most powerful manner, to endanger the government, and weaken the national strength which the King might summon to his support in defence of the monarchy. In every age, great cities have been found to be the centres and foci, as it were, of democracy; and, what would not *a priori* have been expected, this passion is generally strongest in those situations where the aristocracy or the court have had their habitual residence.† The reason is, that the middle class are there brought into close, and to them vexatious, proximity with

the higher, by whose pride they are insulted, with whose weaknesses they are familiar, of whose superiority they are jealous. The advantages of their expenditure, and the profits of their custom, are unable to check this strong propensity: on the contrary, they rather increase it; because for one that obtains these benefits, many more are rendered envious by being refused them. If this is the general and well-known tendency of mankind in every age, when the minds of the people are set in a ferment by democratic passion, it may be conceived with what prodigious and unprecedented force it operated in Paris, during the anxious years which preceded, and the bloody times which followed, the Revolution; containing as it did the concentrated energy of all France drawn into a focus by the policy of preceding reigns, redundant in numbers, gorged with wealth, squalid with want, abounding in talent, overflowing with profligacy, fervent in ambition, dead to religion.

99. When other countries have been convulsed by revolutionary passions, it has been in the steadiness, loyalty, and tenacious adherence to custom of the country, that government has ever found a counterpoise to the vehemence of urban democracy. It was the counties of England which maintained so long and gallant a struggle, in the time of Charles I., with the forces of the Parliament, which were all recruited in the great towns; it was in the mountains of Scotland that the exiled family, a century afterwards, found those heroic supporters, who fearlessly threw themselves into a contest to all appearance hopeless, and all but overturned, by the mere force of chivalrous devotion, the whole power of the Hanoverian family. But in France, this invaluable element in the social system was in a great measure wanting; and, where it did exist, its importance was unknown. An absent nobility had little influence over their vassals; an oppressed and squalid peasantry no inducement to take up arms in defence of their government. Thus the monarchy, for all practical purposes, was reduced to the metropolis. The grand distinction founded on

* In the Constituent Assembly there were of the clergy—

Archbishops and bishops,	48	Curés, 210
Abbots and canons,	35	
	—	
	83	

—See chap. iv. § 21.

† The universality of this tendency in a free community, is clearly demonstrated by the present state of the representation under the Reform constituency in Great Britain. London has seventeen democratic members out of twenty; in Brighton and Bath, solely supported by the aristocracy, the whole members are liberal; Windsor itself can with difficulty return one member in the interest of the crown. Edinburgh, long the seat of the landed and legal aristocracy of Scotland, returns two liberals by an overwhelming majority; in Glasgow, conservative principles are much more generally diffused among the working class, because there, on the one hand, an aristocracy is unknown, and on the other, the evils of democratic ascendancy are periodically brought home to the most prejudiced mind, in the shape of trades-unions and strikes, which, in every season of distress, consign thousands and tens of thousands of industrious persons, anxious to work, to compulsory idleness for months together, at the dictation of an often unknown, and always despotic committee.

the representation of the country, between ancient and modern civilisation, had passed away; again, as in Athens and Rome, tumults in the capital had become revolution in the state. In La Vendée and Brittany alone, a different state of society existed; and there, in subsequent times, the king might have found the means of saving the monarchy: but the *noblesse campagnarde* of the Bocage were unknown in the capital; its seigneurs had never figured in the *Ceil de Bœuf* at Versailles; and France, ignorant of its only means of salvation, neglected the heroic provinces of the west, and followed the capital into the gulf of perdition.

100. When so many concurring causes existed in France to excite discontent amongst the people, and paralyse resistance on the part of the government, it is not surprising that the higher class of writers foresaw the coming storm, and desecrated the causes of alarm, where the inconsiderate multitude saw only reason for congratulation. Rousseau had long prophesied that the American War was the opening of a new era—the *era of revolutions*; and thirty years before, an English nobleman, well versed in history and the human heart, had thus expressed himself on the symptoms of social disorganisation which had appeared in France:—"Inform yourself minutely," said Lord Chesterfield, in writing to his son in 1753, "on the affairs of France: they grow serious, and, in my opinion, will grow more and more so every day. The people are poor, and consequently discontented: those who have religion are divided in their notions of it, which is saying that they hate one another: the clergy will not forgive the parliament, nor the parliament forgive them: the army must, without doubt, in their own minds at least, take different parts in all those disputes which upon occasion would break out: armies, though always the supporters and tools of absolute power, are always the destroyers of it too, by frequently changing the hands in which they think proper to lodge it. The French nation reasons freely, which they never did before, upon matters of religion and government, and begin to

be, as the Italians say, *sprejudicando*—to have got rid of all the prejudices: the officers do so too: in short, all the symptoms which I have ever met with in history, *previous to great changes and revolutions in government, now exist and daily increase in France.*" Nor were these gloomy but just forebodings confined to British statesmen: the same truths were clearly perceived and boldly expressed on the other side of the Channel; and there exists a letter written on the subject to Louis XV., in 1761, which well deserves a place in history, from the lucid view which it presents of the impending dangers.*

101. Louis XV., who, amidst all his profligacy and sensual habits, was by no means destitute of penetration, and could occasionally be roused to great firmness in the execution of his designs, as well as good sense in avoiding difficulties, was fully alive to the dangerous aspect which society had assumed in France, both from the irreligious tendency of the philosophers and the independent spirit of the parliaments. "These people," he used to say, alluding to Voltaire and the Encyclopedists,

*—"Your finances, Sire, are in the greatest disorder, and the great majority of states have perished through this cause. Your ministers are without genius and capacity. A seditious flame has sprung up in the very bosom of your parliament; you seek to corrupt them, and the remedy is worse than the disease. Open war is carried on against religion. The Encyclopedists, under pretence of enlightening mankind, are sapping its foundations. All the different kinds of liberty are connected: the Philosophers and the Protestants tend towards republicanism, as well as the Jansenists; the Philosophers strike at the root, the others lop the branches, and their efforts, without being concerted, will one day lay the tree low. Add to this, the Economists, whose object is political liberty, as that of others is liberty of worship; and the government may find itself, in twenty or thirty years, undermined in every direction, and will then fall with a crash. Lose no time in restoring order to the finances; embarrassments necessitate fresh taxes, which grind the people, and induce them afterwards to revolt. A time will come, Sire, when the people will be enlightened, and that time is probably approaching." It was no common man, who, in 1761, wrote this anonymous letter. It produced a great impression on the king, his minister the Duke de Choiseul, and Madame Pompadour.—See *Mémoires de MAD. HAUSSET (Femme-de-Chambre de Mad. Pompadour)*, p. 37.

"will destroy the monarchy." On another occasion he declared—"The Regent Orleans was wrong in restoring to the parliaments the right of petitioning; they will end in ruining the state." "Sire," replied the Duke de Choiseul, "it is too strong to be overthrown by a set of magistrates." "They are an assembly of republicans," replied the king: "however, things will probably last as long as I shall." "I have had great difficulty," said the same monarch in his latter years, "in extricating myself from the contests with the parliaments during my whole reign: but let my grandson take care of them, for it is more than probable they will endanger his crown." Naturally indolent, however, averse to any restraint upon his costly debaucheries, and irritated at the long-continued resistance which the parliaments had made to his authority, Louis XV. saw no way of extricating himself from these embarrassments but by a *coup d'état*, which should at once dissolve the refractory assemblies. He had too much penetration not to see that such a violent proceeding, in the present temper of the people, could not permanently arrest the national movement; but he thought, and the event showed with reason, that it might stop it for his own lifetime; and, like most other systematic voluptuaries, he cared little for anything which might occur after he himself had ceased to bear a part in sublunary affairs.

102. An opportunity occurred before the close of his reign for putting these principles into execution. It had been the policy of the Duke de Choiseul, who for many years had been prime-minister to the king, to attach himself to the party of the parliaments, and to endeavour to render those bodies docile to his will, by the infusion into their ranks of a majority of the nobles attached to his interests. But after the overthrow and exile of that minister in 1771, it was resolved by his successor, the Duke d'Aiguillon, a dissolute and unprincipled, but bold and vigorous man, to abolish those refractory assemblies altogether, in the hope that he would thus at once destroy the stronghold of

the dispossessed minister, and the only serious restraint upon the authority of the crown. This plan was warmly supported by Madame du Barri, who was extremely anxious to get quit of these disagreeable obstacles to her extravagance, and saw no limits to the prodigality in which she might indulge, if the king could impose new-taxes at pleasure, without the necessity of having them registered by any other authority.* The Chancellor Maupeou, an able and intrepid, but arbitrary courtier,† supported the same design with all the weight of his knowledge and experience. Such was the trio by whom the destruction of what remained of a constitution in France was effected: a tyrannical minister, an abandoned prostitute, and a sycophant chancellor.

103. The mode of proceeding was soon resolved on. Maupeou suggested a *coup d'état*, which "should at once and for ever deliver the royal authority from the constant opposition which, during fifty-five years, has never ceased to traverse it." The king had been involved in a vehement contest with the chief parliaments of his kingdom during the year 1770, in order to secure the Duke d'Aiguillon, then a court favourite, from the consequences of malversations in his province; and no sooner was that nobleman himself in power, than their entire destruction was determined on. In the course of this contest, the court carried their pretensions to such a height as to require the whole parliaments of France to pass a resolution, declaring that they were legally bound to register any edict the king addressed to them. This was in effect to declare themselves denuded of all real authority, and they, most properly, refused to register such

* Madame du Barri used to bring the remonstrances of the parliaments to the king with these words—"Sire, here is another representation to strip you by degrees of your authority, and at last effect your dethronement."—SŒULAVIE, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI.*, i. 103.

† Maupeou, to pay court to Madame du Barri, used to demean himself so far as to play with Zamore, her favourite black servant. Zamore, two-and-twenty years afterwards, treacherously divulged the place of his mistress's retreat, and brought her to the scaffold.—WEBER's *Memoirs*, i. 46, note.

a suicidal mandate. The king reiterated his commands; but they persisted in their refusal, with these noble words—"Your edict, sire, is destructive of all law; your parliament is charged to maintain law; and the law perishing, they would perish with it. These, sire, are the last words of your parliamenta." They accordingly closed their sittings, and all judicial business in the capital was suspended. The king gave them warning, that if they did not resume the discharge of their judicial duties, he would dissolve them. As the parliaments showed no disposition to recede, the *coup d'état* was fixed for the night of the 19th January. At midnight on that night, all the magistrates of the parliament of Paris were wakened at the same hour by royal officers, accompanied by musketeers of the guard, who served each with a summons, ordering him to resume his functions, and requiring a peremptory answer, "yes or no." Some, during the first moments of alarm, yielded; but the next day, being assembled, they unanimously retracted their consent. In consequence, early on the following morning, they were all arrested, their functions declared at an end, themselves entirely dispersed, and sent into banishment in different towns and villages at a distance from Paris.* A new court, composed of the creatures of the sovereign, was established to discharge the functions of the old parliament; and soon after a bed of justice was held, dividing into six new jurisdictions the ancient juris-

dition of the parliament of Paris, which had extended from Arras to Lyons. Shortly after, the parliaments of Rouen, Besançon, Bordeaux, Aix, Toulouse, and Brittany, which had adhered to that of Paris in this contest, were suppressed, their members exiled, and new courts of law established in their room.

104. "Thus," says Mr Burke, "the noble efforts of that faithful repository of the laws, and remembrancer of the ancient rights of the kingdom, terminated in its own final dissolution. Its fall was not more glorious from the cause in which it was engaged, than from the circumstances that attended it; several of the other parliaments having become voluntary sacrifices at its funeral pyre. That ancient spirit from which the Franks derive their name, though still gloriously alive in the breasts of a few, no longer exists in the bulk of the people. Long dazzled with the splendour of a magnificent and voluptuous court, with the glare of a vast military power, and with the glory of some great monarch, they cannot now, in the grave light of the shade, behold things in their natural state; nor can those who have been long used to submit without inquiry to every act of power—who have been successfully encouraged in dissipation, and taught to trifle with the most important subjects—suddenly acquire that strength and tenor of mind which is alone capable of forming great resolutions, and of undertaking arduous and dangerous tasks. Thus has this great revolution in the history and government of France taken place without the smallest commotion, or without the opposition that in other periods would have attended an infraction of the heritable jurisdiction of a petty vassal." These were the desponding reflections of the greatest political philosopher, and most far-seeing statesman, of modern times; but a more memorable instance never was exhibited of the danger of judging of the final result of events by their immediate consequences, or applying to the slow march of human affairs the hasty conclusions of impatient observation. On that day two-and-twenty years from the one on which the parliaments were exiled, Louis XVI., the

* The noble and disinterested conduct of the parliament of Paris, and the other parliaments of France, on this occasion, will not be properly appreciated unless it is recollected that these assemblies were legal courts, which determined nearly the whole of the legal business of the country, and that many situations in them, thus sacrificed at the altar of patriotic devotion, were attended with great emolument, and had been purchased for very large sums of money. In particular, Gilbert de Voisin, principal clerk to the parliament of Paris, had bought his office for 1,000,000 francs (£40,000), and it brought him in 100,000 francs (£4000) a-year. He was ordered by the king to resume his office in the new tribunal; but he replied he had taken his oath to the parliament, and could not act but in conjunction with it. His place was in consequence confiscated, and he was banished to Languedoc.—See *Ann. Reg.* 1771, p. 91.

grandson of the arbitrary monarch, ascended the fatal scaffold.

105. Another event, of apparently little general importance, but interesting from the heroic spirit which it developed, and of incalculable moment in its ultimate results, took place during the declining years of Louis XV. Corsica had long been an object of ambition to the French government, from its proximity to the shores of Provence, and the command which it seemed probable it would give them in the Mediterranean; and in 1768 the Duke de Choiseul conceived a favourable opportunity had occurred for carrying his designs into execution. The Genoese had formerly exercised a sort of sovereignty over this interesting island; but the strength of its mountain fastnesses, and the independent spirit of its inhabitants, had rendered it so difficult to maintain their authority, that they were glad to transfer their rights to France for a considerable sum of money. The Corsicans, when the bargain was completed, and the French troops came to take possession, evinced the utmost indignation at being thus ceded to a foreign power without their knowledge or consent, and, under their gallant leader PAOLI, maintained a protracted and heroic defence in their mountains. But the contest was too unequal between an island in the Mediterranean and the monarchy of France. England, disquieted about her American possessions, stood aloof, though the cause of the brave mountaineers excited the warmest sympathy in the nation; Austria had no fellow feeling for a people resisting the cession of its government; Paoli was compelled, after incredible efforts, to embark and come to England, and Corsica was subdued. But little did the French government suspect the awful retribution which was to fall on them for this aggression, or the citizen whom they embraced in the nation by this extension of its territory. Seventeen months before this conquest was completed, a boy had been born in Corsica, then beyond the French dominions, but who by its annexation became a French citizen, obtained an entrance to its armies, and ultimately became master of everything it con-

tained. His name was NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.*

106. Louis XV. did not long survive the destruction of his old and persevering antagonists, the parliaments. His constitution, long enfeebled by excess of licentious indulgence, was unable to withstand the shock of any serious disorder; and the smallpox, which he took by the infection of a girl of fourteen, who had been introduced to his embraces from the *Parc aux Cerfs*, carried him off, after a short illness, on the 10th May 1774. Such was the state to which his body had been reduced by a long course of dissolute habits, that he saw his limbs literally putrefy and drop off before he himself expired. The odour was so dreadful, that the whole wing of the palace where he lay was deserted. As his latter end approached, he was strongly awakened to a sense of the abandoned life he had led, and expressed the greatest apprehensions of punishment in the world to come. The deathbed of the dying profligate was haunted by the terrors of the awful gulf of flames which he supposed to be opening to receive him.† His conduct had long exhibited a strange mixture of superstition and sensuality: when exhausted with his revels in the *Parc aux Cerfs*, he used to pray with its youthful inmates that they might preserve their orthodox principles. None of his favourites attended his dying couch: Du Barri even had fled. The dread of infection had banished all the inmates of the harem; but it had no terrors for his three daughters, the princesses, who, long strangers to his court, were found at his deserted bedside at the approach of the angel of

* Napoleon was born at Ajaccio on the 5th February 1768. He subsequently gave out that he came into the world on the 15th August 1769, his saint's day, in order to make it appear that he had been by birth a French citizen, as Corsica was annexed to France in June 1769. He was christened *Napoléone Buonaparte*. This appears from his baptismal register, still existing in the second arrondissement of Paris, on occasion of his marriage with Josephine in 1796.—See SALGUES, i. 64, 65; and *Quarterly Review*, xli. 239.

† "The king saw only death in prospect, and could speak of nothing but the abyss of fire which was about to engulf him, as he said, for a life even to the end so luxurious."—SOUZAY, i. 160.

death, and remained there, braving the pestilence, till he expired. Meanwhile the courtiers disappeared in crowds to pay their court to the Dauphin; the sound of their footsteps, rushing in a body across the *Ceil de Bœuf*, to announce the death of the late monarch, "was terrible," says a spectator, "and absolutely like thunder." But Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette were impressed with a very different sense of the duties and difficulties which awaited them; for they fell on their knees when the news was brought, and with eyes streaming with tears, exclaimed, "Guide and protect us, O God! for we are too young to reign."

107. From this account of the old French government prior to the Revolution, it is evident that, amidst much that was iniquitous and oppressive, it contained several institutions which were worthy of admiration, and some of which were decidedly superior to the corresponding system in this country. Among these particulars, the following are in an especial manner worthy of notice.

108. In the *first* place, The parliaments or courts of law in France were decidedly superior to the ambulatory courts of Westminster Hall, and the unpaid justices of England. The French courts, indeed, were subject to one single defect—the result of the amalgamation of their different provinces at successive times with the monarchy of Clovis—viz. that they were not subject to any fixed review of the supreme courts at Paris; and thus the parliaments of Bordeaux, Orleans, Aix, Lyons, Rouen, and other places, ran in many particulars into separate usages and customs, which acquired the force of law, and rendered it different in different provinces of the kingdom. But, with this exception, the parliaments were in the highest degree admirable. The magisterial class, from which their members were chiefly taken—a link between the aristocracy and the people, above the *Tiers Etat*, but inferior to the old noblesse—constituted perhaps the most respectable and enlightened body in France. They were infinitely superior to the unpaid and unprofessional

magistracy of England. Almost all its statesmen and ministers arose from their ranks. And although the decisions of the different parliaments were at variance on several points, yet being all founded, not on statutory enactment so much as consuetudinary usage, drawn from that inexhaustible mine of wisdom the old Roman law, they were in the main consistent with each other, and constituted an extraordinary monument of legal ability and just adjudication. If any one doubts this, let him read Pothier's incomparable treatises on contracts, and the various personal rights, which are in a great degree drawn from their decisions, and he will at once perceive its superiority; on all points save commercial, to the English law.* A decisive proof of this superiority, how unwilling soever the English may be to admit it, has been afforded by one circumstance. The Code Napoleon, which now gives law to half of Europe, and has survived, in the countries where it was established, the empire of its author, is in almost all points, at least in the ordinary law between man and man, a mere transcript of the decisions of the French parliaments, as they had been digested and arranged by Pothier—a clear indication that they were founded on the principles of justice, and the experienced necessities or convenience of mankind. But we have never heard of any such retention by an independent state, unconnected by descent with England, of its statute or common law.

109. *Secondly*, The circumstance which, to English ears, appears most strange, perhaps contributed more than any other to this result—viz. that the situations in the parliaments were acquired by *purchase*, and were consequently not liable to removal by the crown. Without pretending that this mode of acquiring judicial situations and power is so good as that which takes place under a free government,

* The English commercial law, as it has been founded on the civil law, and matured by those great masters in jurisprudence, Lords Hardwicke, Mansfield, Kenyon, Ellenborough, and Abbott, is the first in the world.

where they are in general the reward of tried ability and established learning, it may safely be affirmed that it was infinitely better than any known in England prior to the Revolution. We must not confound the purchase of the office with money with the swaying of the decision by bribes; the one makes the judge independent, the other proves him venal. Situated as France was before the Revolution, with no national representation, and hardly any restraint on the prerogative of the crown, it is difficult to say where a counterpoise to the power of the sovereign could have been found if it had not been in the independence, the weight, and the patriotic spirit of the courts of justice. In England, before 1688, as the king could not, by his own prerogative, imprison or destroy an obnoxious subject, he had no resource but to make the courts of law the instrument of his fears or his vengeance. Hence the judges for long held their situations only during pleasure; and the English state-trials exhibit, prior to the Revolution, as Hallam has remarked, "the most appalling mass of judicial iniquity which is to be found in the whole annals of the world." In France, a *lettre de cachet* at once settled the matter, and too often destroyed the victim; but the courts of law, at least, were not prostituted, and the members of the parliaments, who held their situations by the tenure of purchase, remained in sturdy independence—neither seeking to be gained, nor capable in general of being seduced by the court.

110. This difference has appeared in the most remarkable manner in the history of the two countries. Down to the Revolution of 1688, the courts of law in England were constantly made the instruments of legal or parliamentary oppression. Each party which gained the mastery of the crown, alternately made them the instrument of its oppression or its terrors; the cruel injustice of the Popish and the Rye-house plots, were alternately practised by opposite parties by means of the same instrumentality of judge and jury; and the name of Jeffreys remains an eternal monument that the Revolution it-

self, which for the first time really purified the British ermine, was brought on by the base subservience of the most exalted judges to the passions and mandates of the crown. In France, on the other hand, the parliaments in every part of the country had been, for two centuries before the Revolution of 1789, in almost constant opposition to the royal authority: their judgments were sometimes unjust, their punishments often inhuman; but this was the result of the temper of the times, of the cruelty of the clergy, or of the prejudices of the aristocracy, not of their subservience to the mandates of the sovereign. The most severe and hazardous contests in which the crown was ever engaged were those with the parliaments of the kingdom; and the immediate cause of the Revolution was the experienced impossibility of getting the parliament of Paris to register even those new taxes that were essential to pay the public creditors, which, as a last resource, compelled the king to convoke the States-general. In England, the Revolution was brought on by the base subservience—in France, by the sturdy resistance, of the courts of law to the mandates of the throne.

111. *Thirdly.* The system of intendants of provinces which obtained in France, and the custom of selecting the ministers of the crown from the ablest of their number, was one admirably calculated to provide a succession of experienced and competent statesmen to direct public affairs. The intendants of provinces were selected from the most distinguished of the magisterial officers; and from these, after twenty or thirty years spent in the public service, the ministers of the crown were in general appointed. In this way there was secured for France, in almost every department, that invaluable quality in statesmen, a practical acquaintance with the country. In this respect the old French custom may furnish much to envy, to both the constitutional monarchy of Great Britain and that of modern France. In England, as the practical direction of affairs is placed in the House of Commons, and its vote determines which party is to obtain the reins

of power, oratorical skill has come to be the great passport to greatness. Efficiency in debate is the one thing needful in a cabinet minister. In this respect the statesmen of England have acquired an extraordinary, perhaps an unprecedented, degree of ability. But power in debate is not statesmanlike wisdom, though it may coexist with it; on the contrary, the education and habits which produce it are often fitted to preclude the acquisition of that practical acquaintance with affairs which is the only sure foundation of beneficial legislation. The French statesmen of the eighteenth century, trained in the actual government of the provinces, often brought to the helm of affairs that knowledge, derived from their own experience and observation, which our ministers, trained in the debates of parliament, only acquire at second hand, through the doubtful and often deceptive channel of parliamentary commissions. France can boast a succession of statesmen, Sully, Colbert, Louvois, Turgot, Calonne, Vergennes, Necker, to whom England, at the same period, could exhibit no parallel. What it wanted was not wisdom in its statesmen to discern the proper course, and patriotism to correct evils, but national support to counteract the aristocratic influence which sought to govern the state for the benefit chiefly of the privileged classes.

112. Minute as the details recorded in the preceding pages may appear to many, they will not, by the reflecting reader, be deemed misplaced, even in a work of general history, and their consideration leads to conclusions of much more real importance than the more interesting and tragic catastrophes in which the great social conflict of the eighteenth century is so soon to terminate. When the conflict is once begun, when irretrievable faults have been committed on the one side, unpardonable crimes perpetrated on the other, the period for instruction to the statesman, for examples to the patriot, is past; it is the soldier who is then to learn greatly to dare, the citizen nobly to endure. The period which it really behoves the inhabitants of a free state, and still more

of one advancing to freedom, to study, is that which *precedes* the collision;—the social evils, the moral sins, which alienate the different classes of society from each other, or disable them for the discharge of their duty; the long-continued causes which, inducing a thirst for change on the one side, and a disability to resist on the other, at length bring about an irretrievable convulsion. In that stage the malady is still susceptible of cure; the diseased parts may be healed, the festering wounds closed; but if this period is allowed to elapse without the proper remedies being applied, it is generally a very doubtful matter whether any human wisdom can, at a future stage, avert the catastrophe. This period is generally considered as the one which it especially behoves the holders of property to investigate, in order to learn in what way the evils which menace their possessions, or undermine their influence, may be avoided; but, without disputing the importance of such a study, it may safely be affirmed that it is one which it still more behoves the lovers of freedom to consider, in order to prevent, ere it is too late, the shipwreck of all their hopes in the stormy sea of Revolution.

113. Selfishness and oppression in the higher classes, tyrannical exactions by kings, invidious privileges of nobles, the obstinate retention in one age of the institutions originating in the necessities and suited to the circumstances of another, are commonly considered as the causes of revolutions. That they have a material share in aggravating them, will probably be disputed by none who have considered the social state of France anterior to 1789, even as it is portrayed in the preceding sketch. But they are not, taken alone, their cause. A revolution is the result of a *diseased state of the national mind*; the spirit which gives rise to it issues from the selfish recesses of the heart; it is wholly distinct from the passionate love of freedom which springs from the generous affections, and is founded in the noblest principles of our nature. The latter is based on virtue, the former on vice; the latter on the love of freedom, the former on the passion for license;

the latter on generosity, the former on selfishness. Hypocrisy is the invariable characteristic of the revolutionary principle: it borrows the glow of generosity to cover the blackness of selfishness; ever using the language of freedom, it is ever prompting the actions of despotism. A profound sense of religion has in every age, from those of the Roman Republic to that of the English Commonwealth, been the foundation of the latter principle; a total and avowed irreligion, from the days of Catiline to those of Robespierre, has characterised the former. The lover of freedom is willing, if necessary, to sacrifice himself for his country; the revolutionist has seldom any other object but to sacrifice his country to himself; and if he can elevate his own fortunes, he is ever willing to fall down and worship the most frightful tyranny that ever decimated mankind. If we would ascertain the causes of the establishment of liberty in any country, we must look for them in the circumstances which have produced in the general mind a predominance of virtue over vice; the secret springs of revolution are to be found in those which have given vice an ascendancy over virtue.

114. That France, when the great convulsion broke out, had serious grievances to complain of, great evils that loudly called for remedy, is apparent on the most superficial observation; but these causes alone never have produced a *revolution*, and never will do so. They often have produced, and might then have produced, *civil warfare* and social contests, but not that total overthrow of all institutions and principles which occurred on the triumph of the Jacobins. The energy of Roman democracy chafed for three centuries against the galling fetters of its proud patricians: but it was not till public virtue and private morality had been sapped, by the spoils of conquest and the selfishness of ambition, that a democratic revolution was effected by the successive efforts of the Gracchi, Marius, and Cæsar. The flagrant abuses of the Romish church induced the fervour of the Reformation, which naturally led to the insurrection of the boors; but the great

fabric of German society was unaffected even by that dreadful convulsion, coming as it did in the wake of a religious schism which had rent asunder the world. The extreme principles of Jacobin fanaticism were roused in England by the oppression of the barons in the time of Richard II., but the feudal monarchy of the Normans was hardly shaken by the armed bands of Wat Tyler. The desolation occasioned by the English armies, the disunion and cruelty of their own noblesse, brought on the frightful horrors of the Jacquerie insurrection in France; but its effects were confined to local massacre and ruin, and produced no permanent change on the structure of French institutions. Religious fervour combined with old-established habits of freedom in producing the Great Rebellion in England; but the dreams of the fifth-monarchy men vanished in airy speculation, and the fundamental features of British government were veiled, not changed, by the usurpation of Cromwell. The change of dynasty rendered necessary by the Romish tyranny of James II. has been erroneously styled a revolution; it was only a new settlement of the government upon the old, and, as the event has proved, a still more aristocratic basis than that on which it formerly rested.

115. It is not, therefore, social evils, but the loss of national virtue, which converts the struggle for liberty into the horrors of revolution; and the one will never be turned into the other till the love of freedom has been debased into the thirst for plunder among the poor, and the bravery which won property has been extinguished by the enjoyments to which it has led, among the rich. It was neither the *taille* nor the *lettres de cachet*, the privileges of the noblesse nor the sufferings of the peasantry, the disorder of the finances nor the contest with the parliaments, which brought on the French Revolution. Great as these evils were, they might have been remedied without the overthrow of society; serious as were these sufferings, they have been innumerable cases exceeded, without inducing the slightest public disturbance, and

often removed without inducing an irretrievable convulsion. It was the coincidence of these evils with a total disruption of the moral and religious bulwarks of society which really occasioned the disaster; for that originated a selfish thirst for advancement by crime in one class of the people, and a base disinclination to resistance in the other. Voltaire and Rousseau stand forth as the real authors of the Revolution; it was they and their followers who made shipwreck, in the first of European monarchies, of the noblest of causes—that of public freedom; for it was they

who tainted the mind, in both its assailants and defenders, with the fatal gangrene of individual selfishness. It was the dissolute manners of Louis XV., the corruptions of the Regent Orleans; the orgies of Egalité, and the infamy of Du Barri, which dissolved the power of resistance in the monarchy, by corrupting the natural defenders of the throne. It was the tyranny of the priesthood, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which, by removing the only effectual check on the vices of the hierarchy, and inducing a reaction even against religion itself, overturned the altar.

CHAPTER III.

PROXIMATE CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION.

1. LOUIS XVI., born on the 23d August 1754, was the grandson of Louis XV. His father, the Dauphin, son of that monarch, died at the age of thirty-six in the year 1765, and left him heir-apparent to the throne of France. The character of his father, for whom Louis XVI. always entertained a profound veneration, contributed powerfully to the formation of his own, and exercised in this way a material influence on the history of France. His habits afforded the most striking contrast to the general license with which he was surrounded. With all his vices, Louis XV. was not, at least till his later years, destitute of a sense of propriety; and he, in consequence, kept his son at a distance from his person, and the corruptions in which he himself so freely indulged. The Dauphin, in the midst of the magnificence of Versailles, lived almost the life of a hermit, surrounded by books, and delighting only in the society of a few chosen friends, men older than himself, and possessed of talent and information. The events of past times were his favourite study: the "*Esprit des Lois*" his constant companion. "History,"

said he, "teaches many lessons to the sons which it would not have ventured to give their fathers." He was strongly attached, like all the princes of his family, to the Roman Catholic religion—perhaps too rigid an observer of its forms—and profoundly afflicted by the banishment of the Jesuits,—circumstances which render it doubtful how far his turn of mind was suited for the stormy scenes to which his son was called. His severity of morals and rectitude of principle preserved him free from reproach in the midst of the seductions of a dissolute court, from which he lived in a great measure estranged, and communicated the same habits to his son, whose early years were spent in domestic privacy with his parents under the splendid roof of Versailles.

2. The Dauphin left three sons, all of whom became kings of France: the Duke de Berri, afterwards Louis XVI.; the Comte de Provence, who succeeded on the fall of Napoleon by the title of Louis XVIII.; and the Comte D'Artois, who ascended the throne on the death of Louis XVIII. in 1826, and was driven from it by the revolt of the Barricades

in 1830. The eldest, who became the Dauphin, was eleven years of age on his father's death, so that he was old enough to have received his earliest and most durable impressions from his example. The choice which had been made of his preceptor was not a fortunate one: the Duke de la Vauguyon, who was intrusted with the chief place in that important duty, was devout rather than enlightened, adroit as a courtier more than skilful as a statesman. The young princes were carefully and equally instructed in the elements of general knowledge; but the difference of their character soon displayed itself. The Dauphin, like his father, was reserved and studious; his manners were shy and modest, his figure was heavy and ungainly; and distrust in himself early appeared in his demeanour. The Comte de Provence, though fond of books, was at the same time observant of men; he had more vivacity in his character, and soon became a great favourite with the courtiers. The Comte d'Artois, volatile, impetuous, and ardent, seemed to have inherited his grandfather's love of pleasure, and entered with the thoughtless avidity of youth into all the amusements of the palace. He had ample opportunity for serious reflection before he closed his life, dethroned and exiled, in a foreign land.

3. During his youth, the character of Louis XVI. still more clearly developed itself. He was a good scholar, read Latin and English with facility, was an excellent geographer, and evinced an accurate and tenacious memory, for which he continued remarkable through life. But his recollection was of facts or persons, and dates, rather than principles; and he early showed a tendency to rely on the judgment of others, in matters of opinion, in preference to his own—a disposition in which he was unhappily encouraged by his earliest minister Maurepas, and which proved the principal cause of the calamities in which he was afterwards involved. He was so early impressed with a horror at the dissolute pleasures of his grandfather, and the insatiable avidity of his courtiers, that when told he was called by the people "Louis le Désiré," he

said he would rather be called "Louis le Sévère." He had no disposition to gallantry, and kept at a distance from all the seducing beauties of the court—a peculiarity which rendered him an object of undisguised aversion to Madame du Barri, and was the cause of no small surprise to the ladies of the capital.* The Parisians, however, consoled themselves by the recollection that Louis XV. in early youth had been the same; and said, "For all that, he is a Bourbon, and he will show it at the age of forty, like the others, when he is tired of the Dauphiness." He was strong, however, in body, abundantly endowed with physical courage, and passionately fond of the chase, which amusement he continued regularly till his imprisonment during the Revolution. He had an extraordinary fondness for athletic occupations and mechanical labour, inasmuch that he frequently worked several hours a-day with a blacksmith of the name of Gamin, who taught him the art of wielding the hammer, and managing the forge. He took the greatest interest in this occupation, and loaded his preceptor in the art with kindness, who returned it by betraying to the Convention a secret iron recess, which they had together worked out in the walls of his cabinet in the Tuileries, wherein to deposit his secret papers during the storms of the Revolution.†

4. Of all the monarchs who ever sat upon the French throne, Louis XVI. was the one least calculated to provoke, and worst fitted to subdue, a social convulsion. Firm in principle, pure in morals, humane in feeling, beneficent in intention, he possessed all the dispositions calculated to adorn a pacific throne, or which are amiable and estimable in private life; but he had neither the genius to prevent, nor the firmness

* Madame du Barri used to call him "the great ill-bred lout."—Droz, i. 117, note.

† "The king," said Gamin, "was good, patient, timid, inquisitive, a friend of sleep. He was passionately fond of smith-work, and would seclude himself from the queen and the court to polish and forge with me. To secure his anvil and my own from the knowledge of all the world, he had recourse to a thousand stratagems, the history of which would never end."—SOUAVIE, *Règne de Louis XVI.*, ii. 47.

to resist, a revolution. Many of his qualities were calculated to have allayed the public discontents, none to have stifled them. The people were tired of the arbitrary powers of their monarch, and he was disposed to abandon them; they were provoked at the costly corruptions of the court, and he was both innocent in his manners and unexpensive in his habits; they demanded reformation in the administration of affairs, and he placed his chief glory in anticipating their desires. Such was his anxiety to outstrip the general passion for reform, that he caused a box to be placed at the gate of his palace, to receive suggestions from all persons who might concur in the same views. But, in accomplishing great changes in society, it is not only necessary to concede to one party, but to restrain their violence, and control another; and the difficult task awaited the French monarch, of either compelling the nation to submit to abuses, or the aristocracy to agree to innovation. To accomplish either of these objects required more firmness and decision of character than he possessed. Irresolution was his great defect; and hence, in difficult periods, his conduct vacillated between the nobility and people, and led both parties to abandon his interest—the former because they distrusted his constancy, the latter because they were doubtful of his sincerity. His reign, from his accession to the throne down to the meeting of the States-General, was nothing but a series of ameliorations, which did not succeed in calming the public effervescence—of concessions which only added to the ambition of the people. He had the misfortune to desire sincerely the public good, without possessing the firmness requisite to secure it; and with truth it may be said, that reforms were more fatal to him than the continuance of abuses would have been to another sovereign.

5. It is not to be imagined, however, that this irresolution of character, which proved so fatal to this virtuous monarch, was the result of any defect of physical temperament, or of natural timidity of disposition. On the contrary, he was by constitution hasty in temper, and

sometimes abrupt in manner—an infirmity of which he was never entirely cured—and abundantly endowed, when he saw his way clearly, both with mental firmness and physical resolution. It was the neglect of his education, joined to the purity of his intentions, and the benevolence of his heart, which was the cause of the evil. He had studied "many books, but not much." He had never learned to reflect, or trust to his own judgment; and both his preceptors and Maurepas had, for their own purposes, sedulously impressed upon his mind that the first duty of a sovereign is to be guided by the majority of his council. Hence he yielded when his reason was not convinced: he had often not sufficient information to oppose the arguments used by his ministers to overcome his difficulties, and yet good sense enough to see when they were wrong; but he had too much conscientious feeling to trust to his own judgment, in opposition to theirs, when he could not assign sufficient reasons for the difference. Maurepas also inspired him with a general distrust of men; and this opinion, falling in with the natural reserve of his character, and the boundless selfishness with which he was surrounded, produced such an impression on his mind that he never yielded an entire confidence to any of his ministers, nor even to the queen, during the whole of his life. But he was endowed with strong natural sagacity, had an intuitive perception of what was right and wrong, and evinced, both at the council board and in the notes he wrote on the memorials laid before him by his ministers, abundant proofs of uncommon clearness of understanding.* It was not in intellectual strength, but determination of will, that he was defective, and this arose from excess of conscientiousness.

* He used frequently, when a discussion was going on at the council table, to pull a memoir out of his pocket, and read it, making marginal annotations as he went along, and show at the end of the discussion by his observations that he had perfectly apprehended both at the same time. This Bertrand de Molleville justly remarks as a proof of no common power of attention: those who have any doubt it is so, are recommended to try the experiment.—See BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, I. 321, 322.

tious feeling. It was over-anxiety to do right which so often made him do wrong; for it surrendered him to the guidance of men inferior to himself both in intention and understanding. He would have made the best possible constitutional monarch, but he was perhaps the last that would be selected to meet the crisis of forming a constitution; and history must confess with regret, that if he had been a worse man, he would have been, for his times at least, a better king.*

6. Louis XVI. was married on the 16th May 1770, to MARIE ANTOINETTE JOSEPH JEANNE, archduchess of Austria, daughter of Francis I., emperor of Germany, and the illustrious Maria Theresa. This princess, whose heroism and sorrows have rendered her name immortal, was born on the 2d November 1755, the day of the earthquake at Lisbon, so that at her nuptials she was not yet sixteen years of age. Her marriage had long been the subject of anxious negotiation on the part of the cabinets of Paris and Vienna, and its completion was regarded as a masterpiece of policy on the part of the Duke de Choiseul, then prime minister of Louis XV., as laying the foundation of a family alliance between the houses of France and Austria, and uniting, to their mutual advantage, the forces of the two monarchies. To prepare the young princess for her future destiny, her education was from the first, in a great measure, intrusted to the Abbé de Vermond, an adroit and accomplished ecclesiastic, selected for that purpose by the Duke de Choiseul, and who remained with and retained his influence over her during nearly her whole life. Under his able tuition she made rapid progress in French, Latin, German, and Italian—unhappily, she imbibed at the same time from his counsels a spirit of levity, a dislike of form, a contempt for sti-

quette, which proved to the last degree pernicious to her on the throne of France. Her disposition was lively, her talents remarkable, her heart affectionate, and her mother early impressed her with the necessity of cultivating that firmness and decision of character, by which she herself had risen superior to all the storms of fortune. "My daughter," said the aged empress to her frequently, "in adversity remember me." Marie Antoinette did not forget her counsel when her own evil days came, nor prove unworthy of her race.†

7. So much had the winning manners and rising beauty of the young princess endeared her to the citizens, that the day of her departure from Vienna was one of universal gloom and depression; all the satisfaction which they felt at beholding her Dauphiness of France was forgotten in the melancholy foreboding that they would see her no more. Her entry into her future kingdom brought the Dauphiness at once into enchanted ground; she literally trode on air all the way from Strasburg to Paris. Everywhere the peasantry quitted the neighbouring fields, crowding to the road-side to get a glimpse of their destined sovereign; triumphal arches were erected in all the towns and villages; the streets were strewn with nosegays; rows of maidens, dressed in white, and adorned with garlands, awaited to present her with the choicest flowers of spring. Her

† When Marie Antoinette left Vienna to be married, Maria Theresa addressed the following letter to Louis XVI., then the Dauphin:—"Your spouse, my dear Dauphin, has left me: as she has been my delight, I trust she will be your happiness. I have for a long time trained her, as foreseeing that she would share your destinies. I have inspired her with love of her duty toward you, with a fond attachment to you, with diligence to conceive and practise the means of pleasing you. I have ever inculcated upon her, with all possible care, a tender devotion toward the King of kings, persuaded that they ill fulfil the happiness of the people intrusted to them, when they fail toward Him who breaks sceptres and overturns thrones at his pleasure. Cherish, then, your duties toward God. I say it to you, my dear Dauphin, I have said it to my daughter—ever love the good of the people over whom you will too soon reign. Adieu, my dear Dauphin; I am bathed in tears."—MARIE THERESA to M. LE DAUPHIN, 20 Avril 1770; WEBER, i. 17, note to *Revolutionary Memoirs*.

* Malesherbes said of him to Bertrand de Molleville, with equal truth and feeling,—"That extreme sensibility, that tender humanity, and nearly all those gentle virtues, which in ordinary times constitute the good sovereign, become in revolutionary ones as much and more pernicious than vices."—BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, *Mémoires sur le Règne de Louis XVI.*, i. 24.

youth, her beauty, her benignity, the radiant joy which beamed from her countenance, diffused a universal feeling of enchantment.* "How beautiful she is, our Dauphiness!" was the remark of all. The general admiration was augmented when she was heard to answer the deputations of the towns in elegant French, of the schools and colleges in the purest Latin. She was received with unparalleled demonstrations of joy at Compiègne, where she was met by the king; and at Versailles all that art and genius could combine were prepared to add to the splendour of her nuptials, which were celebrated in the chapel of the palace amidst the brightest sunshine, and with extraordinary magnificence. Shortly after she left the altar, however, the heavens darkened, the clouds collected, rain fell in torrents, violent peals of thunder dispersed the crowd assembled round the palace, and shook the walls of the august structure. It was emblematical of her destiny; at the close of the path, thus in its outset bestrewn with flowers, there awaited her the Temple, the Conciergerie, the scaffold.

8. A splendid fête on occasion of the marriage was given by the city of Paris, at which the Dauphin and Dauphiness were present. It was a day of triumph to her at every step; nothing seemed capable of adding to her felicity. Her beauty was ravishing, her grace won every heart. The brilliant chariot which bore her and the Dauphin, could scarcely make its way through the dense masses of the people, who were never wearied with gazing on her, admiring and blessing her. From Notre Dame, where she went to return thanks to heaven for its gifts, she proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, where old Marshal de Brissac, at the head of a splendid staff, was ready to receive her. She ascended the stair which led to the municipal hall, afterwards the focus of the Revolution, from whence the

mandates issued which sent her husband and herself to the scaffold. "Madame," said the old marshal, as he showed her the countless sea of uncovered heads which appeared before her in the Place de Grève, when she came to the window, "the Dauphin may well be jealous. You behold before you two hundred thousand persons in love with you." The happy expression flew like lightning through the crowd; redoubled acclamations rent the sky; it expressed the universal feeling. At the Tuileries she walked with her young husband in the gardens, with a countenance beaming with delight at the enthusiasm with which she was surrounded. Louis was as joyful, but anxious lest some accident should happen to the people, and repeatedly desired the guards to take care that no one was hurt. They frequently said to each other, amidst the general acclamations, "What a good affectionate people!"

9. A disastrous event disturbed these scenes of festivity, and added to the sinister presentiments already felt from her birth on the day of the earthquake at Lisbon, and from the storm which had succeeded her nuptials. An unfortunate assertion of ancient privilege was the cause of this catastrophe. The provost of the merchants of Paris, in conformity with former usage, claimed the right of keeping the ground, and regulating the arrangements on the occasion, which would have been more fitly intrusted to the experienced ability of M. de Sartines, the head of the police. This demand was acceded to, from a fear of offending the citizens on such a joyous occasion; and the civic functionaries, in splendid dresses, but almost entirely inexperienced, appeared to keep the ground in the Place Louis XV., where the fireworks were to be let off. They proved wholly unequal to their duty. Already the crowd of persons desirous of leaving their places, and of others striving to get in from the Boulevards Italiens, had broken through their feeble barriers, and a violent struggle was going on between the two contending streams, when the scaffolds whereon the fireworks were exhibited accidentally took fire: the rockets, lying hori-

* One country curé, near Chalons, awaited her on the road-side at the head of his flock. The worthy pastor had prepared a studied harangue, but at the sight of the Dauphiness it all escaped his memory, and he could only fall on his knees and articulate, "Madame, do not be surprised at my want of memory: *Pulchra es et formosa*."—(you are fair and beautiful).—WEBER, i. 21.

zontally upon them, discharged themselves in great numbers into the crowd; and the fire-engines, with their huge horses and heavy carriages, advanced with rattling din at a rapid pace through the mass, to extinguish the flames.

10. A universal panic now seized the people around the scaffolds, who rushed with frantic violence towards the entrance of the Rue Royale, where they were met by as dense a multitude, which, ignorant of what had occurred, and seeing so many persons leaving the square, was making the most strenuous efforts to get in to occupy their places. The terrors of the issuing, however, prevailed over the eagerness of the entering column; the latter was pushed back, after a desperate struggle, and vast numbers, thrown down, were trodden under foot by the prodigious multitude which rolled over them. Fifty-three persons were killed on the spot; two hundred and fifty more, many of them mortally wounded, were dragged with difficulty from beneath the feet of the throng; and the ghastly spectacle of the dead bodies and mangled remains of the yet living, ranged in rows along the Boulevards to await the recognition of their relatives, diffused universal consternation. The Dauphin and Dauphiness won general esteem by the earnest sympathy which they evinced on the occurrence,* and the splendid liberality with which they relieved the sufferers; but the mournful catastrophe, occurring on such an occasion, told on every heart, and very generally inspired the most gloomy forebodings. It was afterwards noticed as remarkable, that the disaster was owing to the presumption and inexperience of the chiefs of the *Tiers Etat* of the capital, and the undue facility with which the direction of affairs had been surrendered to them by the constituted authorities; and that the bodies of the victims killed on the Place Louis XV. were deposited in the church of the Madeleine, which

* Marie Antoinette was so afflicted with this catastrophe that her grief continued for several days, and she frequently burst into tears. She sent her whole allowance for a month to relieve the victims; and the Dauphin did the same, accompanied by a letter to the Chief of the Police, couched in the most touching terms.—*WESSEY*, i. 29.

afterwards received the headless remains of the very prince and princess who were now the objects of such universal adoration.

11. Time, however, at length made this disaster be forgotten; but Marie Antoinette soon found that her path was not to be for ever strewn with flowers. The thorns early began to show themselves. Madame du Barri, jealous of the beauty, and apprehensive of the influence of the young Dauphiness, spared no pains to alienate the old king from her;† the usual animosities of the palace at a foreign intruder were not slow in displaying themselves: senseless disputes, on matters of etiquette, kept several of the most illustrious of the nobility at a distance from her; she already found that "*l'Autrichienne*," as she was called in the highest circles, had many difficulties to encounter, and jealousies to get over, at the court of France. The open ascendancy and constant presence of Madame du Barri at all the fêtes, which seemed to be arranged only for her diversion, and to afford opportunity for a display of the homage with which she was surrounded, induced the Dauphin and Dauphiness to live in a great measure retired, during the first years which succeeded their marriage. This conduct was as much in conformity with the tastes and wishes of Louis XVI., as the course which the strictness of his principles and correctness of his judgment dictated.‡ The Dauphiness, though

† At the banquet given at Versailles on the first reception of Marie Antoinette, Madame du Barri sat at the same table with her. Ignorant of her character, and struck with her beauty, the young Dauphiness said she was "*charmante*." The Dauphin, however, better instructed in the mysteries of the palace, carefully kept her at a distance from the seducing favourite, who was surrounded by the homage of the whole court. Struck with this circumstance, and the great influence which Madame du Barri evidently possessed, Marie Antoinette said to the Duchess of Noailles, "Will you tell me what are the functions of Madame du Barri?" "To please and amuse the king," replied the duchess. "In that case," rejoined the Dauphiness, "I will try and be her rival." It may readily be conceived what amusement this ingenious answer afforded in the court circle at Versailles.—*SOULAVIE*, ii. 67, 68.

‡ In the first instance, after his marriage, Louis XVI. was, by the arts of his preceptor, the Duke de Vauguyon, who was in the

passionately fond of amusement and all the excitements of her age, acquiesced without a murmur in her husband's determination; and the Parisians, accustomed to the ceaseless round of diversions devised to amuse the court, were astonished to hear of the heir and heiress of the throne enjoying the privacy of domestic life, walking in their gardens together, mingling in select circles of chosen friends, entering the cottages of the poor in the neighbourhood of Versailles, and making themselves known only by never-failing deeds of beneficence to the unfortunate.*

12. The spirit of chivalry guiding the pencil of genius, has left the following portrait of Marie Antoinette, at the period of her accession to the throne:—"It is now," says Mr Burke, in a passage which will live as long as the English language, "sixteen or seventeen years since I saw the Queen of France, then the Dauphiness, at Versailles; and

interest of Madame du Barri, for a considerable time estranged from the Dauphiness, and evinced a coldness towards her which touched her to the quick. Physical causes, on his part, which deprived France for several years of an heir to the throne, increased this embarrassment. But this unhappy estrangement, the result of base intrigues, gradually yielded to the grace, amiable temper, and uniformly correct deportment of the young queen, who never let a murmur escape her lips during its continuance; and after she became a mother, Louis loved the queen with the most passionate attachment.—See MADAME CAMPA, i. 60, 72, 186.

* "On one occasion, when Louis XV. was hunting in the park of Fontainebleau, a stag, wounded and furious, leaped the wall of the forest, and, making at the first person he met, plunged his horns into the entrails of a gardener, who was pruning his vines. His wife, alarmed by the noise, rushed out of the house, uttering piercing shrieks, and fell down senseless beside her bleeding husband. On reviving, she was astonished to find herself in the arms of a young and beautiful woman, who, with tears in her eyes, lavished on her all the consolations which were possible in the circumstances. It was the Dauphiness, who, happening to pass at the time in her open carriage, alarmed by the cries, stopped the horses, alighted, passed the hedge, and reached the unfortunate woman before any one of her attendants. She was immediately placed in the carriage beside the Dauphiness, who carried her, with her wounded husband, to the palace, and bestowed on her the most liberal bounty. The poor man, beyond all expectation, recovered, received a pension, and was comfortably settled in a cottage, often afterwards visited by the royal couple."—WEBER, i. 32, 86.

surely never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she had just begun to move in; glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendour and joy. Oh! what a revolution!—and what a heart must I have to contemplate, without emotion, that elevation and that fall! Little did I dream, when she added titles of veneration to those of enthusiastic, distant, respectful love, that she should ever be obliged to carry the sharp antidote against disgrace concealed in that bosom; little did I dream that I should have lived to see such disasters fallen upon her, in a nation of gallant men—in a nation of honour and of cavaliers. I thought ten thousand swords must have leaped from their scabbards to avenge even a look which threatened her with insult. But the age of chivalry is gone; that of sophists, economists, and calculators, has succeeded, and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever. Never more shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex—that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart, which kept alive, even in servitude itself, the spirit of an exalted freedom. The unbought grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment, is gone. It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound; which inspired courage, while it mitigated ferocity; which ennobled whatever it touched, and under which vice itself lost half its evil, by losing all its grossness."

13. These are the words of glowing genius, of reflecting observation, and prophetic foresight; and cold, indeed, must be that heart which would withdraw one touch from the picture. They paint with beauty, and to a certain extent with truth, not only an individual, but an age, which terminated with her life. Yet must the truth of history in some respects dispel the illusion, and present Marie Antoinette with all these beautiful and interesting, with many great and heroic qualities, yet not destitute of the weaknesses of humanity.

Contemplated at a distance, she was in truth the resplendent vision which captivated Mr Burke; but a nearer approach revealed the woman, and displayed many of the foibles, some of the errors, of her sex. Her heart was pure, her manners captivating, her conduct upright, her spirit noble; but these very virtues, by inspiring her with the consciousness of her own innocence, led her into imprudences which, in one of her exalted station, became faults. She had little education in matters of serious import, though highly accomplished in those which are personally attractive. Her taste was refined, and she was no common proficient in music, danced elegantly, and was passionately fond of theatrical representations. But she read hardly anything but romances or plays; and the queen who was called to duties so difficult that an archangel might have shrunk from encountering them, had never in her whole life had a book of history put into her hands.* Hence she was not aware how much, amidst all the homage with which they are surrounded, the great are really the object of envy to their inferiors; with what ceaseless jealousies they are environed; and with what avidity, especially in troubled times, the slightest and most innocent imprudences are seized on, by court jealousy or popular malignity, to blast the happiness of those to whom, in appearance, every mark of respect is shown.

14. This purity of heart, joined to inexperience of the world, led her into many imprudences which those more versed in its ways, or more habituated to its vices, would have sedulously avoided. During the early years when Louis was estranged from her, she preserved the most studious correctness of deportment, and never suffered a complaint to escape her lips, though a tear

* "The Abbé de Vermond visited her every day, but did not adopt the imposing aspect of an instructor: and did not choose, even as a reader, to recommend the useful study of history. I do not believe that, in the course of his life, he ever read a single historical volume to his illustrious pupil; consequently there never existed a princess with a more marked disinclination for any kind of serious reading."—MADAME CAMPAN, i. 73; see also the BARON DE BREKVAL, ii. 207, 208.

often fell from her eye. But when she found herself secure of his affections, and blessed with a rising offspring, the buoyancy of her disposition led her to mingle in amusements with an ardour which, though always innocent, was often indiscreet, sometimes blamable. Accustomed to the simple life of the imperial palace at Vienna, the minutiae of etiquette at Versailles, which fettered every action of life in the king and queen, even the most inconsiderable, were to her a perfect horror,† and she gladly fled from its frigid circles and senseless formalities, to enjoy in privacy the ease of unrestrained intercourse, and the charm of confidential friendship.‡ The intimacies to which these habits gave rise, especially with the Countess Polignac, excited the jealousy of the old nobility; the theatrical representations, in which she so much delighted, and sometimes bore a part, gave rise to malignant reports; and the charming seclusion of Trianon, where she sought a retreat from the cares, and a compensation for the anxieties, of royalty, was converted, by the voice of popular malignity, into the gardens of Armida, where rank was lavish of its favours, and beauty prodigal of its seductions. But if the French nation at that period had been capable of reflection, they would have seen that vice seldom appears in the open and almost childish amusements which were there carried on. Conscious of evil, it seeks seclusion, or pays to virtue the homage of hypocrisy. And while those who loved her most often lamented the imprudent levity which sometimes prevailed in her private circle, those who knew her best

† See a very curious account of this ceremonial and etiquette, now a relic of past times, in MADAME CAMPAN, i. 809, 820.

‡ "As soon as she had adopted the course of withdrawing herself from the ennui of state ceremonial, this princess abandoned herself without restraint to all the charms of private life. 'At last I am no longer queen,' she exclaimed with delight, on getting back among her friends, after the tedious ceremonies which had too long detained her from them. Her robes of state were hastily doffed, and the activity of her attendants not equaling her impatience, she tore them off with her own hands, and scattered them about the apartment."—MICHAUD, in art. MARIE ANTOINETTE, in *Biographie Universelle*, xxvii. 74.

are unanimous in affirming that the queen's conduct was uniformly as irreproachable as her manners were dignified.* Her very air was too pure to permit impropriety to be thought of. Beloved by all, she was approached by none.†

15. When the growing dangers of the kingdom, and the increasing cares of royalty, drew her from those scenes of amusement into a more active part in the administration of affairs, she showed herself the daughter of Maria Theresa. Undaunted in courage, quick in discernment, decided in determination, she was fitted to have acted, if she had stood alone, at the head of faithful followers, the part of Zenobia, or rivalled, in devotion to her husband and children, the perseverance of Agrippina. Yet were these very qualities, situated as she was, more disastrous to her than the opposite set of weaknesses would have been, for they led her into hostile measures when the king was set on conciliatory—they prompted bold counsels when prudence recommended temporising ones, and often inclined her to draw the sword when her faithless followers were not prepared to stand by her side. She was in a great degree uninformed on public measures, and still more on public men, as the king for long never conversed with her on affairs of state; and hence her interference in administration was often ill-judged and pernicious. Yet did the

native clearness of her understanding lead her not unfrequently to discern the wisest course, when almost every head around was reeling; and, if her counsels had been followed on some important occasions, it is probable that the disasters of the Revolution would have been avoided.‡ But it was in domestic life, and in the scenes of affliction, that she stood pre-eminent; and there a more faultless character never existed. Though fond of dress, and not insensible to the magnificence which her rank on public occasions required in her attire, she indulged in no unseemly extravagance in that particular; the strictest economy pervaded her establishment; and the sums, often very considerable, which she saved off her allowance as Queen of France, were invariably devoted to deeds of beneficence.§ In the circle of her intimate friends she was easy and affable, even to a fault; the distinction of rank was almost forgotten in the uniform affability of her manner: || if she had any

† She from the first, and throughout, strenuously opposed the war with America, as unjust towards England, and taking advantage of the distresses of a friendly power, and dangerous to France, as encouraging revolt; and she as firmly contended against Necker's determination to assemble the States-General at Versailles, insisting they should meet at least forty leagues from the capital.—MADAME CAMPAN, i. 234; ii. 35.

§ In the dreadful famine of the winter of 1733-4, Calonne, then prime minister, proposed to her, that 1,000,000 francs (£40,000) out of the 8,000,000 francs (£120,000), which the king had set apart for relief of the poor, should be distributed in her name. She declined this, as interfering with the king's beneficence, adding, that she had enough of her own to answer the purpose, without burdening any one. In effect, she bestowed 300,000 francs (£12,000), the fruit of her economy, on the poor on that occasion; and 600,000 francs (£24,000), which she saved off her allowance for pin-money, received the same destination at different times. To inspire her daughter with the same feelings, she put at her disposal 10,000 francs (£400), and made her direct its distribution in person.—CAMPAN, i. 270.

|| "Our young and charming queen, by resolving to live without ceremony, has abolished from the private life of the court all the ancient etiquette. Every evening that amiable princess is to be seen traversing the palace, leaning on the arm of the king, attended only by a single valet. The new custom introduced of small suppers, with lords and ladies, titled or not, has been adopted not

* So delicate was her perception of the boundaries of female decorum, especially in elevated stations, that she said, alluding to Garat, a celebrated singer at the time, who was often at Versailles, "I ought to hear Garat sing, but never accompany him in a duo;" and declared she would never allow her daughters to sing with professional singers.—CAMPAN, i. 268.

† "Her pretended gallantry," says the Prince de Ligne, one of her intimate circle, "never exceeded a sentiment of profound and perhaps marked friendship for one or two individuals, and the general coquetry of a woman and a queen, anxious to please every one. At the time when her youth and inexperience might have seemed to invite great freedom in our intercourse with her, not one of us who had the happiness of seeing her daily ever ventured upon the slightest approach to unbecoming familiarity. She acted the queen without thinking of her part; we adored her without dreaming of love."—PRINCE DE LIGNE, quoted in WEBER, i. 462, 463.

falling in this respect, it sprang from the warmth of her affections, which led her to form intimacies with a few friends of her own sex, of which they made sometimes an improper use, and which led to requests to the king on behalf of their relations which she never made for her own, and afterwards regretted. Her attachment to her husband and children was unbounded and unchangeable: it only strengthened with the misfortunes in which they were involved, and shone forth with the brightest lustre in the solitude of the Temple. Finally, she preserved through life, and equally in the sunshine of the palace as in the gloom of the dungeon, the strongest sense of religious duty; and this supported her through all the changes of her eventful career, and enabled her to bear a reverse of fortune, unparalleled even in those days of woe, with a heroism which never was surpassed.

16. The first act of the king upon his accession to the throne was to order 200,000 francs (£8000) to be distributed among the poor of Paris; his next, to forbid his brothers to call him Your Majesty or King. "I would lose too much," said he, "in renouncing the name of brother." At the same time he remitted a tribute amounting to a very large sum, usually paid to sovereigns on their accession, entitled "*Le joyeux avènement*." Marie Antoinette, in a similar spirit, renounced an offering of considerable amount which custom had long sanctioned to the Queen

less from the taste of the queen for private retired society, than from a sense of the danger of the king supping, after returning from the chase, with the nobles who attended him there, without the princesses—a custom to which all the disorders of the reign of Louis XV. are to be ascribed. At present the king is never absent from the queen, but when he is at the chase or the council-room; and the vile courtiers who would attempt to corrupt him can no longer find an opportunity for doing so."—*Correspondance Secrète de la Cour pendant le Règne de Louis XVI.*, p. 99. Such was the ease of manners which prevailed in the intimate circle which frequented the queen's charming retreat at Trianon, that when she entered the room the ladies did not rise from the piano, or leave the tapestry they were working, nor the gentlemen stop their game of billiards.—MADAME CAMPAN, l. 227.

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of France, on the same occasion, entitled "*The girdle of the Queen*." Having learned that the tax from which this payment was drawn fell with peculiar weight on the humblest classes, she besought the king that it might be remitted—a request with which he gladly complied, and which gave rise to an elegantly-turned compliment, that she had no need of the girdle of the queen, for she already possessed that of Venus.* The selection of a prime minister was a more difficult matter, and the intrigues of the court instantly commenced in reference to that important point. It was generally supposed that the choice would fall on the Duke de Choiseul, long the favourite minister of Louis XV., and only overturned in his later years by the combined efforts of Madame du Barri and the Duke d'Aiguillon. This appointment was deemed the more probable, as he had been the originator of the Austrian alliance; and it was naturally imagined that the queen would use her influence in favour of the minister to whom her elevation to the throne had been owing. The same belief gained ground from the fact, that Madame du Barri had already received intimation that she should remain at her country residence of Pont-aux-Dames, whither she had retired on the illness of Louis XV.† But Marie Antoinette took no part in the affair: the king was indisposed towards the Duke de Choiseul, from the representations of his aunts, and the

* "Vous renoncez, charmante souveraine,
Au plus beau de vos revenus;
A quel vous servirait la ceinture de
Vénus?
Vous avez celle de Vénus!"

WEBER, l. 3.

† It was indispensable to remove Madame du Barri from the court, both to restore its character and break the influence she had acquired in public affairs. But she was allowed to retain her fortune and jewels, which were very considerable, and was treated with such kindness and consideration, though always kept at a distance from Versailles, by the king and queen, both then and in after years, that she felt and expressed the most unbounded gratitude for it. Her name, long unheard in history, will appear again in the darkest days of the Revolution.—MADAME CAMPAN, l. 83, note.

I

character given of his immoralities in a secret memoir which his father, the Dauphin, had bequeathed to him on the subject. M. de Machault, formerly Keeper of the Seals, was first fixed on, and the letter containing his appointment was actually sent off, when the representations of the Princess Adelaide obtained a change in favour of M. de Maurepas, formerly Minister of Marine, and the letter to M. de Machault was intercepted before the page who bore it had left the royal stables. The destiny of France and of Europe hung on that occurrence; for M. de Machault was a man of profound thought and enlightened observation, who would probably have done as much to avert, as Maurepas did to bring on, the Revolution.*

17. The choice which the king thus made, on his accession to the throne, of Maurepas for prime minister, was in every point of view prejudicial to his reign. This old man, though not des-

* The queen at the same time gave a striking proof of the generosity of her disposition. The Marquis de Pontecoulant, major of the *gardes-du-corps*, had given offence to her soon after her arrival in France, on a point of etiquette, and her resentment had been such that, with girlish vivacity, she said she would never forget it. This expression became known to the marquis, who, deeming himself obnoxious to her, sent in his resignation on her accession to the throne, by the Prince of Beauveaux, his superior officer, who first took it to the queen, to explain the motive of such an unexpected proceeding. "Tell M. de Pontecoulant," said the generous princess, "that the queen does not recollect the quarrels of the dauphiness, and that I request him to retain his situation."—WESER, i. 44.

The queen was much attached to the Duke de Choiseul, to whom she with reason ascribed her elevation to the throne of France. "I shall never forget," said she, when she first saw him at court after the death of Louis XV.,—"I shall never forget that you have caused my happiness."—"And that of all France," was the happy reply of the duke. It was a great misfortune for Louis that his original appointment of M. de Machault had not taken effect, for he was the very reverse of Maurepas, and possessed the qualities necessary to supply the defects of the king's mind, and give vigour and solidity to his council. He was distinguished by profound thought, extensive foresight, and unshaken firmness—qualities of which the monarchy never stood more in need than in that eventful crisis. Had he become the prime minister of Louis XVI., he would soon have been his mentor.—WESER, i. 116.

titute of some good, and with many pleasing qualities, was in no respect adapted for the duties of a minister in such arduous times. By accustoming the king to half measures, and a system of temporisation, he contributed early to fix that character of irresolution upon his proceedings which was already too much the defect of his own disposition. Having suffered a banishment of nearly twenty years from court, in consequence of some satirical verses on Madame de Pompadour, he returned to power with no other principle but the desire of maintaining his ascendancy. Frivolous in all his ideas of government, he neither formed his opinions of men by their conduct, nor of measures by their utility, but of both by their tendency to uphold his own influence at court. His ideas were all half a century back; he was an old courtier of Versailles, but not a minister of France. His character has thus been delineated by the able hand of a contemporary observer: "Superficial, and incapable of serious and profound attention, but gifted with a facility of intelligence and apprehension, which seized in an instant the thread of the most complicated affairs, he supplied in council by skill and dexterity what he wanted in study and meditation. Insinuating and mild in manners, flexible and fertile in resources, alike for attack or defence; inexhaustible in anecdotes and *bon-mots*, to lead the serious into pleasantries, and turn aside an onset which he could not openly withstand—he possessed a lynx eye to seize the weak or ridiculous in men, and an imperceptible art to draw them into a snare, or wield them to his purposes; a power, still more formidable, to make sport of everything, even of merit itself, when he wished to bring it into contempt; in fine, the faculty of enlivening everything, and simplifying, to an inconceivable degree, the labours of the cabinet. He was believed to be a great man, because he had written four cutting verses on a detected favourite." The king was not ignorant of his weaknesses when he made choice of him for prime minister, but he trusted that age, misfortune, and exile, must have given more firmness and solidity to his cha-

racter, when, in truth, they had just done the reverse. He did not possess the mind on which solitude or adversity could act with any salutary effect. Naturally indolent and fond of ease, he returned to power with no other feeling but a determination not again to fall into the error by which he had been formerly driven from it. Regarding politics merely as a game of hazard, he looked upon every profession of disinterested virtue as folly or boasting, which was absurd or insincere. Desirous of retaining the helm of affairs during the remainder of his life, and conducting the government, at least during his own time, without shock or collision, he made it his principal care to study the signs of the times; and, regulating himself by convenience, not principle, he carefully abstained from every act, whatever its ultimate consequences might be, which threatened to induce present opposition or embarrassment.

18. With these talents and dispositions, Maurepas was not long of acquiring the entire direction of the king's mind. His system was, to study his disposition, and secretly or unobservedly discover his wishes; never to contradict him openly, but to give him the appearance of deciding himself upon everything, when, in truth, he was only yielding to the statements and representations which he had previously, and with sedulous art, laid before him. Accustomed to economy and simplicity of life during his long retreat, he affected no pomp or state as minister, was easy of access to all, and gave in readily, so far as he was personally concerned, to the plans of economy which the king had so much at heart. Aware of the growing influence of public opinion, and the philanthropic ideas which were generally afloat, as well as the sincere desire for reform which animated the breast of the sovereign, he at once encouraged those dispositions on the part of the monarch, and constantly represented him to others as the lover of justice, order, and peace, as animated by a sincere love for his people, and ready to sacrifice everything to the public good. His great object was to avoid difficulty, and prevent collision, by bringing

the system of government into unison with the spirit of the age. With this view he even outstripped the wishes of the people, and placed the ministers in correspondence with the principal learned societies in Paris, and the other great towns, in order to suggest measures that might acquire popularity and give present satisfaction, without any consideration of their ultimate consequences. This change, inconsiderable as it may appear, was in reality vital, and attended with the most important consequences. It was no longer the court of Versailles which governed the existing generation, but the existing generation which governed Versailles—a system of government better calculated to insure present tranquillity, and bequeath future danger, than any that could have been devised.

19. The new system speedily appeared in the measures of government. Hardly had the king ascended the throne, when the Duke of Orleans, with his son, the Duke of Chartres, presented to him memorials, having for their object the recall of the old parliaments, exiled by Louis XV. Louis hesitated what part to take in this important affair. On the one hand, the restoration of the magistrates was warmly supported by the Orleans family, part of the nobility, by Maurepas, the whole philosophers of the capital, and the queen, who was induced to espouse their side by the influence of the Duke de Choiseul; on the other, it was strongly opposed by the Princesses Adelaide and Louise, and the king's brothers. The princesses threw themselves at the king's feet, besought him not to blast their father's memory by so decided a condemnation of his measures, and represented the recall of so heated and factious a body as likely to overturn the monarchy. In this they were supported by the great body of the courtiers, the Chancellor Maupeou, and M. Vergennes, who had recently been admitted into the ministry, and had already become distinguished by his abilities. Maurepas, seeing the king thus beset on all sides, and still remaining undecided, while the majority of the council inclined to range itself on the

side adverse to the parliament, took the bold step of overturning altogether the ministers of the late king. The Abbé Terray, M. de la Vrillière, and the Chancellor Maupeou, the leading ministers in opposition to Maurepas, were dismissed, and the project adopted of restoring the parliaments. This decisive step was taken on the anniversary of the massacre of St Bartholomew. The Parisians, transported with joy, called it "the St Bartholomew of the ministers," and openly insulted the fallen statesmen in the streets. Still, however, the resistance continued; the Comte d'Artois and the princesses

renewed their entreaties and remonstrances, and invoked the shades of his august ancestors to dissuade the king from adopting a measure which could not fail to prove fatal to his house. Turgot, Mirameuil, and Malesherbes, who had been introduced into the ministry in the room of the Abbé Terray, La Vrillière, and Maupeou, strongly maintained the opposite opinion. The king, sensible of the importance of the question, and unable to make up his mind on the subject, had it repeatedly debated, both orally in the council, and in written memorials of no common ability.* At length, Maurepas, Malesherbes, and

* On the part of the parliament it was urged by the Abbé Mably and others,— "That the noblesse of the kingdom, the princes and peers of the blood-royal, were entitled to be judged only by the first body of an immovable, indestructible, and national magistracy; that under whatever form that magistracy had existed in France,—whether under that of an assembly called *champ-de-Mars*, *cour-plénière*, *states-general*, or *parliament*,—it had been, in all ages, an essential part of the monarchy, the concurrence of which was indispensable to the completing and publishing the law; that immovability was the essential quality of a magistracy to which functions thus supreme and important were intrusted: that it had been regarded in all ages as the chief safeguard of the public liberties, and rampart against arbitrary power—in fine, as an inherent part of the fundamental laws of the state. That functions so august imperatively required in the magistrates, peers, and princes of the blood, the greatest security in their exercise, in order that they might be the better enabled to administer justice to the people, and not have to fear the influence of authority in deciding according to their conscience: that the most valuable part of the public law of France was that which secured to *immovable* bodies, recognised at all times both by the king and the nation, the stability necessary to the preservation of the general law of the realm, and of individuals to the sanctioning of such enactment, the reclamation of rights, and the consideration of the bearing of new edicts on the existing rights of individual or public bodies. On these principles the exiling of the late parliament was an arbitrary stretch of power, which never should have been made: the confiscation of offices by which it was followed was a still more iniquitous measure: the noblesse and princes of the blood can legally sit in no other parliament but that of Paris; their presence in any other assembly is forced and illegal: the new parliament of M. de Maupeou has no legal foundation; the true and only parliament is that which is composed of the king, the princes of the blood, the peers, and the members whose offices had been arbi-

trarily confiscated, without forfeiture or legal process, by the late monarch."

To these weighty and able arguments, it was answered by Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois,— "The exiled magistracy had reared up in the state a rival authority to counterbalance that of our king, and establish a monstrous equilibrium, or rather a deadlock, which must necessarily paralyse administration, and plunge the kingdom into anarchy. What would become of the authority of the king if these magistrates, linked together in every province by a general association, should form a united body, determined to suspend at will the royal functions, stop the registering and execution of the laws, and even suspend at pleasure the administration of justice between man and man? It is said the dismissal of the late parliament was an arbitrary act; admitting it was, what rendered it necessary? Why, a universal resolution on their part to cease performing their functions, and thereby paralyse the whole administration of justice throughout the kingdom. Is the late king to be blamed because, resisted by so unparalleled and factious a combination, he met it by an unwonted act of vigour, suited to the exigencies of the moment? For ages the parliament have maintained a *seurd* but incessant warfare against our kings. Their pretences have always been the public good, and the interest of the people, objects which they constantly sacrificed; and now it is gravely proposed to reinstate these magistrates in functions which they have so scandalously abused, and of which they were so justly deprived. Shall the late king be virtually convicted of having exiled and despoiled faithful magistrates, when he only broke up an illegal combination, which proposed to take the crown off his head by universally stopping the administration of justice? What an example to the firmness of kings! What an encouragement to the violence of the people! To preserve his crown, to continue the administration of affairs, Louis XV. created new magistrates in lieu of the factious body of whom he had got quit—shall they be now confiscated and removed as a reward for having replaced the crown on his royal head?"

Turgot prevailed; and on the 21st October 1774, the circular was signed by the king, which recalled the exiled parliament of Paris.

20. This great victory of the popular party deserves to be especially marked as the first step in the chain of causes and effects which ultimately overturned the monarchy. For the first time since the days of the Cardinal Richelieu, the court had now openly receded: the ruling authority was felt to be elsewhere than at Versailles; a power had risen up greater than the throne. It was not, however, behind the throne, and overshadowing its determinations; it was in front of the throne, and intimidating it. As may well be supposed, the king acquired unbounded popularity by this act. His name was repeated with enthusiasm in the streets; the queen became more popular than ever; the exiled parliament was the object of universal enthusiasm; and the dismissed ministers were assailed with cutting couplets and sarcasms. More sagacious observers, however, prognosticated little good from a revolution in government which commenced by the crown openly

Shall the kingdom be anew exposed to the calamities consequent on the ambition of a magistracy, the enemies of the clergy and rivals of the noblesse, the only true support of the throne—which carried political passion into the judgment-seat, and even universally suspended the discharge of their duty to extort a concession from the crown? Let it not be supposed that the exiled magistrates will be either grateful or reasonable if they are restored to their functions. They will return as gentle as lambs; they will soon become as rampant as lions: for all their acts of disobedience they will allege the interest of the state, the people, and their lord the king. In their most flagrant acts of disobedience they will say they are obeying their constitution; the populace will fly to their succour, and the royal authority will one day sink under the weight of their resistance. Such will be the consequence of sacrificing the submissive magistracy which does its duty, to the rebellious magistracy which does not.”—*Mémoires de M. LE DUC D'ORLÉANS, et de MONSIEUR FRÈRE DU ROI, Sept. 1774; SOULAVIE, li. 206, 214.* Nothing can be more curious and instructive than these able arguments, which throw so much light on the great constitutional question at issue in France in their debate, and which lay bare that awful question of where the supreme power is really to reside, which it is one important object of a constitutional monarchy to shroud from public gaze.

receding before a popular body in a contest for power, instead of effecting a redress of the grievances which were complained of; and did not hesitate to prophesy, that in recalling the parliament the king had signed the warrant for his own eventual dethronement.* Certain it is, that the members of that body were not slow in showing that they entertained little gratitude towards their benefactor, that their ambition was not likely to diminish with their success, and that they regarded themselves as victors in a conflict in which no alternative remained to the crown but submission.

21. The first act of the parliament of Paris was to protest, the day after its re-establishment, against the very edict which had re-established it—against the *lit de justice* in which its life had been restored, and against all the precautions and restraints by which Miromesnil had fondly imagined he had erected a perpetual barrier against its encroachments; and soon after, the princes and peers were recalled by an act of their own, which restored all their former consideration. Maurepas himself was not long of experiencing their gratitude. On the evening before their installation he had been at the opera, where he was received with thunders of applause by a crowded audience. Next day he went to the hall of the parliament, expecting to meet with the same reception from the exiled members. “You must retire, sir,” said M. d’Aguesseau, their chairman; “you have no right to be here.”—“Do not disturb yourself,” replied the imperturbable minister; “I have not come here to sit down, but only on my way to the lan-

* Monsieur Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., made a last effort to dissuade his brother from taking this step, in an able memoir, which concluded with the following words: “I return to the services of the real parliament and to the crimes of the exiled. The real parliament has replaced on the head of the king that crown which the exiled parliament had removed, and M. de Maupeou, whom you exiled, has adopted towards the king the procedure which the kings your ancestors maintained for two centuries against their parliaments. The suit has been judged, and you, my brother, set aside the judgment to reopen the process.”—*MONSIEUR au ROI, Sept. 28, 1774; SOULAVIE, li. 221, 222.*

terne."* The important consequences of the irretrievable step thus taken were fully appreciated at the time by the opponents of the measure. "Read," said they, "the history of England; you will there see the parliament for long at issue with the king: the popular party prevailed at last. Dastardly ministers persuaded the monarch to abandon the defenders of his authority; they were destroyed. The parliament was only rendered thereby the more audacious: the king became sensible he must resume his rights, but it was no longer in his power; and the throne fell under the strokes of republican ambition. A monarchical government becomes republican when the depositaries of the royal authority abuse the power intrusted to them, of making themselves obeyed in the name of the laws, by setting the first example of rewarding those who disobey them."

22. The revolution in the system of government which followed the recall of the parliament was more important than that recall itself, which was in truth only a symptom, and the first effect, of the previous change. The system of government hitherto pursued had been, in Cardinal Fleury's words, "to allow France to follow its own course; to surrender it without constraint to the bent of the national genius, and only to take care that that genius was not altered." But that system was no longer practicable, for the national mind itself had changed—and changed to such a degree as to render it no longer possible to carry on the government on the old maxims. Necessity in such circumstances prescribed change, wisdom counselled it; but it counselled at the same time such change only as should be founded on experience and observation, and as little as possible at variance with existing habits and institutions. Instead of this, Turgot and the Economists proposed to remould France entirely after a model drawn from the schools of philosophy; to disregard alike custom, prejudice, experience, in their innovations; and recast a kingdom of a thousand years'

standing as they would found a colony landed for the first time on an uninhabited shore. It is not surprising that in such an attempt they overturned the monarchy.

23. TURGOT, who took the lead in this great scheme of general change, was born in Paris in the year 1729—so that he was forty-seven years of age when he was admitted into the ministry. He was the son of a public functionary, who had rendered his name respectable by the probity of his administration in an important situation in the capital; and even from his earliest years, the future minister was distinguished by his thirst for knowledge, and the gravity and severity of his manners. At first destined for the church, he passed with distinction through the schools of the Sorbonne; and at that period pronounced an eloquent oration on the blessings which mankind had derived from the Christian religion.† It would have been well for him and his country if he had adhered through life to the wise and enlightened views which he then entertained. The next discourse which he delivered, two years after, showed, however, the new bent which his mind had taken; it was on "The successive advances of the human mind," and gave indication of uncommon power of thought, accompanied, at the same time, by an undue estimate of the nature of men. He soon evinced a distaste for the ecclesiastical profession; said he could not consent to "wear a mask through life on his face;" and, leaving the church, devoted himself to the magistracy as a profession, and at the same time applied, with the utmost vigour, to the study of almost every branch of knowledge. In 1752, he obtained the official situation of councillor of parliament,

† "Pagan morality," said he in this oration, "knew no art beyond the adaptation of citizens to their nation, or the formation of philosophers distinguished above their contemporaries by the pre-eminence of their maxims. Christian morality, on the contrary, had for basis reciprocal maxims and duties, and created in the man a new man. It was the protector of equality of rights, and strove for the abolition of domestic and rural slavery. Its gentle maxims soothed the restless and turbulent spirit of the nations of antiquity." — *Mémoire de L'ABBE TURGOT*; SOULAVIE, II. 274.

* Corresponding to the lantern of the old House of Commons, where ladies heard the debates.

and, in the course of the vehement disputes between the Jesuits and Jansenists, which then agitated the kingdom, published a pamphlet, entitled, "Letters on Toleration," which had a great influence at the time, and procured him immediate admission to the literary circles of the capital. Though he continued his philosophic labours, and translated a great many works, both in prose and verse, from several languages, yet the bent of his genius led him strongly to the cultivation of political science, and he soon became a devoted worshipper of Quesnay and the sect of the Economists. In 1761 he was appointed intendant of the Limousin, which office he held till 1773, and in that situation he had ample opportunity of putting in practice his numerous benevolent and philanthropic projects. The seclusion of that province, however, at length became irksome to one who thirsted so ardently after intellectual society; he returned to Paris, and was soon after appointed comptroller-general of finance, in room of the Abbé Terray.

24. Though the measures which Turgot carried, or attempted to carry, when minister, and still more the principles on which they were founded, had the most fatal effect on the royal authority, yet he was far from being republican in his ideas, or connected with any of the refractory parties in parliament, who were so long at issue with the throne. On the contrary, he uniformly supported the crown in these contests, strove to allay the general fervour, and kept aloof from all the opposition which excited so vehement an interest in all classes of society. He did this from principle, not from interest. He sincerely desired the predominance of the crown. According to the French constitution, a royal edict was, in his eyes, a sacred thing, and it was precisely from the use which he hoped one day to make of these decrees that he looked on them with such veneration. He did not propose, like Gracchus, to degrade the executive and elevate the commons by systematic warfare; he aspired to mould it, like Antoninus, according to the dictates of an enlarged philosophy. Malesherbes said of him, "He has the head of Bacon

and the heart of L'Hôpital;" and, in truth, his character of mind rendered him singularly qualified to act the part of a patriot minister. Profoundly versed in political science, as well as in almost every branch of knowledge; severe in his principles, irreproachable in his manners; ardent in the pursuit of speculative improvement, and yet capable, as his administration in the Limousin demonstrated, of the most minute attention to practical details; a passionate friend of improvement, and yet a steady supporter of justice—he was precisely the man for whom the benevolence of Louis longed, in order to reduce into a practical shape his warm aspirations for the good of his people. He soon acquired, accordingly, a very great influence over his royal master; and Louis frequently said, mournfully, after he had been driven from Paris, "There was none but Turgot and I loved the people."

25. Had this able man united to these great and good qualities an adequate knowledge of human nature, and a correct view of the quarter in which all reform, to be effectual, must commence, he would have been an invaluable minister, and better adapted than any other man, by cautious and salutary, yet unflinching reforms, to have prevented the Revolution. But unhappily he laboured under one great defect, which not only proved his own ruin, but rendered him the most dangerous guide that could have been selected for that crisis. He was only the more so that there was really so much estimable in his character, and beneficent in his intentions. He was entirely ignorant of human nature, rigid and unaccommodating in his ideas, and pursued his designs without any consideration of the effect they were to produce, either upon the persons likely to be injured, or those intended to be benefited by his reforms. "He operated," says Senac de Meilhan, "upon the body politic like an anatomist upon a dead subject, and never considered that he was acting upon living and sensitive beings. He thought only of things and principles, not men: regarding the latter either as virtuous, in which case

they might be persuaded by reason, or as scoundrels, who were to be ruled only by force." A devout believer in perfectibility, and the indefinite progress of the human mind, when guided by the light of philosophy, he forgot that inherent corruption, when unrestrained by higher influences, speedily gets the mastery of all the means of general illumination, and converts the torch of knowledge itself into the delusive flame which lures its followers to perdition. In a word, Turgot the philosopher entirely forgot the principles of Turgot the abbé: he sought for the means of improvement in external change of the structure of society, not internal purification of the heart of its members; in secret he was leagued with those who aimed at the overthrow of Christianity—he proposed to leave religion entirely to individual choice, and its support to the voluntary contributions of those who desired it; and trusted for the advance of society, and the eradication of all the evils with which it is afflicted, to the light of philosophy, the sway of reason, and the principles of justice.*

26. His principles of finance were unexceptionable, and announced in the famous letter which he addressed to the king on his appointment to office. "No bankruptcy, no augmentation of imposts, no loans," were the principles which he unfolded in this letter, which deserves a place in history from the upright, unflinching system of economy and foresight which it unfolded. Few, probably, will be disposed

to deny that these are the true principles of finance, if practicable;† the difficulty always is to render them such. One of the first cares of the new minister was to draw up a statement of the condition in which he found the finances, from which it appeared that the receipts were 22,000,000 francs (£880,000) less than the expenses, besides revenues of the succeeding year anticipated to the amount of 78,060,000 francs, or £3,120,000; so that there was in reality a deficit for the year 1775 of 100,000,000 francs, or £4,000,000 sterling. It is no small credit to Turgot that, by the vigour and extent of his reductions, this huge deficit was in a great degree filled up in the next year, without any additions to the burdens of the people, or fresh loans contracted. At the same time, he gave an earnest of the fidelity with which he was about to discharge the just engagements of the state, by ordering immediate payment of 15,000,000 francs (£600,000) to the public creditors, who had received no interest on their debts for four years. During the nineteen months that he held the office of finance minister, the debts he discharged amounted to 100,000,000 francs, or £4,000,000—a vast reduction to be made in so short a time, and

† "To accomplish these three points there is but one method, and that is to reduce the expenditure below the income; and so much below it as to lay by every year twenty million francs (£800,000) as a sinking fund to reduce the debt. Till that is effected, the first cannon-shot will reduce the state to bankruptcy. I am asked, 'Where will I economise?' and every functionary, in his own department, will doubtless exclaim that the expenses are as low as possible. There may be much truth in that; but reason itself must yield to necessity. I foresee that I shall have numerous enemies to combat, whom I must withstand alone; I shall see arrayed against me the numerous classes who profit by the existing abuses; the strong prejudices which oppose every reform; which are so strong an engine in the hand of those who would perpetuate disorders; the natural goodness of heart of your majesty, and those who are most dear to you; in fine, the people themselves, so easy to be deceived, will very probably be roused to fierce hostility against me. I would sink under the prospect of such antagonists if I did not rely on your majesty's promise of support; and I rely on more than the promise of the king—the word of the man."—TURGOT to LOUIS XVI., 24th August 1774; SOULAVIE, ii. 284.

* It may readily be imagined what exultation the elevation to the ministry of a man of these principles afforded to the philosophers of Paris; and their joy, which is strongly portrayed in their confidential correspondence at this period, is peculiarly instructive, as demonstrating what principles they understood to have really obtained, with Turgot's appointment, the direction of affairs. Voltaire, on 8d August 1775, wrote to the King of Prussia: "We are losing in Taste, but gaining in Thought. There is, above all, a M. Turgot, who would be worthy to converse with your majesty. The priests are in despair. Behold the beginning of a great revolution. We dare not, however, declare ourselves openly as yet. We are undermining in secret the aged palace of imposture founded 1775 years ago."—VOLTAIRE au ROI DE PRUSSE, 8d August 1775; *Correspondance avec le Roi de Prusse*.

affording decisive evidence of the ease with which even the great embarrassments of the French exchequer might have been overcome, if foreign wars had been avoided, by a firm adherence to the same system of unflinching economy.

27. The next great measure of Turgot's was the establishment of absolute freedom in the internal commerce in grain, which had previously been fettered with numerous restrictions, amounting almost to a prohibition, in its circulation from province to province. Although no one can doubt that this measure was founded on the clearest principles both of justice and expediency, yet it gave rise immediately to violent complaints, on the part alike of the persons who had speculated, or were engaged in trade on the faith of the old restrictions, and of the people, who became exasperated at the sight of corn, when the price was already high, being transported away from their paternal fields. The bad harvest of 1774, known and felt throughout all Europe, added to these unfavourable impressions. The populace, instead of ascribing the dearth of grain to its true cause—a scarcity in the supply—universally imputed it to the arts of forestallers and regraters, who had bought up the corn to enhance its price. As the price of provisions continued to rise through the whole winter, the public discontent became altogether uncontrollable in the spring following; and in April and May, serious riots broke out simultaneously in many different parts of France. In Burgundy, numerous disorders were committed. Pontoise, nearer Paris, was the centre of the insurrection, from whence it spread to Versailles, where the king sought in vain, by addressing them, to appease a clamorous multitude, who insisted upon a reduction of price. At length they were pacified only by obtaining the desired diminution.

28. This concession, as might have been anticipated, only augmented the public disorders. The tumult ceased at Versailles; but the mob moved in the night to Paris, where the bakers' shops were all broken into, and great

quantities of grain plundered and thrown into the streets. Large bodies of military on the following day restored tranquillity in the capital, but the tumults in the neighbourhood continued; and in a combat between the insurgents and the troops on the road to Versailles, several lives were lost. With difficulty Turgot and Malesherbes prevailed on Louis to adopt rigorous measures. The troops in Paris were augmented to twenty-five thousand, and placed under Marshal Biron; martial law was proclaimed, the provost-marshal put in authority, and two ringleaders caught pillaging were hanged summarily on a gibbet forty feet high. Next day a general amnesty was proclaimed; and the king, overcome with scruples of conscience at this unwonted act of vigour, repeatedly said to Turgot, "Have we nothing to reproach ourselves with in the measures we have adopted?" This well-timed severity, however, put down the disturbances, but not before they had become really formidable, and done great local mischief. Two things were observed during their continuance, of much importance and sinister augury for future times. The parliament of Paris openly took the part of the insurgents, addressed the king to lower the price of grain, and were only subdued by a *lit de justice* held at Versailles, and a royal decree which took the prosecutions entirely out of their hands; and the disturbances were conducted with so much unity of design, and simultaneous violence in different places, as to leave no room for doubt that they were instigated with a common design, and directed by no ordinary leaders.* The disposition of the

* In the address to the curés, to be read in the parish churches during these disturbances, the king made use of the remarkable expression,—"When the people shall be made acquainted with the authors of the sedition, they will regard them with horror." It was subsequently, however, and probably wisely, judged more prudent not to adopt any measures which might reveal the secret information which government had received on the subject. What confirmed the opinion that the disturbances had a deeper origin than merely the high price of provisions, and were in truth a political movement, was the extraordinary and systematic regularity of this outrageous movement. The keeper of the seals

Parisians to make light of the most serious convulsions, was already conspicuous while they lasted. The theatres were open the whole time; Biron's "Campagne des Farines" was the subject of many witty couplets; and the mantua-makers immediately brought out "bonnets à la révolte."

29. GUILLAUME DE MALESHERBES, whose firmness mainly contributed to the suppression of these dangerous disturbances, was born of an ancient family of the magistracy in 1721; so that, when elevated by Louis to the ministry, he was fifty-five years of age. He was educated by the Jesuits, and early trained for the magistracy, which he entered at the age of twenty-three, and was soon after appointed substitute to the procureur-général before the parliament of Paris. In 1750 he succeeded, on the promotion to the chancellorship of his father, Lamoignon de Malesherbes, who had long held the office, to the situation of president of the "Cour des Aides," the chamber of the parliament which took cognisance of exchequer or tax prosecutions. In that important situation, which he held for the next twenty-six years, he had ample opportunities for displaying both the integrity and firmness of his character; and it is no small proof of both, that he was banished for four years by Louis XV. in 1771, for refusing to recognise the suppression of the

said to the parliament of Paris.—"The movements of the brigands appear combined; their approach is announced before it takes place; public rumour indicates the place, the hour, where their violences are to be committed. It appears that a general plan has been formed to pillage the country, to interrupt the communications, to stop the transport of corn along the high-roads, in order to succeed in famishing the great towns, and especially Paris." In addition to this, it appeared that great numbers of the mob were drunk, and had money to distribute to others; and when they broke into the granaries and bakers' shops, instead of eating the grain or carrying it away, they destroyed it or threw it into the streets. Turgot was convinced to the latest hour of his life that these riots were the result of a conspiracy formed by the Prince of Conti and the party in the parliament of Paris hostile to his designs; and the Duke of Orleans did not escape suspicions of being connected with the plot.—See DROZ, *Histoire de Louis XVI.*, i. 168; and *Biographie Universelle*, xlvii. 76 (TURGOT).

parliament. Many were the memorials which he addressed—great the efforts he made, during his long tenure of office, to shield innocence from oppression, or deliver wretchedness from detention; and it was in one of these remonstrances that he made use of the celebrated expression, so characteristic of France under the ancient régime,—"No one is so great as to be beyond the reach of the hatred of a minister, nor so little as to escape the notice of a farmer of the revenue."* He was desirous, when brought back in triumph on the restoration of the parliament in 1774, to resign his situation as president of the Cour des Aides, that he might pass the remainder of his life in study and retirement; and it was only on a third request, and as a personal favour to Turgot, for whom he had a great regard, that he could be prevailed on to accept the situation of minister of the interior, upon the dismissal of La Vrillière in August 1774.

30. Turgot and Malesherbes were entirely at one as to the necessity of great reforms to restore stability to the monarchy, and eradicate the numerous abuses which had grown up under the despotic reigns of former sovereigns. But their principles of government were widely different; and if they had continued long in office together, this difference must have led to a schism between them. Both were upright in their principles, sincere in their character, and passionately desirous of promoting the general good. Both felt the necessity of great reforms to effect it, and were gifted with the moral courage and disinterested patriotism necessary to carry them into practice, in the face of the interested opposition of the most powerful corporations and individuals in the state. Both were liberal in their principles, intimately connected with the philosophical party in Paris, and imbued with the deistical principles, and prejudices against Christianity, then unhappily so prevalent in France. But here their union terminated. On the

* His first words on returning were,—*"Let us forget the past, excuse failings, sacrifice resentments."*—DROZ, i. 174.

principles of the new government which they proposed to establish in the room of the old régime, they were widely at variance. Malesherbes was a reformer, but not an innovator. Descended of a legal family, and trained to legal habits, he had no intention of subverting the fundamental laws and institutions of the state; he only desired to clear them of their abuses, and restore them to the efficiency for practical good of which he still thought them capable. He proposed, therefore, to eradicate all oppressive powers and institutions, and provide safeguards against the recurrence of abuses, but to leave the general institutions of the monarchy unchanged. He made it the first condition of accepting office, that the king should sign no *lettres de cachet* but what he presented to him; and his first care was to visit in person the state prisons, and deliver half the inmates, many of whom had lingered for years in their dungeons. He intended to restore gradually the States-General; to concede to accused persons the right of being defended by counsel; to remove the restrictions on the Protestants in the exercise of their religious worship; to abolish torture and the punishment of the wheel; to re-enact the Edict of Nantes; to remove the censorship of the press; and, without altogether abolishing *lettres de cachet*, to limit them to extraordinary cases, and give the person arrested the right, in all instances, of bringing his detention before an elevated tribunal created for that special purpose. He proposed, as he himself said, "to plead the cause of the people before the king;" but still it was before the king that the process was to depend. He little anticipated that he would be called on, in his old age, to plead the cause of the king before the people.

31. Bred in the school of the Philosophers, imbued with the principles of the Economists, Turgot took a bolder and more speculative view with regard to the regeneration of France. He proposed to remould its institutions according to a model framed by the hands of philosophy. He acted on the principle of human perfectibility, of which, in common with Condorcet,

he was so strenuous a supporter. He began by giving a noble proof of disinterested virtue himself, by refusing the customary present of a hundred thousand crowns (£25,000), which had always been paid by the farmers-general of the revenue to the finance minister when they signed their bail-bonds, directing it to be given to the hospitals and poor of Paris. This splendid deed won him public admiration and private enmity; the majority of men in secret ever hate a generosity which they feel themselves unable to imitate. Though fully aware of the present selfishness and egotism of men,* he thought that it was the result of vicious institutions or antiquated prejudices; and that by the aid of the light of philosophy, social felicity might in the end be built upon the broad basis of general virtue. His ideas, in consequence, embraced a total change of society, as the only effectual means of eradicating the evils under which it at present laboured.

32. He conceived that religion should be left to the voluntary support of those who required it, and not supported by the property of the church; that the tithe should be gradually abolished, after making due provision for the existing incumbents; that the ecclesiastical property should be put at the disposal of the nation, and in part appropriated to instruction in the elementary branches of knowledge and morality; and that, to avoid the disputes of sects, no religious opinions or ceremonies should be inculcated at these schools, but the moral principles only on which all were agreed. In civil government, he held that the existence of separate orders of nobility and clergy was a fundamental error; that the right of making laws, however, should be limited to the class of proprietors, and votes be in proportion to the property held;† that all citizens

* "Every one seeks to deceive the government, and to throw the social charges on his neighbour; the revenues of all are concealed, and can only be discovered very imperfectly by an inquisition, which puts the king, as it were, at war with his people."—TURGOT, *Mémoire sur l'Administration*, 1775; *Sou-LAVIE*, iii. 139.

† He proposed to the king, that freehold property to the extent of 1000 francs, or

should be alike eligible to every employment, civil and military; that all corporations, statutes of apprenticeship, and monopolies of whatever sort, should be abolished, so that the career of industry in every branch should be alike open to all; and that legislative assemblies should be formed in the provinces, chosen by and deriving their power from the general election of the people.

33. In a word, all the changes of the Constituent Assembly, which fifteen years afterwards overturned the whole fabric of society in France, had their origin in the ideas of Turgot for its regeneration. It was only as the final result, however, and after a long course of previous training, that he contemplated the adoption of such extensive changes; his immediate projects were much more practical. They were the abolition of corvées, or the burden of upholding the roads throughout the kingdom; the suppression of the most oppressive of the feudal rights; the imposition of the land-tax called the vingtième on the nobles and clergy; the formation of a general and equitable cadastre, or valuation of heritable property, to be the basis of all territorial imposts; the entire liberty of conscience and recall of the Protestants; the suppression of the greater part of the monasteries; the redemption of the feudal services, with a just regard to the rights of the present holders. He proposed further, to frame one civil code for the whole kingdom; to establish a uniformity of weights and measures; to suppress local privileges and corporations; to ameliorate the condition of the working curés; to establish a system of general instruction; to form a magnificent system for interior communication by land and water; to effect great economies in the collection of several of the taxes, of which nearly a half was intercepted in its progress towards the exchequer; to render thought and the press as free as industry; to call philosophers and men of letters to contribute their mite to-

wards the enlightening of government; and to prepare the people, by the use of provincial assemblies, for the exercise of the powers of sovereign legislation in the States-General.

34. It may readily be conceived what a ferment of visions and hopes in one class of society, and of terror and hatred in another, the fact of ministers holding such sentiments being at the head of affairs must have raised in France. The philosophers were in transports; they beheld in near prospect, not only the adoption of their principles by government, but, what was to them still more material, the communication of the influence and emoluments of office to themselves. The aristocracy of mind was to supplant that of the sword. The clergy and nobles speedily took the alarm. Already M. Turgot had excited the jealousy of the church, not merely by his known connection with the infidel philosophers of the capital, and the incessant eulogies with which they loaded him, but by a variety of edicts on the ceremonial parts of religion, which, though not important in themselves, were justly deemed material, as indicating how the wind set in high quarters. It had, in consequence, become the general opinion in the capital, though erroneously, as it afterwards appeared, that the king had been weaned by Turgot and Maleherbes from his early prejudices, and that he had adopted their deistical views of religion. The noblesse entertained the most rancorous feelings towards a minister whose integrity was proof against their seductions, while his austerity threatened to abridge their privileges, and abolish a large part of their emoluments at court. Matters were in this combustible state when the former war-minister, the Marshal de Mury, died; and, on the sugges-

£40 a-year, should be the requisite for a vote, and that inferior proprietors should only have a fraction of a vote.—Turgot's *Memoir to Louis XVI.*, SOULAVIE, iii. 142.

* He authorised the general sale of meat during Lent, hitherto monopolised by the Hôtel Dieu; altered the mode of travelling of the messageries, so as to enable them to travel during mass; suggested the coronation of the king at Paris, instead of in the cathedral of Rheims; proposed alterations in the coronation oath, of which the clergy disapproved, and with reason insisted on the omission of the inhuman clause which bound the monarch to exterminate heretics.—See *Biog. Univ.*, xlvii. 75 (Turgot).

tion of Turgot, COUNT ST GERMAIN was appointed in his room. This change was attended with the most important consequences, and deserves particular attention, for it is intimately connected with the causes which, in the last crisis, paralysed the government and overturned the throne.

35. This able and intrepid, but bizarre and intractable man, was born near Lons-le-Saulnier, on the 16th April 1707, so that when called to the ministry he was already sixty-eight years of age. Descended of an old and noble but decayed family, he was educated by the Jesuits, and at first intended for the church; but his ardent disposition soon broke through their trammels, and he entered first the provincial militia, and then the regular dragoons. His energetic temperament led him, as France was at peace, into the service of the Elector Palatine in Germany, and in 1738 he signalised his valour in the campaign of the Emperor against the Turks. France having, subsequent to this, declared war against Austria, he engaged in the service of its ally, the Elector of Bavaria, where his talents led to his rapid promotion. He was on the point of entering the Prussian service, but, deterred by the rigours of its discipline, he applied to Marshal Saxe, who procured for him employment in his own country. He served in the campaigns of Flanders from 1746 to 1748, and afterwards with distinction in the Seven Years' War, where he mainly contributed to save the wreck of the French army after the rout of Rosbach, and to cover the retreat from Minden. His temperament, however, was too ardent to permit of his continuing long in any service without quarrels; he was too little of a courtier to be a favourite at Versailles; * and, deeming himself ill-

* Madame Pompadour used to call him the "Mauvais Sujet." His decision of character, the greatest element in military, as in all other greatness, strongly appeared when Louis XV., in 1760, proposed to attach him as mentor to the Prince of Condé—a system well known in the French and Austrian service, where rank obtained command at a time when necessity called for ability. "Sire," replied he, "I know but of two things in war—to command and to obey: as to a council, I know nothing of it."—*Droz*, i. 185; and *Biographie Universelle*, xxxix. 588.

used by the Duke de Broglie, his general, he threw up his command, and withdrew to Denmark, where he was appointed war-minister and commander-in-chief. After some years spent with great distinction in that country, he retired to Alsace, where he was living in retirement, when the bankruptcy of the banker whom he had trusted suddenly deprived him of his whole fortune. Sensible of his merit and services, the German regiments in the employment of France subscribed, and requested him to accept, a pension of 16,000 francs (£640) yearly; the war-minister, de Muy, forbade this, but settled on him a pension of 10,000 francs (£400) a-year on the part of the crown. St Germain lived happy on this pension, in retirement, writing his memoirs, cultivating his little domain with his own hands, and supporting his reverses with dignity, when, without the slightest communication with government, or application on his part, he received an intimation from Versailles that he had been appointed minister-at-war. He was busy, like Cincinnatus, planting a fruit-tree in his garden when the courier with his nomination arrived, and as he had no servant, a neighbouring peasant got ready his horse to convey him to the nearest post.†

36. The principal motive which led Turgot and Maurepas to suggest St Germain's appointment to the king, was in order that he might carry through, with unflinching rigour, the reductions in the expense of the army, especially of the household troops, which the distressed state of the finances had now rendered indispensable. They found

† Count St Germain's appointment, which, from the singular and romantic circumstances attending it, made a great noise at the time, was owing to the esteem in which he was held by the Abbé Dubois, an intimate friend of Malesherbes, and brother to an officer who had long been an aide-de-camp of the Count's. The Abbé Dubois suggested him to Malesherbes as an officer every way qualified to carry through the great reforms which Turgot meditated in the army, and for which he seemed better adapted than any of the high noblesse. This led to a memoir on the reforms in the army, which he had submitted to Maurepas on receiving his pension, being looked at; and as it pleased Louis and Turgot, he received the appointment.—*Droz*, *Vie de Louis XVI.*, i. 188, 189.

him an ardent reformer; and his general plan for the remodelling of the troops was well conceived; but in many subordinate particulars he violently shocked the national feelings, and undid the bonds which united the soldiers of all ranks to the sovereign. The great evils were the prodigious number of officers on full or half-pay in proportion to that of common soldiers, and the promotion of young men to important military employments who had no acquaintance whatever with the duties of their profession.* These abuses, the consequence of the army being considered the mere appanage of the no-

* The French army in 1776 consisted in all of 217,000 men; and there were 60,000 officers on full or half-pay. By the regulations, 17th April 1772, each regiment of cavalry consisted of 480 men, of whom no less than 146 were officers, or non-commissioned officers, being nearly one officer to every three privates. In the glorious days of the French army under Turenne, a company was commanded only by a captain, lieutenant, and sub-lieutenant or ensign. It was during the calamitous last years of the reign of Louis XIV. that the prodigious multiplication of officers began—a system which at once afforded an immediate relief to the treasury, by the sale of the commissions, and gratified the nobility by their obtaining the salaries attached to them. When the pay of such a vast accumulation of officers came to prove a serious drain upon the exchequer, the only resource was to replenish its coffers by the creation and sale of additional military offices; and this of course soon aggravated the evil, and threw the finances of the army into inextricable confusion. When Count St Germain was made minister-at-war, every regiment was burdened with a train of useless supernumerary officers for whom we have no corresponding words in the English language, or in the military vocabulary of Napoleon, viz., “des colonels propriétaires, des colonels commandans, des colonels en second, des colonels en troisième, des colonels non commissionnés, des colonels à la suite des régimens, et des colonels attachés à l’armée.” The same abuses existed with regard to captains, lieutenants, and all inferior grades. What peculiarly aggravated these evils was, that titles of rank alone gave a right to advancement; and these invidious and burdensome commissions were often purchased for money, or acquired by family influence, without the holder having ever seen a shot fired in the field, or even a regiment drilled on parade! Such are the abuses resulting from unchecked aristocracy—from the selfishness of human nature, when acting in a dominant noblesse. This History will show whether lesser evils grow up when a republic is established, and the selfishness of human nature comes to act in an unrestrained democracy.

bility, not the patrimony and safeguard of the state, at once burdened the treasury and weakened the service. They were to be regarded as the principal causes of the long train of disasters which in recent wars had tarnished the glory of the French arms. St Germain applied the caustic with a firm hand to the gangrened limb; but he pushed it too far, and inflicted a deep, and, as it proved, an irremediable wound on the healthy part of the system.

37. The obvious way to have remedied the abuse of supernumerary officers would have been, to have allowed the existing holders of the commissions to have enjoyed them during their lives, but prevented their being filled up afterwards. Instead of that, St Germain commenced his reforms by an immediate sweeping reduction in the household troops; the object, it is true, of excessive and prodigal favour to the higher branches of the aristocracy, but ennobled by the recollection of historic names and deeds of fame, and forming an essential part of the military force of the country. The mousquetaires gris, the mousquetaires noirs, and the grenadiers-à-cheval, of the Maison du Roi were suppressed: and he was meditating still further reductions when the vehement resistance of the nobles, at the head of the menaced corps, obliged him to desist. He endeavoured to accomplish the diminution of the supernumerary officers attached to every corps; but at the very moment he was doing this, he perpetuated the abuse by creating “colonels en second,” a certain mode of lowering the principal rank, and authorised the sale of a hundred supernumerary captaincies. Various salutary regulations for the military schools, and the mode of raising troops for the army, were made. But the good effect of the whole was destroyed by the new and fatal changes which he introduced into the discipline of the private soldiers. Enamoured of the severity of German discipline, unacquainted, from long absence, with the peculiarity of the French character, and yet sensible that the lax state of the army required a severe remedy to be applied to restore its efficiency, he in-

troduced the German mode of punishing by strokes with the cane; and when the universal resistance of the army obliged him to abrogate that mode of chastisement, he substituted blows with the flat part of the sabre. This system, which continued for a considerable time to be enforced, gave hardly less dissatisfaction. Mutinies broke out in several regiments: the soldiers burst into tears, or sank down in swoons, on seeing their comrades subjected to such an indignity; numbers committed suicide to avoid it; and the celebrated saying of a grenadier, "*Je n'aime du sabre que le tranchant*" (I love only the cut of the sabre), repeated from one end of France to the other, worked the indignation up to a perfect paroxysm.*

38. Another of his changes, little less grating to the feelings of the military, was the breaking up of the noble establishment of the *Hôtel des Invalides* of Louis XIV., and distributing the veterans in their several parishes. This system might have answered well in England, where the soldier still retained his domestic attachments; but it was to the last degree distasteful to the French soldiers, who regarded themselves as banished when sent to the provinces with a pension; and shed tears on being conveyed in carts past the statue of Louis XIV., the founder of their establishment, in the Place Louis XV., exclaiming, "We have no longer a father." An attempt next made to abolish the central military school at Paris, and establish six in the provinces in its stead, had no better success; the scholars revolted at the idea of being subjected to monks or provincial pedagogues, and after this system had continued for a year the old one was restored. The innovations of St Germain, from being ill-directed, and at variance with the spirit of the nation, injured the cause of reform, and contributed to augment

* In the regiment of Laval, a private was ordered to be punished with strokes of the sabre; he declared himself a gentleman before the punishment began, and therefore exempt from that indignity; his protest was disregarded, and he underwent the sentence. After it was over, he proved his descent, withdrew from the service, as he was then entitled to do, challenged his colonel, and ran him through the body.—*SOULAVIE*, iii. 63.

the growing discontent at Turgot's and Malesherbes' administration. He survived their ministry, however, and was not dismissed till September 1777; but his influence had previously ceased, and all parties were so inveterate against him that all alike rejoiced in his fall. It was hard to say whether the courtiers who sighed for the restoration of the corps of guards which he had dismissed, or the soldiers who were indignant at the German punishments he had introduced, were most hostile to his measures. To such a length had the general discontent reached, that it had gone far to destroy the ancient loyalty of the French character; and an officer high in command informed Louis XVI., that at the time of his dismissal there were not two regiments in the army which could be relied on.†

39. Turgot's power was brought to a test by the publication of his famous edicts, which at once raised up such a storm as ultimately occasioned his downfall. The two most important of these were, one for the suppression of the burden of *corvées*, or personal service on the roads, over the whole kingdom, and the formation of a tax to supply its place, borne by all landholders alike; the other the general suppression of *Jurandes et Matrilises* (wardenships and incorporations).‡ The actual importance of these changes, though in themselves by no means inconsiderable, was the least cause of the interest which they excited: it was the introduction of a

† St Germain's character was perfectly portrayed by one circumstance. After he was made minister, he bought a demesne near Raincy; and the moment he acquired it he set about the demolition of the old chateau, gardens, walls, and orchards, which had cost 100,000 crowns (£20,000), to make way for new constructions. Not one stone was standing on another, nor one tree left in six months; and in six more he himself was dismissed from the ministry, and died of chagrin.—*SOULAVIE*, iii. 79.

‡ Turgot's six edicts were as follows:—1. For the suppression of the *Caisse de Poissy*; 2. For the suppression of the duties on grain in the markets; 3. For the diminution of the duties on the harbours; 4. For the suppression of all charges on apprenticeship and incorporations; 5. For the abolition of *corvées*, and the imposition of a general land-tax in their room.—*SOULAVIE*, iii. 65.

principle which rendered them so vehement an object of contention. The first tended to throw a burden, hitherto borne by the peasantry in kind, on the shoulders of all landed proprietors indiscriminately; the second abolished at once the whole privileges of corporations and crafts, and rendered the young workman in every department of industry, who had just begun his labours, the equal in every legal privilege of the old craftsman who had spent his life in his vocation. The tendency of these changes was manifest: it was to remove the burden of taxes from the peasantry of the country and fix them on the land, and, abolishing all distinctions of rank among the working-classes in towns, to prepare the way for universal equality of privilege and suffrage. This was rendered still more manifest by a work published by Boucfer, a friend of Turgot's, and high in the administration of the finances, against the feudal rights, and recommending the experiment of their abolition on the domains of the crown,* which the parliament of Paris, on the motion of a young counsellor destined to future celebrity, d'Espréménil, ordered to be publicly burned. Such was their indignation against this work, that it was with the greatest difficulty that they could be prevented from ordering a prosecution against its author; and d'Espréménil's motion to serve an indictment against him was only got quit of by the side-wind of an adjournment; but it still hung over his head when the Revolution broke out in 1789.

40. It is surprising how quick-sighted men are, when their interests are, however remotely, concerned. It was hard to say whether the noblesse and parliaments, who beheld, or supposed they beheld, their feudal rights vanishing into air under the magic wand of the comptroller-general, or the merchants and tradesmen, who were threatened with an equality of privileges being conferred on their workmen, were most indignant at the proposed changes. The noblesse exclaimed, that, as they were now compelled to contribute to the

roads, the next thing would be, that the king would force them to labour at them, like the peasants, with their own hands. The merchants and manufacturers loudly protested against their workmen being raised to a level with themselves, and their birthright, or the fruit of their toil, being torn from them by novices in the crafts in which they had grown grey. The clergy, albeit not yet threatened in their influence or possessions, took the alarm at the inroad attempted on the exclusive privileges of the noblesse, and, joining the general cry, declared that Turgot and Malesherbes had made a philosopher and an infidel of the king. The farmers of the revenue, the financiers, and the whole tribes of speculators who fattened on the public taxes, swelled the general discontent, and decried a system which they foresaw would ere long lay the axe to the root of their usurious gains.† Following the current of public opinion, which was entirely in unison with its own aristocratic predilections, the parliament of Paris registered the first edict, regarding the *caisse* of Paris, which was of no importance, and refused to ratify the others. Turgot, determined not to be defeated, caused the king to hold a *lit de justice*, and they were registered by force.

41. Thus was exhibited, for the first time in Europe, probably in the world, the extraordinary spectacle of the powers of a despotic government being exerted to force democratic reforms, partly salutary, partly perilous, on an unwilling country. Subsequent times have afforded more than one example of a similar prodigy; but it may well be imagined what a sensation it excited when it first occurred. Well might the Philosophers exclaim, that they had turned despotism by its source, and got into the redoubt by its gorge: property beheld itself assailed in the quarter where no danger had hitherto been anticipated, and where it was without defence. The parliament and privileged bodies, however, were not discouraged. They prolonged their debates during

* *Sur les Inconvénances des Droits Féodaux.* Par BOUCFER, premier commis des finances. January 1776.

† One of them said with curious naïveté, "Why change, when we are so well off?"—Droz, i. 206.

several nights successively; thundered forth eloquent and energetic protests against the threatened invasion, without compensation, of private property;* and ultimately succeeded in raising such a ferment in the country as proved irresistible. Malesherbes was the first who sank before the storm. Worn out with the opposition which his measures of reform had experienced, disgusted with the selfishness with which he was surrounded, despairing of effecting any permanent amelioration, in a state where individual interest was the object of universal worship, he sent in his resignation, which Louis, a prey to similar vexations, mournfully accepted, observing at the same time, in touching words, "You are happier than I; you can resign." Turgot, endowed with more obstinacy of disposition, held out longer; but the public clamour became so violent, that at length he also felt the necessity of sending in his resignation.† Maurepas, who was no reformer in his heart, but had merely given in to the

system of the Philosophers to keep things quiet, and win over their powerful voice to his side, was alarmed at the vehement fermentation which had been excited, and had for some time been skilfully sowing the seeds of doubt and distrust as to Turgot's designs in the king's mind. After some hesitation, accordingly, he accepted his resignation; and thus fell the government of the Economists.

42. The fall of Turgot and Malesherbes is one of the most important of the many important phases which preceded the Revolution, and was intimately connected with that convulsion. That it accelerated the march of events conducive towards it, cannot be doubted; for the return to arbitrary government, and the continuance of abuses, becomes to a peculiar degree grating when the minds of men have been heated by the taste for reforms, how visionary soever. Yet were the innovations contemplated by these eminent and well-meaning men in them-

* "One is tempted to believe," said they in their protest, "that there exists in the state a secret party, an unknown agent, who, by internal throes, seeks to overturn its foundations—like those volcanoes which, preceded by successive subterraneous sounds and earthquakes, subsequently cover all that surrounds them with a burning torrent of ruins, of cinders and lava, which is vomited forth from the entrails of the earth. Every people have their own manners, laws, customs, and usages. Institutions form the political system. To subvert that order is to shake the foundations of the government which all nations have adopted. Among every people laws are founded on their disposition, their character, their opinions. Every legislator should, in the first instance, consult the genius of the people whom he proposes to ameliorate. By what fatality has it happened that our writers and legislators at present make it their object to combat everything—to destroy, to overturn everything? The edifice of our ordinances, based on the spirit of the nation, accommodated to it, the work of so many ages, the fruit of the prudence of sovereigns, of the wisdom of the most enlightened ministers, of the experience of the most upright magistrates, is treated by these new preceptors of the human race with an insulting contempt, which could spring from nothing but the reveries of a disturbed imagination, stimulated by the enthusiasm of a false philosophy."—*Speech of M. Séguier, Procureur-Général of the Parliament of Paris, 1775*; SOULAVIE, iii. 88, 89.

"Turgot," said Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII., "says to the French, 'For a thousand years you have had laws, privileges, property, usages, and distinctions. They are all chimeras and barbarisms. Become a new people. Let the reason of the first age of the world enlighten you; let everything be abandoned to instinct and self-government; let all obstacles be thrown down, all privileges abolished.' To accomplish these ends he furnished to Louis XVI. six skilfully drawn edicts, well purified in the fire of liberty, and involving all the elements of a general revolution. The evil genius of France, in the shape of an Anglo-mania, has got possession of the royal councils: it has misled the king, seduced the council, abused the nation. Observing the disorders of the finances, it has seized upon that as the lever wherewith to subvert the state; and its fatal influences will precipitate a revolution by putting France at war with itself, and in the end establish the lasting superiority of Great Britain."—What a prophecy! and these were the men whom the philosophers of the day characterised as "*esprits bornés*," incapable of raising themselves above antiquated prejudices.—*Mémoire par MONSIEUR FRÉDÉRIC DU ROI, Avril 1776*, pp. 7, 8; and SOULAVIE, iii. 107.

† He said, in his letter resigning office,— "The most decided combination of all parties against me, my absolute isolation, and the scarce disguised enmity of M. Miromenil, his influence with M. Maurepas, all convince me that I only hold by a thread."—SOULAVIE, iii. 164.

selves to the last degree perilous, and such as would have conducted France, by a path less bloody, perhaps, but not less certain, than that which it actually followed, to a social revolution and military despotism. No other testimony is required to this, than that of Malesherbes himself, who thus, when taught by misfortune, expressed himself on the tendency of the reforms in which he had had too large a share. "M. Turgot and I," said he, in 1790, "were very honest men, well informed, and passionately desirous of the public good. No one, at the time, could have believed that the king could have done better than to have trusted himself to our guidance. Nevertheless, I now see that, knowing mankind only from books, and wanting the judgment necessary for conducting public affairs, we conducted the administration ill. We wished to govern the French not as they were, but such as we wished them to be, and such as our hearts imagined they were. We were misled by our zeal; our principles having been introduced into the government, the use we made of our power to enforce them was clearly erroneous. I know not to what the changes in progress will lead; but I must admit that, stepping on from one system of supposed perfection to another, we have arrived, I grieve to say, at our present state. Strange to say, the nation has always thought it would right itself by making a further step in advance. Without perceiving it—without intending it—we have contributed to the Revolution."

43. The principle which led the plans of reform adopted by Turgot, and many other great and good men who followed him, to these disastrous results, has now been clearly illustrated by experience. They proceeded upon an erroneous estimate of human nature, and a mistaken idea of human perfectibility. No one new better, or felt more keenly than that upright minister, the unbounded selfishness of the aristocratic classes by whom the throne was surrounded, and by whom his plans of amelioration had been incessantly thwarted. But he imagined that these were the vices of the great only, and

that if the invidious distinctions of society were removed, the community would no longer be oppressed by their influence. He saw the evils of the privileges of the dominant classes of society; but he did not see, what experience has now fully shown, the still greater evils resulting from the unrestrained ascendancy of the working masses. His plans shook the base of all good government,—the security of property: professing to lay the social burdens equally on all classes of society, they in effect removed them from one class, hitherto unjustly left to bear them all, to lay them with equal injustice on another. The *corvées* were to be taken entirely from the shoulders of the peasantry, and laid on those of the landed proprietors. This was not equalising the social burdens, but changing the class which was to bear them.* The project of suppressing the privileges of incorporations, and leaving the career of industry open to all, in appearance so equitable, has been found by experience to lead to the most calamitous consequences; for it takes large bodies of men from the guidance of respectability and property, to range them beneath the mandates of violence and injustice. The working classes must be combined in some way or other; the feeling of impotence to an isolated poor man is insupportable. When so combined, human nature will ever prompt to some system likely, in appearance at least, to conduce to the general advantage. If not arrayed by law in guilds and in corporations recognised and protected in their privileges, they will array themselves in combinations which will enforce their assumed rights by violence and intimidation, attended with the most dreadful results. The nation is little to be

* The Roman maxim, "*cujus est commodum ejus debet esse onus*," (upon the owner of property should fall its burdens), is the certain guide in the often complicated, and always vehemently contested matter of the distribution of the social burdens; and its justice is so apparent that, when it is strictly followed, they are never complained of. Accordingly, the English tolls, falling on the persons who use the roads, though often imposing a far heavier burden on individuals than the French *corvées*, are never felt as burdensome.

envied which, having extinguished legal incorporations, where age predominates, industry is cherished, and misfortune alleviated, falls under the dominion of ruthless trades' unions, where violence directs, despotism commands, and cruelty executes; where the torch and the dagger are the instruments of popular vengeance, and which consign, for months together, twenty or thirty thousand of their fellow creatures to compulsory idleness and real destitution.*

* The author can speak from personal information on this subject. The great cotton-spinners' strike, in 1837, cost Lanarkshire and Glasgow £452,000; that of the whole colliers and iron-miners in the same year, £417,000, besides doubling the price of coals, which levied a tax to an equal amount on the community: the strike of the calico-printers in the west of Scotland, in 1834, inflicted a loss of £474,000 on the country; that of the colliers and iron-miners, in 1842, cost Lanarkshire at least £600,000. Nearly the whole of the loss arising from these strikes fell on the innocent and industrious labourers, willing and anxious to work, but deterred from doing so by the threats of the unions and the dark menaces of an unknown committee. The mode in which these committees acquire such despotic authority is precisely the same as that which made the Committee of Public Salvation despotism—Terror—terror—terror. "Every morning we asked each other, why was nothing done last night?" "What did you mean by nothing done?" "Why was no one murdered by the committee."—*Crown Evidence, SWINTON'S Report of the Trial of the Glasgow Cotton-Spinners*, p. 88. See also *Evidence before Combination Committee, Commons*, 1838, pp. 128, 164. As a contrast to this, the united trades' incorporations of Glasgow spend above £7000 a-year in charity, arising from funds they have accumulated during a long course of prudent management, and effectually prevent any of their members from being reduced to destitution, or falling as a burden on the community. From the report of that able and intelligent officer, Sir Charles Shaw, formerly superintendent of police in Manchester, now in the same office in London, it appears that intimidation and murder constitute a part of the system of the trades' unions in Manchester. "Money," says he, "is voted to screen and send out of the country members who have committed legal offences, in obedience to the commands of the ruling committee. The following are some of the entries:—'That £13. 4s. be allowed to —, for passage-money to America, after having murdered —.' 'That £10 be given to —, for outfit and passage-money to America, after the murder of —.'" See Sir CHARLES SHAW, *Replies to Lord ASHLEY'S Queries*, 1843, p. 17.—Such is self-government, and the rule of the masses, in some of the manufacturing districts of Great Britain.

44. Maurepas supplied the place of Turgot by Clugny, formerly intendant of Bordeaux—a man of no distinction, but a courtier, and one whose character gave an earnest of a return to the old régime of aristocratic influence and abuses. Arnould succeeded Malesherbes in the Home Office—a man totally devoid of talents: indeed he was selected by Maurepas for that very reason; they had had enough of the men of letters.† An immediate change ensued in the conduct of government. The six edicts registered by force on the 12th March were repealed, and the edict as to the corvées was suspended: the promised ameliorations were so frittered away that they amounted to nothing. Everything returned to the old system. Maurepas addressed a hypocritical letter of condolence to Turgot on his dismissal, which drew forth an indignant retort from the fallen philosopher. "At least," said he, "I retire without having to reproach myself with weakness, falsehood, and dissimulation." It was those three vices which retained Maurepas in power, and the opposite qualities of vigour, truth, and sincerity, which drove Turgot from it. Such are courts: except in those cases, unhappily so rare, when penetration and resolution, as well as virtue and good intentions, are at the head of affairs. If it is rare for a Henry to find a Sully, it is still more rare for a Sully to find a Henry. Turgot, a few days before his retirement, addressed an eloquent letter, in justification of his conduct and designs, to Louis XVI.; but he said, at the same time, of that prince, with profound and prophetic sagacity, that "the destiny of Louis XVI., under the guidance of the courtiers, would be either that of Charles I. or Charles IX.†"

45. The obvious incapacity of Clugny for the arduous duties of comptroller-general of the finances, soon obliged Maurepas to look out for an assistant to him; and his choice fell on a man destined to immortal but melancholy celebrity in the history of the Revolution.

† "At least," said Maurepas, "they cannot accuse me of having chosen him for his talents."—*Droz*, i. 212.

‡ The author of the massacre of St Bartholomew. Turgot died a few years after, on 20th March 1781, at the age of fifty-four.

tion—M. NECKER. This eminent philosopher, but unhappy statesman, was born at Geneva on the 3d September 1732, of respectable parents—his father, who was descended from an old family in the north of Germany, having been a professor of public law in that city. His own inclination prompted him to the study of philosophy and politics; but the wishes of his parents led him to follow commerce as a profession, and he early settled in Paris in the capacity of clerk, in the banking-house of M. Vernot. His abilities and assiduity soon raised him to a lead in that firm; and he afterwards became a partner in the great banking-house of M. Thelasson, where he was engaged in immense speculations, in the course of which he realised a large fortune. The chief sources of his fortune were vast transactions in the corn trade, and important finance operations under the government, which commenced in the administration of the Duke de Choiseul. In proportion as he became affluent in circumstances, he gradually devoted himself more and more to his favourite political and philosophical pursuits; and several pamphlets which he published had already acquired for him a considerable reputation, when one he published in 1775, on the freedom of commerce in grain, at the time of the dreadful riots, owing to the scarcity of that year, at once raised him to the highest eminence. Such was the impression produced by this celebrated attack on Turgot's edicts for establishing freedom in the corn trade, that the friends of that statesman have not hesitated to ascribe those disorders to the machinations of Necker to effect his overthrow.* But, though the upright character of the Swiss financier forbids the belief that he had any hand in the stirring up of that formidable

insurrection, a comparison of dates demonstrates that he had no hesitation in taking the earliest possible advantage of the distress which produced it, to inflame the public mind against the minister to whose change of system he conceived the general calamities to be owing.

46. Necker's reputation at Paris was in great part owing to the celebrity of his wife, Madame Necker: there is no character so great in France as to be independent of female influence. It was the fate of this remarkable woman to be intimately connected with three of the most eminent persons of her own or almost of any age; for in early youth, while still dwelling under her father's roof, a humble pastor in the solitudes of the Jura, she attracted the notice, and, but for the refusal of his relations to consent to the connection, would have been united to Gibbon, the greatest of modern historians.† Subsequently she

† "The personal attractions of Mademoiselle Susan Curchod were embellished by the virtues and talents of the mind. Her fortune was humble, but her family was respectable. Her mother, a native of France, had preferred her religion of her country. The profession of her father did not extinguish the moderation and philosophy of his temper, and he lived content with a small salary and laborious duty in the obscure lot of minister of Crassy, in the mountains that separate the Pays de Vaud from the country of Burgundy. In the solitude of a sequestered village, he bestowed a liberal and even a learned education on his only daughter. She surpassed his hopes by her proficiency in the sciences and languages; and in her short visits to some relations at Lausanne, the wit, beauty, and erudition of Mademoiselle Curchod were the subject of universal applause. The report awakened my curiosity; I saw and loved. I spent some happy days at Crassy, in the mountains of Burgundy; she listened to the voice of truth and passion, and her parents honourably encouraged the attachment. But on my return to England, I found my father would not hear of this strange connection; without his consent I was myself destitute and helpless; after a painful struggle I yielded to my fate—I sighed as a lover, but obeyed as a son. The minister of Crassy soon after died; his stipend died with him; his daughter retired to Geneva, where, by teaching young ladies, she earned a hard subsistence for herself and her mother; but in her lowest distress she maintained a spotless reputation and a dignified behaviour. A rich banker of Paris, a citizen of Geneva, had the good fortune and good sense to discover and possess this inestimable treasure; and in the capital of taste and luxury she resisted the temptations of wealth, as she had

* Necker's pamphlet was approved of by the censors on the 18th April 1775; its publication was sanctioned by the king: on the 28th it was published. Symptoms of the insurrection appeared at Dijon on the 28th April; and it broke out with extreme violence at Versailles and Paris on the 2d May:—"La cause de l'émeute des blés est toute dans l'ambition de M. Necker, qui se pressait de faire renvoyer mon frère pour occuper sa place."—*Discours du Chevalier Turgot (frère du Ministre)*; SOULAVIE, iv. 23, 29.

married M. Necker, who, at the most critical period of its fate, was prime minister of France, and mainly contributed, for good or for evil, to bring about its Revolution; and she was the mother of Madame de Stael—the first of female, and second to few of male authors. The saloons of this accomplished lady, who, to a prepossessing person, united the solid acquirements of learning and talent, were not frequented by the nobility of the court circle; but, even before Necker was made minister, they were the centre of union to a society much larger, and, as was soon felt, more influential. There were assembled that section of the noblesse, now by no means inconsiderable, which had embraced with ardour the new opinions, and was ready to adopt any projects of philanthropy or social regeneration which were suggested by fancy and supported by eloquence; the higher class of persons in office, or connected with the administration of the finances; the richest and best informed of the bankers, merchants, and Tiers Etat, and all the men of distinction in literature, science, and philosophy. There never had been formed in Paris a circle where so much talent, knowledge, and enthusiasm were combined, and it had a material influence, as will appear in the sequel, on the progress of the great convulsion. Yet was it sensibly different from the usual character of French society. It was more grave and sedate—abounded less with the brilliancy of wit, the elegance of manner, or the keenness of repartee, and already gave token of the serious thoughts and profound passions which were to agitate the country during the Revolution.

47. The continual embarrassment of the finances, to which the economy and reforms of Turgot had been able to apply only a temporary and most inadequate remedy, was the immediate cause

of the elevation of M. Necker to the ministry. He had composed, and transmitted to Maurepas, in 1776, a memoir on the finances, in which he developed a plan for supplying the deficit, which he estimated, at that period, at 27,000,000 francs (£1,080,000) a-year. This plan was in a peculiar manner agreeable to the adroit minister, coming, as it did, on the eve of the war with England to support the insurgent colonies of America, when extensive loans were indispensable, and from the man in France who, from his credit in the commercial world and his position as a financier, was best qualified both to form a correct opinion on the subject, and to carry his designs for the relief of the finances into execution. The idea of making him comptroller-general immediately presented itself to the mind of the prime minister; but such a choice, however desirable in some points of view, was not without grave inconvenience in others. Necker was a foreigner and a Protestant, neither noble nor of historic descent; and his connection with the liberal party, notwithstanding his controversy with the late comptroller-general on the corn trade, threatened to revive that formidable coalition of vested interests to which Maurepas had been obliged to sacrifice Turgot and Malesherbes, and from the hostility of which he himself had made so narrow an escape.

48. The war, however, which it was foreseen was approaching, absolutely required money; Necker alone could revive the credit of the crown; and Maurepas fell upon the following plan to calm the jealousy of the church and privileged classes. A respectable man, of mild and inoffensive manners, long councillor of state, Taboureaux des Réaux, but of no abilities, was named comptroller-general of the finances, and Necker had the subordinate situation of director of the treasury. It was understood that, in that capacity, he was to have the entire direction of the finances, though without a seat in the council. But his disposition was too aspiring to permit him to remain in a subordinate capacity; and Taboureaux, finding that Maurepas coincided with

sustained the hardships of indigence. The genius of her husband has raised him to the most exalted situation in Europe. In every situation of life he has reclined on the bosom of a faithful friend; and Mademoiselle Curchod is now the wife of M. Necker, the minister, perhaps the legislator, of the French monarchy."—GIBBON, *Autobiography, Miscellaneous Works*, i. 106–108.

the Swiss banker in his projects of reduction, resigned, and Necker was appointed director-general of the finances. The distinction between this situation and that of comptroller-general was more than nominal: the former had no seat in the cabinet, the latter had; and this, it was hoped, would allay the apprehensions of the privileged orders. The clergy, however, murmured at the appointment of a Protestant to an office of such importance. "I will give him up to you," replied Maurepas, "if you will pay the debts of the state."

49. The accession of Necker to the ministry speedily made itself felt, not only in various reforms in subordinate matters of detail connected with the finances, but in an entire change of system. New regulations were established in the post-horse duties; the receivers-general and intendants of the finances suppressed; the administrators of the lottery reduced in number; and, by a simple letter of the minister, the *vingtième* was extended to heritable property of every description. All these measures, and particularly the last, excited violent opposition; the parliament of Normandy solemnly protested against them; and the clamour became so violent, that the author of an energetic pamphlet against the proposed changes was sent to the Bastille.† Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII., began to take an active part in this opposition, and declaimed in no measured terms against the director-general. But Necker's ideas of alteration went a great

deal further; and, in truth, the state of the finances, on the eve of the breaking out of war with England, imperatively required an entire change of system. What he proposed rested on two bases,—1. The establishment of a general estimate of the expenses of every department, to be laid, by the minister at the head of it, at the beginning of each financial year, before the king for his consideration and approval; and, 2. The introduction of a greater degree of publicity into the accounts of the nation, in order to reassure the capitalists as to the real extent of the national resources, and prepare the way for negotiating those extensive loans, without which it was evident that the prosecution of hostilities would be impossible.‡

50. Necker owed his appointment entirely to the embarrassments of the court, and the absolute necessity of negotiating loans on the eve of the American War. But being strongly attached, at once from early association, political principle, and religious impression, to free institutions, he endeavoured to make the difficulties of the government the means of emancipating the people. His system was boldly to face the public accounts, to make no secret to the world of the excess of the expenditure above the receipts, and to reduce them ultimately to a level by a rigid system

† "It is a general survey of the financial state of the kingdom which can alone lead to wise and salutary determinations; and it is because such a survey has been constantly avoided during the preceding reign, that the finest kingdom in the world is now unable to enjoy its resources. Influential ministers, governing respectively the foreign relations, the army and the navy of the kingdom, expended at will immense sums; and feeble comptrollers-general, vain of their office, and desirous of continuing to enjoy it, sought to provide for these expenses, sometimes by a loan, sometimes by a tax, sometimes by a bankruptcy; and the national prosperity of France, from which such resources might have been drawn, served only to repair in a certain degree the effect of these disorders. The first step in reformation is to establish it as a fundamental principle, that at a certain time in the year—in the month of October, for example—the respective ministers of departments should each submit a scheme of their proposed expenses to the king, to be considered and approved of by him as a whole, and with reference to the general resources of the revenue."—NECKER, *Mémoire à Louis XVI.*, 8th Aug. 1776; SOULAVIE, iv. 45.

"It was Necker's acknowledged talent as a financier, and the credit he enjoyed in the commercial world, which ultimately raised him to the ministry; but the manner in which he first became known to the king and Maurepas was curious, and not quite so creditable. An obscure intriguer, possessed of considerable address, named the Marquis de Pezai, had introduced himself to the king, by some anonymous letters on the means of promoting the happiness of the people, and afterwards obtained his confidence in some private interviews. Pezai was under pecuniary obligations to Necker, and, to promote his benefactor, he recommended him to Maurepas. Such are the obscure means by which, in a country without free institutions, talent is frequently made known to the throne.—See SOULAVIE, iv. 1, 17; and BUCHEZ and ROUX, *Histoire Parlementaire de France*, i. 169, 170.

† M. Pelessert.

of general economy. He proposed to meet the public exigencies in ordinary periods by taxation, in extraordinary by loans; to familiarise the people to the former, by obtaining the consent of the provincial parliaments, and gain them over to the latter, by giving perfect publicity to the public accounts. Thus both parts of his system were favourable to the progress of freedom—the taxes by leading to the States-General, and the loans by compelling a publication of the accounts; the former by establishing a legal organ for popular influence, the latter by opening a channel for public opinion. His private character was unexceptionable. Possessed of immense wealth, he made a noble use of it. When appointed minister of finance, he went a step beyond Turgot's rejection of the free gift of the farmers of the revenue—he refused the whole emoluments of office: an example of disinterestedness which excited the jealousy, as it was beyond the power of imitation, of the courtiers. His private charity was unbounded, his religious principles pure and sincere—alike removed from the rancour of Protestant sectarianism and the arrogance of Romish domination. A faithful husband, an upright man, liberal, without either pride or prodigality, he would have been a perfect private citizen. But as a statesman he had qualities to the last degree dangerous. He had a vein of ostentatious and secret vanity, joined to a devout faith in human perfectibility, and an extravagant belief in popular virtue and disinterestedness, which afterwards, by making him sacrifice everything to his love of popularity, brought unprecedented disasters on the monarchy.

51. The first subject of moment on which Necker was required to give an opinion, after he had been called to the royal councils, was the question, whether France should interfere to support the insurgents of America in their contest with Great Britain. Turgot had strongly opposed the proposal of going to war; and in a very remarkable memoir, laid before Louis XVI., had given the clearest proof of the justice of his views and the solidity of his under-

standing. He resisted it on the ground, that the expense with which it would necessarily be attended would prove entirely destructive to all other plans of economy which had been formed, and on which the ultimate extrication of the finances from their present difficulties was dependent; that the opinion so generally entertained, that the emancipation of the colonies would prove fatal to the mother country, was erroneous, inasmuch as, in such an event, she would from previous habit and present interest retain their commerce, while she would escape from the burden of maintaining and defending these colonies; and that the strength of England would be much more effectually weakened by allowing the contest to be prolonged. In that case, if unsuccessful, she would be seriously tarnished in her reputation; if successful, burdened with a costly and discontented distant possession, which would give her the name of dominion and the reality of expense. Necker, when introduced into the cabinet, entirely concurred in this opinion, and in an especial manner insisted on the ruin which would inevitably ensue to the finances if a costly war were commenced, when the nation was unable to make head against its ordinary pacific expenditure. The other ministers concurred in these opinions, and it was unanimously determined in the cabinet to persevere in a system of neutrality, and to afford only secret and clandestine succour to the insurgents.

52. But the period had now arrived when, on great questions in which the public took a warm interest in France, the substantial direction of affairs was taken out of the hands of government, and placed in those of the agitators of the capital. Various causes had recently combined to render the feelings excited in favour of the American insurgents peculiarly warm, and the desire to assist them in the end irresistible. There is a natural sympathy in all generous minds with the weaker party engaged in a contest with a stronger, and on behalf of people contending for their liberties against their real or supposed oppressors. This general feeling was strongly increased in the present instance by the

calm and dignified deportment and language of the leaders of the Americans, and the enthusiastic admiration with which, in the excited state of the public mind on the subject of freedom, every popular insurrection against an established government was regarded. It was urged, that it was in a peculiar manner incumbent on the French government to interfere on the present occasion, as the aid to be tendered would, in all probability, dissolve the British colonial empire, destroy its maritime superiority, efface the disgrace of 1763, and by one single effort extinguish the rivalry of four centuries. All classes concurred in clamouring for the war with England. The philosophers and democratic party had a natural sympathy for every people, from whatever cause, engaged in a contest with an established government; the young officers of the army sighed for promotion, and made the saloons of Versailles resound with declamations in favour of a gallant nation struggling for its liberties; the commercial towns, already enriched by the consequences of the rupture of Great Britain with her colonies, anticipated still greater advantages from the participation of France in the contest, and loudly demanded the immediate commencement of hostilities.

53. Pressed by so many concurring passions and interests, the king and the queen, who long held out almost alone in the court against the war, were obliged to give way. Maurepas, true to his uniform system of yielding to external pressure when it became violent, and thus avoiding the risk of all collision, got Vergennes, the minister of foreign affairs, to prepare a plan which he flattered himself would secure all the advantages of the proposed co-operation with the insurgents, without incurring any of its dangers. This was to conclude, in the first instance, only a treaty of commerce with the revolted colonies. England, it was urged, could not object to such a pacific relation with states which had, *de facto*, established their independence; and, accordingly, the French minister at London received instructions to represent that the cabinet of Versailles had no intention of injur-

ing Great Britain by these measures.* As it was foreseen, however, that so flimsy a pretext would be speedily seen through by that great power, provision was, at the same time, made against its resentment, by the conclusion of a secret treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Americans, by which it was stipulated that neither of the contracting powers should conclude a separate peace, and that they should mutually assist each other, in the event of a rupture between France and England, with all their forces. Both treaties were signed by the French minister on the same day, and they led immediately to the result which was anticipated—the recall of the British ambassador at Paris. But Louis, who had been literally concussed, against his better judgment, into this decisive, and, as it proved, ruinous step, recorded his protest on the margin of the latest memorial presented to him by his ministers, in these words: "What a situation! Is it necessary that reasons of state and a great warlike design should compel me to sign orders contrary alike to my heart and my opinions?"†

54. Unbounded was the enthusiasm which the long-wished-for war with England excited throughout France. Such was the universal transport, that nobles of the highest rank—princes, dukes, marquises, and counts,—solicited, with impatient zeal, commissions in the re-

* This is just what Great Britain did with the insurgent South American colonies in 1824. It is remarkable how exactly, in both cases, diplomatic astuteness, to disguise a disgraceful, but, as it was thought, profitable breach of national faith, resorted to the same flimsy and unworthy disguise. Both have since felt the full consequences of their injustice: France in the impulse thereby given to the causes which were inducing the Revolution of 1789; England in the widespread distress consequent on the destruction of the South American mines, which terminated in the Reform Revolution of 1832.—See Chap. lxvii. § 86 *et seq.*; and Tables in Appendix there referred to, where this most curious and important subject is explained.

† Joseph II. Emperor of Germany, as well as his sister, Marie Antoinette, clearly perceived the ultimate consequence of the king of France allying himself with the American insurgents. At the time the treaty was signed he was at Versailles, and on being asked his advice on the prospects of the Americans, replied, "I must beg to decline; my business is that of a royalist."—WASSER, i. 121.

giments which were to aid the insurgents. Not a few of the oldest family and highest connection were fortunate enough, as it was then deemed, to obtain them—among whom were the Marquis Lafayette, who afterwards played so important a part in the history of the Revolution; the Count de Rochambeau, who subsequently commanded the French forces in the New World; the Chevalier de la Lucerne, the Count de Bouillé, the Duke de Crillon, and many others of the highest nobles and bravest men in France. The brilliant successes with which the American War was crowned—the return of officers adorned with the laurels won in the cause of freedom, with the star of the order of Cincinnatus, which the Americans had established, on their bosom, added to the general enthusiasm. Nothing seemed so glorious, so worthy of a really great man, as to have taken part in the overthrow of an established power. The government encouraged these feelings, and bestowed rewards on the officers whose exploits had excited them—regarding the contest merely as the means of humbling England. But Rousseau foresaw, in this universal delusion, the commencement of a new era in human affairs, and prophesied it would be the ERA OF REVOLUTIONS.

55. The passion for republican institutions increased with the successes of the American War, and at length rose to such a height as to infect even the courtiers of the palace. Thunders of applause shook the theatre of Versailles at the lines of Voltaire—

*"Je suis fils de Brutus, et je porte en mon cœur
La liberté gravée, et les rois en horreur."*

It was easy to see, from the general frenzy which had seized even upon the highest classes, that the era of revolutions was not to be confined to the New World. The philosophers of France used every method of flattery to bring over the young nobles to their side; and the profession of liberal opinions soon became as indispensable a passport to the saloons of fashion as to the favour of the people. Even in foreign courts the same sentiments were rapidly gaining ground, from the extreme interest taken in the American contest; and Count

Ségur found at St Petersburg his decoration of the republican order of Cincinnatus more an object of envy than any which he had obtained from the European monarchs. Emperors, kings, and nobles seemed at that period to have combined with a view to establish a new order of things, from the extravagant eulogiums they pronounced on philosophers and liberal opinions; and it was only after having themselves erected the fabric that they strove to pull it down—forgetting that the human mind, like time, is always advancing, and never recedes. They were astonished when they found that men had discernment enough to apply to them the principles they had inculcated in regard to others. Lafayette was hailed as a hero, a divinity, so long as he supported the cause of Transatlantic independence; but he was stigmatised as a rebel, when he endeavoured to maintain the same principles in support of European freedom.

56. But wars in support of the principles of revolution, as well as all other wars, require an expenditure of money; and the event soon proved the truth of Turgot's prophecy, that the French finances would be reduced to a state of inextricable embarrassment by the expenses of the American contest. Though the war with England lasted only five years, yet its expenses, as is always the case with contests carried on in such distant quarters, were enormous, and only rendered greater by the successes, which raised such a tumult in the nation as rendered it impossible for the government to restrain it within due bounds. But the *Tiers Etat* was already taxed as heavily as it could possibly bear; and the slightest approximation even towards the imposition of any new burden on the privileged classes, was certain to produce such a ferment as had already proved fatal to the ministry of Turgot. In this extremity but one resource was left to the Swiss minister—namely, that of *borrowing*; and his great credit with the monied interest enabled him to make a skilful use of this seducing but dangerous expedient. He was far too able a man, and skilful a financier, not to perceive the dangers of such a system. But he erroneously imagined that these

dangers arose entirely from the national finances being enveloped in mystery; and constantly affirmed that the example of England demonstrated, that if due publicity were given to the public accounts, it was possible for the state to borrow almost to an unlimited extent, without any injury either to its own credit or to the resources of its subjects. Proceeding on this principle, having already resolved to publish the state of the public finances, he provided for the whole extraordinary expenses of the American War by successive loans, almost all contracted in the costly form of life annuities; and their amount from 1776, when he commenced his operations, to 1781, when he retired from the administration, was no less than 530,000,000 francs (£21,200,000), and the annual charge on this amount was 45,000,000 francs, or £1,800,000!

57. So considerable an addition to the debt of the state was not made without adding greatly to the embarrassment, already sufficiently great, of the public finances. An attempt to uphold its credit by a partial and delusive statement of the public accounts, though for a time successful, in the end, as such attempts generally do, only aggravated the evil. From the *compte rendu*, published by Necker when finance minister in 1780, he made it appear that the receipts exceeded the expenses by 10,000,000 francs (£400,000), and this announcement produced a prodigious sensation, from being so much more favourable than had been anticipated. In consequence, it increased greatly the minister's facility of borrowing. It might at the time, however, have been suspected that there was something delusive in this flattering account of the excess of revenue above expenditure, when, on the strength of his candid statement, and amidst an universal chorus of applause for his financial ability, M. Necker succeeded in borrowing, in a few months after the publication of the *compte rendu*, no less than 236,000,000 francs, or nearly ten millions sterling, for the service of the state. In effect, Necker himself gave a very different account of matters

when he was out of the ministry; for from his work on the finances of France, published in 1784, three years after his retirement, it appeared that the deficit, even as acknowledged by government, was already above 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) annually.* And M. Bailly has affirmed that, taking into view the anticipations of the revenue of succeeding years, the real deficit of 1781 was 218,000,000 francs, or £8,700,000. Such a state of matters loudly called for a remedy; and Necker could see none but in diminishing the charge, which had always been so considerable, of collecting the revenue, and he proposed accordingly some rigorous reductions in that department. Forty-eight receivers-general were abolished—a reduction which met with vehement opposition at the court, from the influence of the persons struck at by it. At the same time he ventured on a much more questionable measure, and which savoured not a little of revolutionary confiscation. This was the sale of the property of such hospitals as produced less than three per cent revenue on their estimated capital, throwing their future maintenance as a burden on the state—an example too closely followed in after times by the National Assembly, in regard to the property of the church and whole remaining foundations for the poor.

58. Another favourite project of Necker's excited at this time general

	Francs.	£
* Available revenue,	557,500,000	or 22,500,000
Cost of collection, .	58,000,000	- 2,300,000

	499,500,000	- 20,000,000
Expenditure, . .	610,000,000	- 24,400,000

Annual deficit 1784, 110,500,000 - 4,400,000
—NECKER, *Sur les Finances de France*, 1784, i. 92, 93; ii. 517, 518.

Bailly's account of the matter was as follows:

	Francs.	£
Ordinary revenue, } 1781,	436,900,000	or 17,500,000
Expenditure, . .	526,600,000	- 21,000,000

Nominal deficit, .	89,700,000	- 3,500,000
Borrowed on fu- ture years and lottery in 1781, }	129,180,000	- 5,200,000

Real deficit, . . . 218,880,000 - 8,700,000
—*Statements of Bailly in Droz*, i. 297, 298.

attention and interest, both at the court and in the country. This was the formation of provincial assemblies, or minor States-General, in the several provinces, where matters of local interest and taxation might be discussed, and in which the landed proprietors and people might be gradually trained to the exercise of social and political duties. A model for such institutions already existed in the monarchy, in those states last annexed to the crown—in particular Languedoc, Burgundy, and Brittany, which had retained the right of having their taxation, and matters of local interest, regulated by their own estates. The king, in regard to them, fixed by royal edict the sum to be paid by the province, but the charge and mode of collecting it were left to its own assemblies; and as they in general claimed exemption from certain imposts which were levied elsewhere in the monarchy, this was one of the great causes of the inequality of taxation so generally complained of before the Revolution. Advantages and evils, as in all human institutions, had been found to attend the practical working of these provincial assemblies. Taxation, in general, was lighter in the districts so governed than in the rest of the kingdom; the roads were in better order, and the public burdens more equally distributed over the inhabitants. On the other hand, these provincial assemblies, as is always the case with such bodies, were actuated by a narrow and parsimonious spirit. Minutely attentive to local interests, they were incapable of extending their views to the general good. Refractory and divided on every other subject, they evinced a united and determined resistance to increased taxation on every occasion, however urgent, which, if it became general, would obviously prove inconsistent with good government, and might endanger the very existence of the monarchy.

59. Necker, however, who conceived that a remedy, and the only remedy, for all social evils was to be found in the participation of the people in the duties of government, urgently pressed the king to follow this example, and esta-

lish provincial assemblies generally throughout the kingdom. He conceived, with reason, that however refractory such local assemblies might prove, especially in matters of taxation, they would be much less formidable than a States-General sitting at Paris, and assembled from all parts of the kingdom. He indulged a sanguine hope that the nation might be thus safely trained to the important duties of self-government, and those numerous abuses be gradually pointed out, and rectified, which could not, in the present temper of the public mind, be longer persisted in, without obvious danger to the stability of the throne. With this view he proposed that these provincial assemblies should be composed of four equal parts—one-fourth of deputies from the noblesse, one-fourth from the clergy, one-fourth from the Tiers Etat of the towns, one-fourth from that of the country. An able memoir was presented by him on this subject to the king, which elicited from Louis a variety of marginal notes, written with his own hand, evincing not only a rare sagacity, but the most profound political wisdom.* Though impressed with the dangers of the proposed change, however, the king, with his usual distrust of his own judgment when opposed to that of others whom he respected, agreed to let the experiment be tried by degrees. It was commenced accordingly in two provinces, and assemblies on this model were established in Berri and Rouergue; and their success, notwithstanding various difficulties, was on the whole such as appeared to justify the views of the Swiss minister.† This measure deserves particular notice, as it was the model on which Necker subsequently framed the States-General, which was the immediate cause of the overthrow of the monarchy.

* See the memoir of NECKER and notes of LOUIS, in *Correspondance inédite de Louis XVI.*, ii. 188-200; and in SOULAVIE, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI.*, iv. 123-131.

† They had suppressed the *corvées* in their provinces, and collected in Berri alone, 200,000 francs (£8000), in contributions for objects of local utility. But it was already observed, that their attention was fixed on local interests to the exclusion of any general objects.—DROZ, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI.*, i. 284.

60. The period, however, soon arrived when Necker was assailed by the same coalition of selfish interests—averse to change because their fortunes were made, dreading inquiry because their deeds were evil—which had already proved fatal to the ministry of Turgot and Malesherbes. His system of economy, which the state of the finances imperatively required, made reductions necessary in the pensions, offices, and gratifications bestowed on the nobility, by the court; and this of course rendered him unpopular with that body.* The clergy were jealous of him because he was a Protestant, and lived surrounded by the literary men and philosophers, whose irreligious opinions were openly proclaimed. The people were tired of hearing him called the Just; and the overweening vanity, which was perhaps his greatest weakness, furnished them with too many fair opportunities of turning him to ridicule. The financiers had recovered from the burst of enthusiasm with which his *compte rendu* had been received, and had already pointed out, in a multiplicity of pamphlets, the weak points of that skilful semi-exposure of an insolvent exchequer. The Count d'Artois and the Count de Provence had sounded the alarm among the higher nobility, as to the dangerous tendency of the provincial assemblies, and the equal representation of the Tiers Etat with the two privileged orders: the parliaments viewed with jealousy the proposed institution of deliberative bodies, who might in the end come to overshadow their authority. The king himself had lost his confidence in the representations of the minister of finance as to the flourishing state of the revenue: he could not be

* Necker, like all the French ministers before the Revolution, was perpetually assailed by women of rank, soliciting offices or pensions for themselves or their relations, and frequently insisting upon their claims as a matter of right. He heard them with politeness, but always insisted on the necessity of economising the funds extracted from the earnings of the poor. He found it impossible, however, to make them enter into his ideas on this subject. "What is a thousand crowns," said they, "to the king?" "It is," replied the minister, "the taille of a village."—Dr STÆL, *Sur la Révolution Française*, i. 92.

brought to understand how an exchequer which was represented as enjoying a surplus should be constantly reduced to the necessity of borrowing; and he had in secret consulted several persons as to their opinion of the accuracy of these representations. Influenced by these doubts, the king in April 1781 desired Vergennes, the minister of foreign affairs, to lay before him a memoir on the tendency of M. Necker's measures; and that memoir, as might have been expected, was anything but favourable to the Swiss minister.

61. Matters were at length brought to a crisis, by the publication of a pamphlet by the treasurer to the Count d'Artois, in which he criticised, in terms of no measured severity, the statements contained in the *compte rendu*. Necker was not ignorant that this writer expressed the opinion of the numerous and influential classes in the metropolis who had a share in collecting the revenue. He was in consequence deeply affected by the circumstance; and Madame Necker, with more ingenuousness than knowledge of the world, secretly made a visit to Maurepas to make him the confidant of her grief. The astute old man immediately foresaw the means of overthrowing a statesman whom he dreaded; and it was resolved by all the ministry, except M. de Castries, that they should resign if Necker obtained a place in the council. This, however, the Swiss minister deemed indispensable; or, at least, that he should have the privilege of appearing and defending his measures before that body, when they were the subject of deliberation; observing with justice, that when his measures were attacked on all sides, the king could not form an impartial opinion regarding them, if he were not permitted to be present to defend them. "What! you in the council-room!" exclaimed Maurepas, "and you do not go to mass!" "Sully," replied Necker, "did not go to mass, and yet he was admitted to the council." Afraid of pushing matters as yet to extremities, Maurepas agreed to make him a councillor if he would abjure his religion; but this he honourably refused to do. Finding that access to

the council was resolutely denied him, Necker sent in his resignation, which the king mournfully accepted. But to the latest hour of his life, the Swiss minister regretted a step taken rather under the influence of pique than reason, and constantly asserted that if he had continued at his post, and been permitted to continue his progressive amelioration of the national institutions, he would have prevented the Revolution.

62. Great was the joy among all the parties who had coalesced to effect the overthrow of Necker, at his having anticipated their designs by a voluntary retirement. But it was soon discovered, as it ever is when serious financial embarrassment is the source of ministerial difficulties, that the change of the minister had done little towards improving the situation of the state. It appeared ere long that his popularity had not been the result of the influence of a cabal at Paris, but that it was founded in the general accordance of his system of government with the spirit of the age. So vast was the number of persons who went out of Paris to visit him at his country residence at St Ouen, two leagues distant, that the line of carriages formed for several days a continual procession, which extended over the whole distance. Above five hundred letters of condolence were received by him from persons of the highest rank—from magistrates, philosophers, literary men, and corporate bodies in France. Joseph II. of Austria, Catherine of Russia, and the Queen of Naples, hastened to offer him the direction of their finances, which he had patriotic spirit enough to refuse. A minister who, by the mere skill of his finance operations, could, as it was ignorantly supposed he had done, extinguish a huge deficit, and meet the expenses of a costly war without imposing any new taxes, appeared an invaluable acquisition to the needy sovereigns of Europe. A more honourable, because a more sincere tribute of regret, was paid to his character by the poor in the hospitals of Paris, whose condition, previously miserable in the extreme, he had essentially ameliorated, and who

testified the most unbounded regret at his resignation of power.*

63. The members of the parliament of Paris had taken so remarkable a lead in the systematic war of pamphlets which at length effected the overthrow of Necker, that Maurepas deemed it advisable to take the next finance minister from that body. M. Joly de Fleuri was accordingly chosen—an ancient and respectable councillor, an amusing retailer of anecdotes in conversation, but totally destitute of any ability in finance. He made it, accordingly, an invariable rule to follow out all Necker's plans; but the system of continually borrowing, without either laying on new taxes or providing any funds for the payment of the interest, is not likely to last long, even in the most skilful hand, and will soon break down under ordinary direction. In the seven months which remained to run of 1781, after Necker's resignation, he was obliged to contract successively three loans of 20,000,000 francs (£800,000) each: and although he promised to the creditors an increase of taxes for security, yet such was the distrust produced by the retirement of the Swiss minister, that he was obliged to give a higher rate to obtain the money than the former minister had done. This again

* "The day preceding that on which M. Necker had resolved to send in his resignation if he did not obtain what he desired, he repaired with his wife to the hospital which still bears their name at Paris. They frequently went to that respectable asylum to gather strength to sustain the difficulties of their situation. The Sisters of Charity, the most interesting of all religious communities, attended the patients: M. and Madame Necker, both Protestants, were the objects of their love. These devoted young women presented, and sang to them verses taken from the Psalms, the only poetry with which they were acquainted: they called them their benefactors, because they strove to succour the poor. My father was more touched that day than I ever recollect him to have been before by similar demonstrations of affection; he felt the power he was about to lose, for it conferred such means of doing good."
—DE STAEL, *Révolution Française*, i. 100, 101.
Necker, as already noticed, like Turgot, had the disinterested virtue, rare in those corrupted days, to refuse the customary gift called the *pot de vin*, of 100,000 crowns, as usually given to the finance minister by the farmers of the revenue on renewing their bail-bonds.—*Ibid.* i. 89.

involved the government in fresh difficulties; for to provide for the interest of 60,000,000 francs required the imposition of new taxes; and as they were ordered by a royal ordinance to be levied equally, the parliaments in several of the provinces refused to register them, and thus the dangerous conflict was revived between the crown and these refractory bodies. During his whole ministry, Joly de Fleuri found himself unequal to the solution of the required problem—that of providing for an increasing war expenditure without any increase of taxes. Nor was the contraction of loans an easier matter. Necker's innovations had totally subverted the old system of raising money for the government by advances from the different persons employed in the collection of the revenue, and, in lieu of it, there had been substituted a general reliance upon the public, resting on the strength of the published accounts. But the attacks on the *compte rendu* had shaken the resources at first acquired in this way; Necker's retirement destroyed them; and so low had the credit of government fallen, that it was with great difficulty, and only by constantly offering a higher rate of interest, that money could be raised for the ordinary expenses of the state.

64. It was in the midst of these internal difficulties, though surrounded externally with the lustre of the successes in the American War, that Maurepas died, on the 30th November 1781. Turgot was already no more; he had breathed his last on the 20th March in the same year. The king, thus left without a minister on whom he could rely in such a crisis of his reign, turned his eyes on M. DE VERGENNES, then holding the portfolio of foreign affairs, and he was accordingly appointed successor to Maurepas. The Philosophers were now entirely routed out of the cabinet; and the new minister was as capable a man as could have been selected to revert to the old system. His talents were of a very high order: he had for several years conducted with a firm hand the complicated details of French diplomacy; and to his address and exertions the formation of

the armed neutrality in 1780, which brought England to the verge of ruin, was mainly to be ascribed. Louis, with consummate judgment, and in a truly patriotic spirit, followed up his designs. French diplomacy acquired the lead in Europe; the dreams of the Philosophers were exchanged for the skilful combinations of experienced statesmen. Russia, Sweden, Denmark, were united in a hostile league—America, Spain, and France, in an armed confederacy, against Great Britain; the combined fleets rode triumphant in the British Channel; and, however strange it may sound to modern ears, it is historically certain that England was more nearly subdued by the wisdom of Louis XVI. and the talent of Vergennes, than by the genius of Napoleon and the address of Talleyrand.*

65. But the real difficulties of the

* Vergennes received the portfolio of foreign affairs in July 1774; he was made prime-minister on the death of Maurepas in November 1781, and died, when still in that elevated office, on the 12th February 1787. His official correspondence exhibits the clearest proof of a powerful and sagacious mind.—CAPEFIGUE, *L'Europe pendant la Révolution Française*, i. 54, note. He was born at Dijon in December 1717, so that he was fifty-seven when he was first appointed minister for foreign affairs. Like almost all the statesmen of France during the last century, he was descended from a legal family, which had been recently elevated to the magistracy. He commenced his career in the diplomatic line under the auspices of an uncle, M. Vergennes, who was in the suite of M. de Chevalign, ambassador of France at the courts, successively, of London, Lisbon, and Madrid. His singular ability in reducing to a narrow compass and seizing the prominent points of a voluminous diplomatic dispute between the courts of Lisbon and Madrid concerning Monte Video, first brought him into notice; and he was in 1750 appointed minister to the court of the Bishop of Worms. Subsequently he was employed in several diplomatic situations in Germany; and in 1755 he accompanied the Baron De Tott in a most important mission to Constantinople: on leaving the Turkish capital in 1768, he bore with him the regrets of the whole French merchants in the Levant, who presented to him a golden sword in token of their esteem. In 1770 he was sent by the Duke de Choiseul as *chargé d'affaires* to the court of Stockholm; and the ability with which he then conducted a very delicate negotiation with the Empress Catherine procured for him the appointment to the portfolio of foreign affairs in July 1774.—See *Biographie Universelle*, xlviii. 179, 182, (VERGENNES); and CAPEFIGUE, *L'Europe pendant la Révolution Française*, i. 54.

French monarchy, at this period, arose from its finances; and their state became only the more embarrassing when the conclusion of peace with Great Britain, on the 20th February 1783, though on terms eminently favourable to France, left to its government the sad bequest of the expenses of the contest, without either its excitement or its glories. As Necker, unlike Pitt, had made no provision for the payment of the interest of the debts which he had so largely contracted, they fell with overwhelming force upon his successors, at the very time when his innovations had destroyed the credit in the official employés by which the wants of the exchequer had hitherto been supplied. The king vainly endeavoured to give a more uniform system to the public expenditure, by creating a committee of finance, of which Vergennes was president, and which was to control the accounts of all other departments. Joly de Fleuri, mortified by this mark of distrust in his resources, and unable to face the increasing difficulties of his situation, resigned his office; and so well were its embarrassments now understood that Louis had considerable difficulty in finding a successor. D'Ormesson, a young man of thirty-one, was at length selected, on account of his upright and irreproachable character; but he sought to excuse himself on the score of his youth. "I am still younger," replied the king, "and my situation is more difficult than that which I intrust to you." At length his scruples were overcome, and he accepted the onerous charge. But he proved altogether unequal to the task of stemming the torrent.

66. The courtiers blamed his economy; the ladies in secret deprecated his probity; the bankers were deaf to his applications. Matters at length came to such a pass that he was under the necessity of issuing a royal edict, suspending the payment of treasury bills above 300 francs (£12) each, and at the same time ordering them to pass at par between man and man. This was in effect to proclaim a national bankruptcy. His honesty immediately became the object of reproach: he was declaimed against as wholly deficient in

resources: talent, no matter how unscrupulous, was universally called for. Glad to be relieved of a burden which he had unwillingly undertaken, and which his rectitude of purpose rendered him little fitted to bear, d'Ormesson resigned his situation, after holding it only seven months. Since the retirement of Necker in April 1781, a period of only two years and a half, the loans contracted by the crown had amounted to the enormous sum of 345,000,000 fr. (£13,800,000), and there remained, at the retirement of d'Ormesson, only 360,000 francs (£14,400) in the public treasury.*

67. In this extremity it was universally felt that a man of talent and resources was imperatively required in the post of difficulty; and, by a singular coincidence of chances, the king's choice fell on M. CALONNE.† This able

* D'Ormesson was not a man of remarkable resources, but of the most upright integrity and disinterested virtue. Though not possessed of any considerable private fortune, he declined his retiring pension of 15,000 francs (£600), and bestowed it on the endowment for destitute young women at St. Cyr. Soon afterwards he and his relation d'Ormesson de Noyseau were left 1,000,000 francs (£40,000) by a distant relation: they refused the succession, to let it descend to his heir-at-law.—Droz, i. 396.

† Charles Alexander Calonne was born at Douai on 20th January 1734, his father having been president of the parliament of that place. Being intended for the magistracy, in which his father had borne a distinguished part, he was bred to the bar, and was soon appointed procureur-général, or public prosecutor, of the parliament of Douai. In 1763 he became Maître des Requêtes in that assembly; and in that situation he had an opportunity of showing his abilities, in a dispute which occurred between the parliament and clergy at that place. Subsequently, he was made procureur-général of a commission appointed to investigate the affairs of La Chalotais; but his conduct on that occasion did not escape imputation of a serious kind, though in the end it appeared that the complaints against him had been much exaggerated. In 1768 he was appointed intendant of Metz, from whence he was soon transferred to the more important station of intendant of Lille, which he held till his nomination as minister of finance in 1783. He owed the latter situation, in a great degree, to the remarkable business talents which he evinced in the management of his province, and also not a little to the reputation which his talents for intrigue and conversation had gained for him in the saloons of some of the most distinguished ladies connected with the monied interest in Paris.—See *Biographie Universelle*, vi. 562, 563 (CALONNE).

and intrepid, but profuse and inconsistent man, owed his appointment chiefly to women, with whom he passed his life. Bold, inconsiderate, and ambitious; brilliant in conversation, elegant in manners, ambitious of power, but disinterested in regard to money; fertile in resources, indefatigable in application—he knew, like Alcibiades, how to combine the dazzling but superficial accomplishments which captivate in society, with the more solid qualities which are essential to success in the business of life.* He had held several important situations under government, and in the post of intendant of Lille, which he last occupied, had evinced decided and acknowledged talents for administration. But the king and queen, when he was first spoken of, were both averse to his appointment; and it was only by the force of repeated and urgent recommendations that this repugnance was overcome. The ladies of the court at that period, and indeed in every age of French history, had a great share in ministerial appointments, and they were unanimous in favour of M. Calonne. In addition to the talents which he unquestionably possessed, he was gifted with that quick, decided turn of mind which at once applies its force to the required point, and, by never making a difficulty, so often finds none—the quality, of all others, where advice is required, which is most desired by women. He was the known admirer of Madame d'Harvelay, wife of M. d'Harvelay, the banker of the court; and from her saloon, which embraced all the wealth and a large part of the nobility of the court, issued in all directions the fair supporters of the future comptroller-general. M. d'Harvelay himself strongly recommended him as the only man capable of grappling with the existing difficulties in the

finances. Thus beset on all sides, the king, according to his usual system, surrendered his private opinion, and Calonne received the portfolio of finance on 3d October 1783.†

68. The system of M. de Calonne, in some respects at variance, was at bottom the same, with that of M. Necker. His plan was to encourage industry by munificence; to vivify the state by vigorous measures; to elevate credit by inspiring hope; to sustain the treasury by inducing confidence, and to look for the means of discharging debt rather in increased production by those who paid the taxes, than diminished expenditure on the part of those who received them. It may readily be conceived what transports of satisfaction the adoption of such a system excited among the courtiers and nobility, whose insatiable cupidity had chafed bitterly against the economy of former administrations. Magnificent fêtes, with his concurrence, succeeded each other in brilliant and rapid succession; noble works, particularly at Cherbourg, Paris, and several other towns, seemed to indicate that abundance reigned in the treasury. It was during his administration, and by the provident wisdom of Louis XVI., that those splendid docks were begun to be excavated out of the granite of Cherbourg, which afterwards became so threatening to the English navy, and the completion of which added so much to the lustre of the reign of Napoleon. No want of funds was for a considerable time experienced for these undertakings. Such was the confidence with which his talents inspired the capitalists, that loans, though at an elevated rate of interest, were procured without difficulty; and, under the magic wand of the great financial enchanter, it was for some years actually imagined that

* "When the occasion required, he was laborious and patient; liberal, showy, affable, bland, eagerly adapting himself to the humour of the times: in love he did many hateful things, but always gaily and gracefully."—*COMMENTARIUS NEROSI in Alcibiade.*

† The revolutionary writers, after the disasters of Calonne's administration had become evident, endeavoured to fasten the responsibility of his appointment on the queen, in order to augment the general clamour which they made such efforts to excite against

that high-spirited princess. It is certain, however, that Marie Antoinette was as averse to him as the king, and that he was forced on both by public opinion. "The queen," says Madame de Stael, "shared the dislike of the king to M. Calonne, although she was surrounded by a different and conflicting set of advisers: one would imagine that they both had forebodings of the misfortunes into which such a character was about to plunge them."

—*Revolution Française*, i. 110; see also MADAME CAMPAN, ii. 102.

the deficit had fairly disappeared. To the queen, in particular, he paid the most assiduous and marked attention—all her wishes were anticipated, all her requests granted: the beautiful villa of St Cloud, then belonging to the Orleans family, was purchased for her use for 6,000,000 francs (£240,000), and furnished in an elegant, though not a sumptuous style; and his celebrated saying, "If what your majesty desires is possible, it is done; if impossible, it shall be done," bespoke at once the finished courtier and the inexhaustible financier.*

69. But amidst all these brilliant appearances, Calonne deceived neither himself nor the king as to the real state of the finances; and he laid bare their alarming condition in a memoir to the sovereign, remarkable for the unflinching courage with which the most unpalatable truths were told. From his statement it appeared, that the wand of a financial necromancer had indeed become necessary; for when he was called to office the credit of the crown was nearly gone, and there were only two bags, of twelve hundred francs (£48) each, in the royal treasury.† But no human ability could devise the

means of putting the finances in right order, when the public clamour had forced on a costly war with Great Britain, which had compelled the borrowing of 400,000,000 francs (£16,000,000), no provision for payment of the interest of which had been made by preceding statesmen; when the selfish resistance of the parliaments made the imposition of any new taxes impossible, and the insatiable cupidity of the courtiers rendered any considerable reduction in the public expenditure out of the question; and when a yawning deficit of above 100,000,000 francs (£4,000,000) annually, could only be filled up by the continual contraction of new debt, even in time of profound peace. Calonne, in these circumstances, conceived, and perhaps wisely, at least for present interests, that the only thing that could be done was to put a good face upon the matter, and support the public credit as long as possible, by the exhibition, even from fallacious sources, of deceptive prosperity. He thus gained the strength in the outset, and induced the weakness in the end, which is the invariable characteristic of credit derived from mere paper or fictitious resources. ‡

* Vulcan is represented by Homer as using the same flattery to Thetis:—

"Thee, welcome goddess! what occasion calls,
So long a stranger, to these honoured walls?
'Tis thine, fair Thetis, the command to lay,
And Vulcan's joy and duty to obey."

POPE'S *Homer's Iliad*, b. xviii.

Calonne was styled by the ladies of the court "the Enchanter," the "Model Minister." A nobleman of high rank said, after he had been in power nine months, "I knew well Calonne would save the country, but I could never have supposed he would have done it so quickly."—Droz, i. 454.

† "I will not dwell, Sire, upon the frightful position of the finances, when your majesty deigned to confide them to my care. One cannot remember without shuddering, that there was then neither money nor credit; that the exigible debts payable were immense, the revenues forestalled, the resources exhausted, the public property without value, the circulation impoverished and contracted, the exchequer bankrupt, the *ferme generale* on the point of failing to take up its bills, and the royal treasury reduced to two bags of 1200 francs."—*Mémoire de Calonne à Louis XVI.*, given in SOULAVIE, *Louis*

XVI., vi. 118. Compare this with the Bank of England on the brink of ruin, and the nation on the verge of bankruptcy, in December 1825, and the coincidence of the results—the just punishment awarded to both nations for similar acts of national delinquency: to France, for its iniquitous and successful attempt to dismember England, by joining in the American War; to England, for its iniquitous and successful attempt to dismember Spain, by insidiously aiding the South American insurgents. In seven years the punishment was completed to both: to France, by the Revolution of 1789; to England, by that of 1832.—See Chap. LXVII., § 87 et seq.

‡ Calonne, with his usual *insouciance* and candour, made no attempt to conceal that his profuse expenditure was intended to disguise the real difficulties of his situation. "A man," said he, "who requires to borrow must appear rich, and to appear rich he must dazzle by his expenditure. That is the principle on which we must act in the public administration. Economy is doubly hurtful; for it at once intimates to capitalists that they should stop advancing their money, and it spreads languor through the branches of general industry from which the taxes are paid."—Droz, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI.*, i. 408.

70. Nothing can be more apparent, however, than that this living on forced and unsubstantial resources must, without the intervention of some unlooked-for piece of good fortune, lead to a crisis with nations as well as individuals. The contraction of debt went on progressively, and with fearful rapidity: every year loans to the amount of from 80,000,000 to 100,000,000 of francs were contracted (£3,200,000 to £4,000,000); and up to the spring of 1787 no less than 380,000,000 francs (£15,200,000) had been borrowed by the crown, during a period of profound peace, since the accession of Calonne three years before.* This state of matters could not long remain concealed; and when public attention was drawn to it, the greatest apprehensions began to prevail. Vergennes, in his situation of prime minister, and president of the court recently established for the general review of the finances, became acquainted with the existence of a huge deficit, which could alone account for the constant borrowing; and Calonne, in a memoir to the king, in October 1786, admitted it amounted to 100,000,000 (£4,000,000) annually, and that the nation was in truth subsisting on credit gained by artifice.† When it began to be whispered among the monied circles that the deficit, notwithstanding all the deceptive fallacies of Necker, had reached

* The dates of these loans were as follows:—

	France.	£
December 1783, . . .	100,000,000 or	4,000,000
December 1784, . . .	120,000,000 -	4,800,000
December 1785, . . .	80,000,000 -	3,200,000
September 1786, . . .	80,000,000 -	1,200,000
February 1787, . . .	50,000,000 -	2,000,000

In three years and
two months of
peace, . . .

880,000,000 - 15,200,000

—WEBER, i. 161, 162.

† "It must be confessed, Sir, that France is only supported at this moment by a species of artifice: if the illusion which supplies the place of reality were destroyed, if the confidence hitherto unbroken in the property of the crown were suddenly to fail, what would become of us with a yearly deficit of a hundred millions? Without doubt, we must hasten to fill up, if possible, so vast a void. It can only be done by great measures; and that these may not be repugnant to the heart of your majesty, they must not augment the burden of the imposts."—*Mémoire de Calonne au Roi*, Nov. 1786; SOULAVIE, vi. 118.

this alarming amount, increased difficulty was experienced in getting loans; and Calonne, perceiving his financial bubble about to burst, deemed it hopeless any longer to attempt disguise, and resolved, after boldly admitting the magnitude of the difficulty, to propose a great measure for its removal.

71. Calonne's plan was a noble one, for it was based in justice, supported with courage, and perfectly adequate to extricating the state from all its embarrassments. He proposed to the king to follow the ancient practice of the crown in cases of difficulty, and convoke the *Notables*, or chief men of all different ranks in the kingdom, and solicit their advice on the course which should be adopted. But it was no part of his design that the *Notables* should merely speak and deliberate, without taking an active and prominent part in the measures intended for the public relief. He meant to appeal to them to make a sacrifice of their private interests for the public good; a sacrifice considerable indeed, but nothing more than was just, and one which would at once have relieved government from all its embarrassments. This consisted in their making a voluntary surrender on the altar of their country of their exclusive privileges in the article of taxation. He proposed to allocate the *taille*, or land-tax, by a new distribution upon all heritable property of every description; to provide for the debts of the clergy in order to induce them to consent to the like equal contribution; to diminish by this means the land-tax upon all, in so far as was consistent with upholding the public revenue; to abolish the *corvées* in kind, establish entire freedom in the commerce of grain, and remove all the vexatious restrictions which at present impeded the internal commerce of the country. By this means he calculated that not only would the public receipts be brought to a level with the expenditure, but that he would have an excess of 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000) to apply in relief of the most oppressive imposts; and with that surplus he proposed to take off the third vingtième from the whole lands of the kingdom. Assemblies were to be established in all

the provinces, to aid the sovereign in carrying out measures for the public good. There can be no doubt that this great and real reform would at once have relieved the nation from all its embarrassments, without adding to, but on the contrary diminishing, the burdens on the classes who were now most heavily loaded; for the taille in 1786 brought in 91,000,000 francs (£3,600,000); and not only would the levying it on the estates of the nobility and clergy have doubled its amount, but the general equalisation of the burdens would have raised the revenue at least 125,000,000 francs, or £5,000,000 yearly—in other words, extinguished the whole deficit.*

72. It may be conceived with what satisfaction this intrepid and equitable proposal was received by Louis, who burned with anxiety to rectify the finances without adding to the burdens of the people, and was especially desirous of introducing a just and equal taxation, levied without distinction of rank from his whole subjects. He was not ignorant that so considerable a change would excite dissatisfaction in the privileged classes; but he concurred with Calonne in hoping that the obvious justice of the equal partition of the social burdens would prevail over these discontents, and that the patriotic spirit of the nobles and clergy would induce them to acquiesce without much reluctance in the projected change. The assembly of the Notables, accordingly, was at once agreed to; the form of

their convocation was taken from the last occasion on which they had been assembled, in 1626: the number of members fixed was 144, including the princes of the blood, and a fair proportion of the nobles, clergy, magistrates, and Tiers Etat, from the whole kingdom.† The ordinance for their convocation was issued on the 29th December 1786; and the period for their assembly fixed for the 22d February 1787. Great expectations were formed both by the cabinet and the country as to the result of this assembly. The former looked to it as the means of thoroughly restoring order to the finances, and re-establishing a good understanding between the monarch and the nation; the latter, as the first step towards the introduction of a new order of things, and the formation of a representative government.‡ Every one congratulated the monarch on the felicitous step, fraught with such boundless advantages to the sovereign and the state. Old Marshal Ségur, the minister at war, was of an opposite opinion. "Every mind," said he, "is in fermentation: the Notables may prove the seed which is to produce the STATES-GENERAL; and if so, who can foretell the result?"

73. The more readily to induce the privileged classes to acquiesce in the sacrifices required of them, Calonne adopted the bold and manly course of laying before them a full and undisguised statement of the finances, not only at that period, but for forty years

* Well might M. Calonne, in his memoir, exclaim, in submitting this truly statesman-like project to the king: "What difficulties can for a moment be put in the balance against such advantages? What grounds are there for just opposition? We will pay more, it will be said. Doubtless. But who will do so? Those only who now do not pay enough; they will only pay their just proportion, and no one will be aggrieved. 'The privileges,' it will be exclaimed, 'are sacrificed.' Yes: justice demands, necessity requires it. Is it better to abolish unjust distinctions, or impose additional burdens on the unprivileged people? There will be great resistance made—it is expected: no general good without injuring individual interests which have grown up with existing evil; but the general sense of justice will overcome these selfish complaints."—*CALONNE'S Memoir*, given in *CALONNE, Sur l'Etat de France*, 438, 439. London, 1790.

† The composition of the Notables was as follows:—

Princes of the blood,	7
Archbishops and Bishops,	14
Dukes, Peers, Marshals of France,	86
Councillors of State, &c.,	11
President and Public Prosecutors, &c.,	88
Deputies of Pays d'Etat,	10
Municipal Officers,	28

—Droz, i. 471.

‡ The king announced his intention to his council of convoking "an assembly composed of men of different classes, the most skilled in their several callings, who might communicate their views for promoting the comfort of his people, the distribution of taxation, and the reformation of various abuses." On the following day he wrote to Calonne,—"I did not sleep because it was night, but from satisfaction."—*Droz, Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI.*, i. 474.

previously; in the hope that the revelation thus made of the long existence and unceasing progress of the financial embarrassments, under every change of administration, would demonstrate even to the most inconsiderate, and convince even the most selfish, of the necessity of a great change. Without attempting to disguise the magnitude of the present deficit, which he admitted now amounted to 115,000,000 francs (£4,600,000) yearly, he traced back its origin to the accumulating deficiencies of former administrations, and proved, beyond a doubt, that it was to the disastrous system of borrowing, without making any provision for the payment of the interest—the sad result of the extravagance of government, and of the obstinate resistance of the parliaments in former times to register any new taxes—that all the difficulties of the treasury had been owing. According to his statement, the deficit, which began with the expenses of the wars with England of 1739 and 1756, was already 41,500,000 francs (£1,660,000) annually in 1764; in 1781, when Necker rendered his famous *compte rendu*, which told the flattering tale of a surplus in time of war of 10,000,000 francs (£400,000) yearly, there was in reality a deficit of 56,500,000 francs (£2,260,000); and this deficit had now so increased with the expenses of the three last years of the American contest, and the total want of any provision for the payment of interest, that the deficit for 1786 was 115,000,000 francs (£4,600,000); and for the current year it could not be estimated at less than 125,087,556 francs (£5,000,000). The debt borrowed during the American War, still unprovided for, was no less than 232,000,000 francs (£9,300,000); the total loans, since the accession of Necker in 1776, to the end of 1786, had reached the enormous amount of 1,250,000,000 francs, or £50,000,000, being at the rate of £5,000,000 sterling a-year. Resting on these appalling facts, he called on the nobles and clergy to forego their exclusive privileges, and consent to an equal assessment with the other classes—a step which would at once close the

gulf which threatened to swallow up the monarchy.*

74. Calonne made a noble speech in introducing this great and just measure to the consideration of the Notables. "I received," said he, "the portfolio of finance in 1783, when the treasury was

* Calonne gave the following account of the progress of the deficit, from its origin in 1746, to 1787, as taken from the accounts of the different comptrollers-general, which I am inclined to think, after much examination of the subject, is very nearly correct, viz. :—

	Francs.	£
Capital of Public Debt in 1750,	2,210,177,216	or 88,407,000
1759—War. (SELBOUETTE, Minister.)		
Expenditure, . . .	508,847,141	
Income, . . .	286,847,037	
Deficit, . . .	217,800,104	or 8,680,000
1764—Peace. (M. BERTIN, Minister.)		
Expenditure, . . .	156,800,000	
Income, . . .	115,238,559	
Deficit, . . .	41,561,441	or 1,666,200
1774—Peace. (ABBE TERRAY, Minister.)		
Expenditure, . . .	234,220,000	
Income, . . .	196,901,557	
Deficit, . . .	37,318,443	or 1,492,730
1775—Peace. (TURGOT, Minister.)		
Expenditure, . . .	414,445,163	
Income, . . .	377,287,637	
Deficit, . . .	37,157,526	or 1,482,000
1776—Preparing for War. (CLUGNY, Minister.)		
Expenditure, . . .	417,574,651	
Income, . . .	378,381,069	
Deficit, . . .	39,193,582	or 1,567,700
1781—War. (NECKER, Minister.)		
Expenditure, . . .	283,162,000	
Income, . . .	256,833,000	
Deficit, . . .	46,329,000	or 1,853,160
1787—Peace. (CALONNE, Minister.)		
Expenditure, . . .	599,135,795	
Income, . . .	474,048,239	
Deficit, . . .	125,087,556	or 5,003,500

—See *Comptes Rendus*, pp. 50, 88, 89, 110, 164, 165, 172, 173, 183, 222, 223; and BUCHEZ and ROUX, *Histoire Parlementaire de France*, i. 205, 220.

The extraordinary fluctuations in the preceding table are owing to two circumstances—1st, Some of the *Comptes Rendus* exhibit the *gross* revenue—in particular, those of Turgot and Calonne; the others the *net* revenue only: 2d, In Calonne's account, the interest of the public debt (then 190,000,000 francs, or £7,600,000) is stated as part of the public accounts; the others embrace the other branches of the expense only.

empty: there remained 220,000,000 francs (£8,800,000) of the expenses of the war with England to pay; 80,000,000 francs (£3,200,000) of floating debt to provide for; 176,000,000 francs (£7,000,000) of debt fixed by anticipation on the revenue of succeeding years, —and all this in addition to the regular national debt. Now credit is re-established, money abundant; all arrears are discharged, confidence is restored. My only resources, when the king intrusted me with the direction of the finances, were to be found in credit. To re-establish it all my efforts hitherto have been directed, and you will see with what success. But credit is dangerous: it becomes liable to fatal abuses if not based on solid and regular revenues. I am reproached with undue facility in expenditure. Recollect, gentlemen, the economy of a minister of finance may often be greatest when it shows itself least. Inexorable and decided in matters of real importance, it does not affect austerity where none is required: it allows what it gives to be made the subject of remark, and is silent on what it refuses. Because it shows itself accessible to demands, it is not readily credited that it withstands the greater proportion; because it strives to soften the bitterness of a refusal, it gains the character of being able to decline nothing. But it is not by such inconsiderable concessions or refusals that the state is either to be injured or benefited. It is in the abolition of abuses that the only means of providing for our necessities is to be found. The greatest of all abuses would be to attack only those which are of lesser importance—such only as, affecting the weak, may be considered as not likely, if reformed, to produce any material benefit. The abuses which we now require to abolish for the public good are such as affect the strong—those which are most vigilantly guarded, but whose roots are the deepest and branches the most extended. Such are the abuses which press upon the laborious and industrious classes—the abuses of pecuniary privileges, of exceptions from the common law, and all those exclusive rights which aggravate

the burdens of one class of society by establishing an unjust exemption in favour of another. Let it not be said our resources are exhausted, and nothing remains to restore our finances. Gentlemen, our abuses remain; and in these abuses, which we have a right to reclaim, will be found a mine of riches which will at once satisfy our wants, and remove a stain on our institutions."

75. No words can convey an idea of the universal storm of discontent which these unexpected disclosures and proposals excited—not only among the Notables, to whom they were addressed, but the whole circles of Paris, to whom they were afterwards published. It was hard to say whether the nobles, the clergy, the philosophers, the courtiers, or the democrats, were most vehement in condemning the lately popular finance minister. Such was the clamour raised that it was absolutely stunning, and at once so vehement and universal, from the moment it commenced, that it was evident his projects must miscarry, and probably he himself be involved in their ruin. Yet his proposals were conceived in a noble spirit, founded in evident justice, supported by the king, in themselves safe, and perfectly adequate to relieve the state necessities. How, then, did it happen that measures so recommended should have excited so universal a spirit of resistance in the whole influential classes of France? Simply, because they were just and equal; because they pandered to no popular passions, and gratified no statesman's ambition; because the remedy they suggested for the public necessities was an equalisation of the social burdens, not an elevation of a new class to their direction; because they tended only to save the country, not to make the fortunes of any set of men in it. To those who are practically acquainted with the workings of human selfishness in all assemblies, aristocratic or democratic, these considerations will appear perfectly adequate to explain the phenomenon.

76. But in addition to this fundamental principle, there was a peculiar

concurrence of causes which induced this extraordinary combination of all classes against the finance minister. That his proposal to equalise the social burdens, and levy taxation over the whole community, should excite the most vehement resistance in the privileged class was nothing surprising; it is the usual effect of human selfishness all the world over. But the extraordinary thing was, that it met with equal opposition from the popular leaders, who were contending for a class whom it went so directly to benefit. The secret cause of that circumstance was this,—Calonne's disclosures revealed the real sources of the public embarrassments: they demonstrated that they were of very old standing; that the extravagance of the last few years had added very little to their amount; that the habit of contracting debt without providing for its interest was the real origin of the evil, and that Necker's famous *compte rendu* in 1781 was not only illusory, but deceptive. These disclosures thwarted the views of the whole liberal party in France. It was the great object of the popular leaders, and their numerous allies in literature, to represent the financial difficulties as entirely owing to the profusion of the court, the extravagance of the queen, and the faults of the minister; and as having only grown up since the retirement of Necker and the philosophers in 1781. It may be conceived, therefore, what was their mortification when they saw it traced back to the wars and expenses of former reigns, and shown to have been brought to a climax by that very American contest which their own clamour had forced upon a reluctant government. Necker and his numerous supporters among the liberals were indignant at the exposure made of a deficit of 46,000,000 francs, in that very year when he had boasted of a surplus of ten millions. All were to the last degree disappointed at finding a remedy, and what was evidently an effectual remedy, suggested for the whole public difficulties—not, as they hoped, by a change of the ministry in power, or an infusion of popular principles into the general institutions, which might

alter the class that was henceforward to rule, but by the homely and long-known method of putting their hands in their pockets to pay them. Thus, when traced to the bottom, it was the ambitious and interested views of all the classes in the state which thwarted this noble effort of Calonne and Louis, the last that could be made to extricate the nation from its embarrassments; and it was the selfishness of all that overthrew the monarchy.

77. Calonne's plan, however, was so evidently founded on just principles, that the nobles and clergy among the Notables did not venture openly to resist it. They endeavoured, as the baseness of selfishness always does on similar occasions, to elude its effect, and indirectly, without appearing to contest its principles, to avoid their application. For this purpose, without denying the general principle, that taxation should be imposed equally on all, they had recourse to the preliminary plea that, before establishing such a maxim, they should examine whether no other means existed to repair the deficit, in order to make the extension of the land-tax as little burdensome as possible; and they insisted absolutely on two points: 1. That if the extension of the burden was determined on, its amount and duration should be previously fixed. 2. That the privileges of corporations and provinces should be maintained in the collection of it—a privilege which they hoped would enable them, in these subordinate assemblies, to evade the general imposition of the burden. The finance minister, who saw in these demands clear indications of a resolution to throw out the whole measure, spared no efforts both in public and in private to overcome the opposition. At his request a committee, consisting of six members from each of the four divisions of the Notables, met at the bureau of the Count d'Artois, in order to endeavour to arrive at an accommodation; and in that committee he conjoined them in the most pressing terms, if they would avert the uttermost calamities from the monarchy and themselves, to co-operate with the monarch in this last effort to extricate the

government from its embarrassments. In that debate, which was prolonged to a late hour of the night, Calonne displayed remarkable talents, and that earnestness of manner which always springs from honesty and elevation of purpose. But it was all in vain. He spoke to men who were deaf to every consideration of reason, justice, or patriotism; who were intent only on maintaining their selfish interests; and many of whom were in secret overjoyed at the disclosure made of the difficulties of the treasury, from the hope that it might overturn the ministry and place themselves in their stead. All Necker's friends belonged to this latter class; and he himself immediately commenced a furious attack on the finance minister's exposure of his *compte rendu*, to which Calonne as warmly replied. From this acrimonious contention the public drew the conclusion, that the deficit was in all probability really greater than either of the finance ministers was willing to admit; and, by the disclosures which came out in the heat of the controversy, the credit of the crown was seriously impaired.

78. Vergennes died of a lingering illness, on the 13th February 1787; and his death was an incalculable calamity to France at this period, for he was much esteemed by the Notables—and his manners were so conciliatory that if any one could have mediated with success on this occasion, between the crown and that powerful body, it was himself. Louis with profound grief attended the funeral of a friend to whom he was sincerely attached; and on leaving the grave he said, with tears in his eyes, "How happy should I be to repose in peace beside you!" The difficulties of the monarch were greatly increased by this bereavement. The Count de Montmorin, who was chosen to succeed him, an upright and honourable man, had not vigour or ability to support the crown in the contest in which it was now engaged, and the whole weight of the struggle consequently fell on Calonne. He now had recourse to the royal authority; and Louis formally announced to the Notables, that his intention was that they

should deliberate, not on the principle of taxation, but the form in which it should be paid. They answered that a payment in money would be least burdensome, but renewed the demand for a full statement of the public accounts. Some talked of a *states-general*: among them were the Archbishop of Artois, the Marquis Lafayette, and Crébillon, procureur-general of the parliament of Aix. Addressing the Count d'Artois, who was in the chair, he said, "Your royal highness will permit me to say, that there is no existing authority which can impose the land-tax in the manner proposed—neither this assembly, august as it is, nor the parliament, nor the states of particular provinces. *The States-General alone have that power.*"

79. Meanwhile the contest between Necker and Calonne, in regard to the finance accounts, continued with such acrimony, that the king, deeming the dispute discreditable to the crown, banished the former twenty leagues from Paris, and forbade the latter to publish anything with his name—a prohibition which did not prevent him from giving a pamphlet on the public accounts to the world anonymously, though every one knew it came from the pen of the finance minister. During this dispute, the opposition to the king and Calonne daily assumed a more determined character. Lomenie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, took the lead as the head of the ecclesiastical body, and the Prince of Conti assumed the direction of the nobility who aimed at the overthrow of the finance minister. To such a length did the spirit of opposition to all his proposals proceed, that they contrived, indirectly, to defeat a proposal which he submitted to them for removing the whole interior custom-house duties on goods passing from province to province*—a reform which had been advocated by Colbert and all the ablest ministers of France, and which went to abate a grievance which

* Calonne, in introducing this proposal to the Notables, said in a lofty spirit, alluding to this circumstance, "This, gentlemen, is our answer to the States-General of 1614."—Droz, i. 494.

the States-General had formally complained of nearly two centuries before. A proposal to abolish one of the most vexatious of the taxes—the gabelle—shared the same fate. Meanwhile the whole popular party, with Necker at their head, conceiving that the crisis would overthrow the finance minister, and lead to the convocation of the States-General, cordially joined the Notables, and a fierce war of pamphlets began against every project which Calonne introduced. At length the king, finding that the universal clamour against that minister rendered all attempts at an accommodation with the Notables hopeless, yielded to the storm and dismissed the minister. He took for his successor Lomenie de Brienne, who had been the leader of the coalition by which the former minister had been overthrown—imitating thus, already, the usages of a representative monarchy, where, on a change of ministry, the head of the new administration is taken from the leaders of the opposition.*

80. It was not, however, without great reluctance, and from nothing but absolute inability to find another minister who could conduct the public affairs, that the king had recourse to the Archbishop of Toulouse. The immoralities and inconsistencies of that prelate's former life were well known to him, and Necker was suggested as the only man who was equal to the crisis. But Louis had been personally hurt by the retirement of the Swiss minister in 1781; his haughty self-sufficiency was disagreeable to him; and the queen, urged by the Abbé Vermond, who, in this instance, for the first time departed from the cautious neutrality which he had

hitherto observed, warmly supported the appointment of Brienne. Perhaps no person could have been found in the kingdom whose qualities were more dangerous to the monarch in this momentous crisis than those of the Archbishop of Toulouse.† His talents were great,

† Etienne Charles Lomenie de Brienne was born at Paris in 1727; so that, when called to the office of prime minister, in 1787, he was already sixty years of age. Being destined to the ecclesiastical profession, he made himself remarkable, in 1750, at the age of twenty-four, by a thesis, containing unequivocal indications of talents, but, at the same time, many heretical and dangerous opinions. Having got over the scandal arising from this sally, he was admitted into priest's orders; but he soon became intimate with Condorcet, Dupont de Nemours, d'Alembert, the Abbé Morellet, and the rest of the freethinking philosophers, who had so prodigious an influence on public thought in the latter part of the reign of Louis XV. In 1760 he was appointed to a lucrative see, which, in February 1763, he exchanged for the archbishopric of Toulouse. There his administrative talents soon became manifest; he engaged actively in the temporal concerns of his diocese, and took a most beneficial interest in several projects relating to education, charity, and public utility. It was to him that Toulouse owed the Canal Caraman, and the cut which unites it to the Garonne. He was accused, however, of labouring underhand to subvert the monastic discipline in his diocese; and the assemblies of the clergy, in 1772, 1775, and 1780, as well as the parliament of Paris, on 10th February 1784, loudly denounced his innovations in this respect, which were deemed highly prejudicial to the church. In the midst of his innovations, however, he had a clear eye to his own interests; and while many abbeys were suppressed by his authority, he contrived to annex to his benefice, and appropriate to himself, some of not the least considerable of them. Meanwhile his reputation for talent in conversation rapidly extended; his elegant and easy manners, his generosity and beneficence, were largely extolled by a numerous body of friends who had shared in his munificence; and such was the celebrity he had acquired, that when the Notables were convoked he obtained a place in the bureau over which Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII., presided; and it was the lead which he took there, in combating the proposals of M. Calonne, which led to his elevation to the exalted situation of President of the Council, which was soon after followed by the appointment of his brother, the Count de Brienne, as minister at war. After his fall, in 1789, he was, by the influence of Louis XVI. and the Archbishop of Sens, made a cardinal. But his thirst for wealth pursued him even in that eminent station; he took the oaths to the Republic to preserve his archbishopric, and was obliged, in consequence, to resign his cardinal's hat. All these con-

* The vehement controversy of Necker and Calonne, which followed the banishment of the one and the fall of the other, completed the public distrust in the solvency of the finances, and demonstrated the gross delusion practised on the nation by the former's *compte rendu*. "Necker," said Calonne, "borrowed 440 millions during his ministry."—"He is wrong," rejoined Necker, "I borrowed 530 millions." This admission gave the *coup de grace* to the *compte rendu*; for who could credit that a minister who, according to that statement, had a surplus of 10,500,000 francs, would in five years have borrowed above 500 millions? —Droz, i. 506; SOULAVIE, iv. 161.

especially in conversation with women—the quality of all others by which, in elevated and highly educated circles, distinction, often undeserved by solid abilities, is acquired. But inconsistency and want of principle were his great defects. Ambitious, intriguing, unscrupulous, he had at different periods of his life been intimately connected with classes of men the most opposite, but agreeing in the common selfishness by which they were actuated. In the assemblies of the clergy he had supported the most violent measures of persecution against the Protestants, and acquiesced in all the extreme views of the disciples of Loyola; in the fashionable coteries his irreligion had gone the length of atheism. Yet did he contrive, not only by his address, but by the peculiarity of his mind, to win the confidence of these very opposite classes of society. His character was a mixture of scepticism and jesuitry; without having lost any of the casuistry of the schools, he had, to the scandal of the church, thrown himself into the arms of the philosophers and infidels. His talents for administration, however, were considerable; he had taken an active part in many beneficial measures in the state of Languedoc, with which he was connected; his frequent correspondence with former ministers had gained for him the reputation of skill in business, and he had evinced great readiness in debate during the discussions wherein he bore a part in the Assembly of Notables. Yet was his administration to the last degree disastrous to France. Bold and fruitful in the conception of plans, he failed in steadiness and resolution in their execution: he was easily diverted from his purpose; and was more successful in bringing the crown into difficulties by his rashness than extricating it from them by his conduct.

81. He gave a decisive proof of these ceasions, however, could not shield him from the persecution of the revolutionists, and he perished miserably and ignobly on the 16th of February 1794, in consequence of a fit of apoplexy, brought on by the blows of the soldiers who were quartered in his house to detain him prisoner, and the effects of a heavy supper which they forced him to eat with them in spite of his earnest remonstrances.—*Biographie Universelle*, xlv. 653, 658.

qualities in the very outset of his career.

He was appointed president of the council on 1st May 1787. His first step was to submit to the Notables those states of the finances for which they had so strenuously contended; but, as might have been expected, this added to the confusion in which the public accounts were already involved; and after much dispute whether the deficit was a hundred and thirty or a hundred and fifty millions, it was, by common consent, fixed at a hundred and forty millions (£5,600,000), as a sort of medium between the conflicting statements. The result was, that the public distrust in the stability of the finances was confirmed; and, as if to leave nothing undone to add to the agitation of the public mind, Brienne used these words, on closing the Assembly of the Notables, on the 25th May, in regard to the formation of the provincial assemblies: "The Tiers Etat, assured that it alone shall possess as many voices as the clergy and noblesse together, will never fear that any separate interest should mislead the suffrages. It is just that that portion of his majesty's subjects, so numerous, so interesting, so worthy of his protection, should receive, at least by the number of its voices, a compensation for the influence which riches, dignity, and birth, necessarily give to the other orders. Proceeding on these principles, his majesty will direct that the suffrages shall be taken, *not by order, but by head*. The majority of orders does not always represent that real plurality of votes which constitutes the decisive test of the opinions of every assembly." The president of the parliament of Paris replied: "The Notables have beheld with horror the depth of the wound caused by a system of administration of which your parliament has long foreseen the consequences. The different plans proposed by your majesty require the most mature consideration; respectful silence alone becomes us." Thus were the sittings of this famous assembly, which alone had the power to stop the progress of evil, closed, without the privileged orders having made one sacrifice of their unjust rights to the public good—with the disastrous state of the

finances fully exposed to the public view—and with the principle of the *Tiers Etat* being entitled to an equal representation with the nobles and clergy in the provincial assemblies, and of the whole voting by head, openly promulgated from the throne.

Before the administration of Brienne, the immediate precursor of the Revolution, is more fully detailed, it is necessary to go back to a series of other causes, hardly less disastrous than the embarrassment of the finances, which at the same period assailed the government of Louis, and in their ultimate effects proved to the last degree ruinous to the monarchy.

82. The skill of his physicians had at length overcome the physical obstacles which, in the earlier years of his marriage, had deprived Louis XVI. of the prospect of issue; and on December 19, 1778, Marie Antoinette gave birth to a daughter, named Marie Therese Charlotte, afterwards so famous in history as the Duchess d'Angoulême. Such was the queen's grief at the infant not proving a son, that it brought on a convulsive fit, which nearly proved fatal, and from which she was mainly saved by extraordinary coolness and presence of mind on the part of the king. On this occasion, as well as during her pregnancy, the queen redoubled her usual munificent charities, all of which, so far from being imposed as a burden on the nation, were economised from her own personal revenue as queen of France.*

* The queen, in every important event of her life, made it an invariable rule to add largely to her already magnificent charities. On this occasion she distributed funds for the liberation of an extraordinary number of poor debtors, fathers of families, from prison, in every part of France, requesting only in return the prayers of the requested households for the heir of France. When distributing this munificence in Paris, the archbishop, to whom it was intrusted, expressed himself thus, in his address to the objects of the royal bounty: "The prayers of the poor are so efficacious! What will the prayers not obtain of so many unfortunate fathers, who, by the unlooked-for recovery of their freedom, have been restored to their families and their children, who stood in need of the support of their parents at the very time that, by the burden they occasioned, they were the innocent cause of their detention!"—MONTJOYE, *Vie de Marie Antoinette*, i. 111.

This piece of good fortune was ere long followed by another; on the 22d October 1781 the queen was again confined, and on this occasion she gave birth to a young prince, who of course became the dauphin. The public joy knew no bounds on this occasion: the queen, on her recovery, was received with the most tumultuous applause at the opera, the Hôtel de Ville, and the Théâtre Français; and she observed, with peculiar satisfaction, that the humblest classes were the most enthusiastic in the expression of their delight. The address of the women of the Halle, or chief market of Paris, deserves to be in an especial manner noticed, as showing what were the feelings towards the royal family of that class, afterwards so fierce during the Revolution, before their opinions had been perverted by the arts and falsehoods of an ambitious faction.† The beneficence of the king and queen on this occasion exceeded all their former generosity; the sums bestowed on the debtors alone amounted to 474,000 francs (£19,000); nearly all the captives in the prisons were liberated; and Paris, in particular, shared so largely in the royal bounty, that poverty literally was, for a short period, banished from among its vast population. The king, overjoyed at the birth of his children, redoubled his tenderness towards the queen: his confidence in her was unbounded, his affection and solicitude unintermitting. Adored by her husband, beloved by her friends, cherished by her

† The Femmes de la Halle thus addressed the king: "Sire! If heaven owed a son to a king who regarded his people as his family, our prayers and our wishes have long petitioned for it; at length we have been heard. We are now sure that our children will be as happy as ourselves; for that child will resemble you. You will teach him, sire, to be as good and just as yourself; we will teach our children how they should love and respect their king." To the queen they thus addressed themselves: "For long, madam, we have loved you, without daring to say so; we have need of all our respect not to abuse the permission now given to express it." To the dauphin they said: "You cannot as yet hear the wishes which we form over your cradle: one day they will be explained to you; they cannot go further than that you should resemble those to whom you owe your being."—MONTJOYE, *Vie de Marie Antoinette*, i. 128.

subjects, admired by all, the queen of the first monarchy in Europe, the mother of a rising family, she seemed to have approached as near the perfection of human felicity as it is given to mortals to attain. Yet in this very combination of causes, so pregnant with present felicity, were preparing in secret the springs of unbounded future disaster.

83. The long period of eleven years which elapsed after the marriage of the king before the birth of the princess-royal, had given rise to a general opinion that the queen was never destined to be a mother. Though both Monsieur, the next heir to the throne, and the Count d'Artois, were married, the former had no family, and till 1778 the Count d'Artois had only one son, and his health was very delicate.* In these circumstances it was natural, and, in truth, unavoidable, that sanguine hopes of succeeding to the throne should be entertained by the Orleans family; and as long as this auspicious state of matters continued, the queen was allowed to rest in peace, and she remained the object of unvarying attachment to her subjects. But when these prospects were endangered by the birth of the princess-royal, and destroyed by that of the dauphin, a very different state of matters arose. The bright vision of the crown vanished from before the Duke de Chartres; clouds overcast the coteries of the Palais Royal.† That palace, the most splendid and influential of any, after Versailles, in France, became the centre of dissatisfaction, intrigue, and disappointment, for every rank of society, from the highest to the lowest in Paris. The respectable veil which had hitherto concealed the irregularities of the old Duke of Orleans, proved a cer-

tain, though but a slight restraint upon their turbulent activity as long as he lived; but his death, on the 18th November 1785, entirely removed this check. The Duke de Chartres, elevated to be the head of the family, found himself master at once of its immense riches and its vast influence; his dissolute companions encouraged in his breast ambitious projects, to which, but for them, he might have remained a stranger; the dangerous and needy crowd of nobles, libertines, atheists, philosophers, insolvents, courtesans, and democrats, who crowded the antechambers of the Palais Royal, began openly to speculate on the chance of a change of dynasty, and the vast benefits which it would bring to themselves; and in the event of the queen continuing to give birth to sons, it was whispered that means might be found to get quit altogether of the elder branch of the Bourbon family.

84. It is probable that views of this sort are never very far from the thoughts of the hangers-on of a branch of the royal family, which has a near prospect of succeeding to the throne by the failure of the direct line of succession; and the example of England sufficiently demonstrates, that the heir-apparent is in general the head of the opposition against the throne. But in the case of France, the danger of this natural, and perhaps unavoidable tendency, was greatly increased by the peculiar character of the young Duke of Orleans, and the dissolute nobility by whom he was surrounded. That celebrated prince was not destitute of talents; he at first evinced some good dispositions; he retained to the last some of the qualities by which his family had been distinguished, and in early youth the most sanguine hopes were entertained that he would prove an honour to his race. But he inherited an extraordinary passion for intrigue from his mother, whose gallantries had afforded subject for scandal even to the court of Louis XV.; and the profligate society, both male and female, into which, from his first entrance into life, he was plunged, completely obliterated the good impressions which he had received in infancy from his learned and able governess, Madame Genlis, and

* Monsieur Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII., was married on 14th May 1771 to Josephine Louise of Savoy, but had no family. The Count d'Artois was married on 16th November 1773 to Marie Therese of Savoy, and had two sons—the Duke d'Angoulême, born 6th August 1775; and Charles Ferdinand Duke de Berri, born on 16th November 1778. Following these two sons, the Orleans family were the next heirs to the throne.—*SOULAVIE* ii. 2, 3.

† The well-known palace of the Duke of Orleans in the Rue St Honoré, and the headquarters of the opposition to the court in France.

might have imbibed in maturer years from his young wife, one of the most accomplished and superior women in France.* Initiated at the age of sixteen into all the vices of the capital, he soon outdid them all; and the scandal of his nocturnal orgies, with crowds of abandoned associates, recalled the accounts recorded, but till then hardly credited, of Nero and Heliogabalus.† What the courtesans had left undone, the Philosophers did; and between the two he became impregnated with all the selfishness, profligacy, irreligion, and licentiousness which then prevailed in the capital. Sensual, voluptuous, and insatiable in the pursuit of excitement, he was fond of violent exercises, had some knowledge of mechanics, and was passionately addicted to horse races, which at that period, in imitation of England, had become fashionable in Paris. But though constitutionally brave, he was destitute of moral courage, and was totally devoid of fixed principle even for his own interest; he was impelled into a conspiracy against the crown rather by the efforts of his associates than his own ambition; repeatedly, though urged by them, he failed at the decisive moment when he

* He was married, on 5th April 1769, to Mademoiselle de Penthilèvre, daughter of the Duke de Penthilèvre, from whom she inherited a princely fortune. She succeeded, with the grace and elegance, to the virtue and delicacy of her family; and she had need of all her firmness and prudence in the midst of the anxiety and distress in which she was subsequently involved by the profligacy and ambition of her husband.—SOULAVIE, II. 5, 110, 112.

† The style of his manners at times will be sufficiently illustrated by two anecdotes.—“He wagered one day at Versailles, that he would gallop back on horseback *naked* to the Palais Royal: the companions of his pleasures were the first to blush at the ideas of this outrage; they implored him not to start from Versailles, but from his stables. Other associates in his debaucheries, taking up the bet, swore that he would not do it even from his stables: *the Duke de Chartres gained the bet*.”—SOULAVIE, II. 186.

“L’année 1789 fut l’époque principale de la licence révolutionnaire de ce palais fameux (le Palais Royal), et le public était invité à voir deux sauvages nouvellement arrivés dans la capitale. C’était uniquement un homme et une femme vêtus couchés dans un hamac fait à Paris; et se permettant en présence des spectateurs les jouissances du mariage.”—*Ibid.* II. 109.

might have seized the reins of power; and ultimately fell a victim to the faction which he had had the wickedness to create, and wanted the vigour to govern.

85. When the successive children which she bore to Louis made it evident that the Duke of Orleans had daily less chance of succeeding to the throne in any other way than by a change of dynasty, the queen became the object of incessant and venomous attacks from the profligate retainers, male and female, of the Orleans faction. Surmises unfavourable to her reputation were first whispered in fashionable circles; next they made their appearance in libels, which were privately circulated, and greedily bought up by all classes; at length, emboldened by impunity, the calumnies were generally disseminated, and the libellers openly ascribed to her all the vices with which their own imaginations were stored. The numerous courtesans whom the Duke of Orleans had in his train were peculiarly active and successful in this *scurrilous* and malignant warfare, for they knew well, from experience, how to pander to the rage of a depraved capital for scandal; were familiar with the manners of the great; could invent falsehoods which had the air of truth; and were at once stimulated by the thirst for gain, and the prospect of obtaining the spoils of Versailles as the reward of their mendacity. The police were repeatedly applied to, to discover the authors of these atrocious fabrications, but they professed themselves unable to furnish any clue to the mystery: it soon became evident that the libels proceeded from an elevated source, and that the attempts to discover their authors were counterworked by opposite influences, more powerful even than that of the court in the straitened state of its finances. The effect of these efforts was soon apparent. The queen became as unpopular as she had formerly been beloved. All the embarrassments of the treasury were set down to her extravagance; she was commonly called *Madame Déficit*; and to such a length were the people worked upon, that she could not appear in public without being insulted. In this way a triple

object was gained : the appetite of the populace for scandal in high life was gratified ; the influence of the queen, whose intrepidity and decision of character were already known, was weakened ; and a foundation was laid for impugning the legitimacy of the heirs whom she was furnishing to the throne.

86. Subsequent to 1781 the queen gave an additional impulse to these calumnies by the increased lead which she took in public affairs, and the habits in which, in the very innocence of her heart, she indulged at court. With all her exalted and noble qualities, she had not the sagacity to discover in what way these misrepresentations, with the existence of which she was well acquainted, were to be averted ; and the very purity of her intentions frequently furnished a handle, of which her enemies instantly availed themselves to load her with opprobrium. Her influence with Louis naturally increased, as her position was changed by the birth of the dauphin ; and the increasing fondness of the king, which resembled rather that of an ardent lover than of a sedate husband, gave her an evident sway in the council, in which she was now frequently present. Count Ségur, the war minister, who succeeded Count St Germain, and M. de Castries, the minister of marine, who was appointed in 1780, owed their elevation chiefly to her influence ; and although she always opposed Calonne's appointment, yet that of the Archbishop of Toulouse was almost entirely owing to her favour and that of the Abbé de Vermond. Courtiers are not slow in discovering where the real sources of power are to be found. The influence of the queen was soon bruited abroad, and exaggerated, by the hundred tongues of rumour ; it was said that she was the true prime minister, that the king was entirely guided by her opinion, and that the cabinet was a mere puppet in her hands. Thenceforward she became the object, not merely of personal but of political hostility : the democrats and revolutionists joined with the courtisans and Orleanists in attacking her measures and reviling her conduct ; and that impassioned rancour at power of

any kind which had grown up with the spread of republican ideas, averted from the head of the king by the indisputable benevolence and integrity of his character, was all concentrated against the indomitable Austrian who was supposed to guide his councils.

87. The influence of the queen in the administration soon made itself felt, not only in the appointments to the ministry, but in the measures of government. The most important of them was an alteration which, during the time old Marshal Ségur was secretary at war, took place in the qualifications necessary for obtaining commissions in the army or navy. Considerable laxity in this respect had of late years crept in, arising partly from the increasing weight of the bankers and financiers in the distressed state of the royal treasury, which made it no easy matter to exclude their sons, on the score of birth, from the military career, and partly from the general tendency to liberal ideas, which, since the accession of Louis XVI., had more or less characterised the royal councils. But after the retirement of Necker, and the return to the former system of government, it was considered hazardous to permit this laxity to continue ; and, accordingly, an edict was obtained from the king, which provided that no one should obtain a commission in the army or navy unless he could trace his nobility back for four generations or a hundred years. This was in effect to restrict them to the old families, and to but a small number even of that privileged body ; and it so much limited the class from whom officers could be taken, that it was found impossible to enforce the rule rigidly in practice. In the temper of the public mind, it was abundantly imprudent to revert to such a system under any circumstances ; but the evil was aggravated tenfold by the circumstance of the guards, with regard to whom it was rigidly enforced, being permanently stationed in Paris ; and in situations, of course, where the private soldiers were continually exposed to the seductions, and liable to be influenced by the opinions, of the citizens, male and

female, with whom they were in constant intercourse. Thus, while the officers all belonged to the highest class of the aristocracy, the common men were daily becoming more democratic; so that it might easily have been foreseen, that on the first serious crisis a division would arise between them. It will appear in the sequel with what fatal effect this circumstance operated at the decisive crisis of the Revolution.

88. Unhappily, the private habits of the queen, shortly before and after the birth of the princess-royal, were not calculated to diminish the number of these surmises, or disarm the malignity of her enemies. Her aversion to the rigid formality of court etiquette had been early evinced, and it was with ill-disguised reluctance that she submitted even to the necessary fatigue of receiving the persons presented at the court levées. Jealousies, in regard to precedence, had estranged her from some of the highest nobility: the Duke de Chartres was, for very sufficient reasons, never allowed to form one of the intimate circle in which she so much delighted, and spent so large a part of her time; her brother, the emperor Joseph, and the Grand-duke Maximilian, successively visited Paris, travelling *incognito*, notwithstanding which they were allowed the precedence over the French noblesse of the highest rank—a rule which banished a large part of them from the court during the residence of these foreign princes at the metropolis. Above all, the Duchess of Polignac, the confidant of all her thoughts and wishes, and who made, it must be confessed, a most unexceptionable use of her power, excited in the highest degree the jealousy of the old nobility, who beheld with undisguised resentment the queen fly from the stately splendours of Versailles to take refuge in an elegant domestic circle, in which she threw aside at once the honour, the formality, and the fatigues of her rank.

89. A favourite amusement, which was often resorted to at Versailles during the summer of 1778, furnished additional food for the malignity and scandal of Paris. During the extreme heats and enchanting weather of that season,

when the queen, in the first month of her pregnancy, was unable to sleep till a late period, she beguiled the weary hours of the night by forming parties who walked out by moonlight on the terraces of Versailles and Trianon, enjoying the delicious coolness of the air, and listening to the noble military bands which played at a little distance. The fame of these nocturnal parties, more agreeable during sultry weather than judicious in a queen, soon spread over Paris. High bribes were offered to the doorkeepers to obtain admission to these magic scenes; gold opened the entrance to some improper characters,—occasionally some of the Duke de Chartres' mistresses found their way in; an adventurous youth might boast of having sat on the same bench, and even exchanged words with the queen, during the obscurity of the night, and without his being known. The king, worn out with the fatigues of his council, was seldom present on these occasions; but the Count d'Artois and the Count of Provence always were. It may be conceived what food these nocturnal parties, magnified by rumour and blackened by the voice of scandal, furnished to the malignant jealousy of a corrupted capital.*

90. Another change took place at this

* During all this period, however, her domestic habits with the king remained unchanged—a clear proof of the innocence of her conduct. "Our young and charming queen, from being without stiffness and ceremony, has banished from court all the absurd shackles of ancient etiquette. Every evening this amiable princess goes about the chateau on the king's arm, paying visits, attended only by a single valet carrying a couple of candles. As to the new practice of supping with the ladies and gentlemen of the court, titled or untitled, it is to be observed that the young queen has entered into it less from any desire for large supper parties, than from well-understood political prudence. It is to this ancient etiquette, according to which the king, after hunting, was expected to sup with all his companions in the chase, but without the princesses, that may be attributed the debauchery of every kind to which Louis XV. abandoned himself during the last twenty years of his life. Now-a-days, the king is only separated from his wife when at the chase, or at the council-board; and the miserable courtiers who might attempt to corrupt their master, cannot find the opportunity." —*Correspondance Secrète de la Cour pendant le Règne de Louis XVI.*, 90.

period, at once descriptive of the revolution in general ideas which was going forward, and of the influence of the queen, notwithstanding all her unpopularity, over the highest circles in the capital. Her sway over the fashions of female dress was omnipotent. At one period she introduced the extravagantly high feathers and head-dresses, which soon spread over all Europe, and now appear so strange, as they are portrayed on the immortal canvass of Reynolds; at another, yielding to her horror at etiquette and passion for ease of manner, she brought in that total change of fashion, characteristic of the spread of ideas of equality, which at once levelled all distinctions of rank, and arrayed the duchess in the same simple muslin garb as the soubrette. There is more in this than a mere change of fashion; it was allied with the revolution which was then going on in the public mind. In the extravagant admiration for Grecian costume, which spread with the growth of republican ideas, is to be discerned the effects of Rousseau's dreams on the social contract, and the forerunner of the levelling ideas of the Revolution. Whatever the queen introduced was immediately adopted by the fashionable dressmakers of the capital; the ladies of Paris, amidst all their jealousy of the Austrian, hastened to imitate all the changes she adopted: the stately magnificence of feudal costume was discarded; Madame Bertin, the principal dressmaker to the court, became the Lycurgus of modern fashion; and from the antechambers of Versailles, the simple style of Grecian drapery spread over all Europe.*

* "Marie Antoinette, unless on solemn occasions, liked to dress with great simplicity; but the air of dignity, inseparable from her, always made her rank apparent. This simplicity began to be censured strongly, first among the courtiers and then throughout the kingdom; and by one of those contradictions which are more common in France than elsewhere, when the queen was most blamed she was most eagerly copied. Every lady wished to have the same dishabille, the same bonnet, the same feathers that they had seen her wear. Crowds rushed to Madame Bertin, her dressmaker; it was a complete revolution in the costume of our ladies, and gave a sort of importance to this woman. Long flowing robes, and all the

91. An event soon after occurred, which, in this temper of the public mind, created a prodigious sensation, and contributed, more than any other circumstance, to give an appearance of consistency to the malignant reports so industriously propagated by the Orleans faction as to the queen's character. Boehmer, jeweller to the court, had frequently showed the queen a superb diamond necklace, which he had constructed at a very heavy expense, in the hope that she would purchase it; but the great cost, which was 1,600,000 francs (£64,000), had made her uniformly and positively decline the offer. He endeavoured, in consequence, to dispose of it at some of the other courts in Europe, but without success. In the midst of his perplexity, a lady of high rank, named the Countess de la Mothe, descended from the royal house of Valois, waited on him, and stated that the queen had at length resolved to buy the necklace, but that the affair was to

forms which could give an air of nobility to the dress, were proscribed. A duchess was no longer distinguishable from an actress. The grandees extended to the men. The grandees had long abandoned plumes, bunches of ribbon, and lace on the hats, to their lacqueys. They now gave up the red heels and the embroidered coats; their pleasure was to go about dressed in coarse broad-cloth, with thick shoes and a knotted bludgeon. This metamorphosis caused many of them rather humiliating adventures. Thrown among the crowd, and having nothing to distinguish them from the populace, countrymen not unfrequently picked a quarrel with them, and in this style of combat it was not the noble who had the advantage. The second order thus insensibly deprived itself of that consideration which had always been accorded, and promoted the reign of that equality which has been so fatal to its existence. These changes produced still more serious results by their imperceptible influence on the morals. The nobles took too strong a taste for the manners and habits of the people, and also for democratic maxims placing every one on a level; while, on the other hand, the people became accustomed to indulge in contempt, insubordination, and indolence."—MONTJOYE, *Histoire de Marie Antoinette*, i. 274, 276. A very curious work might be written on the influence of political events and ideas on the prevailing fashions both for men and women; there is always a certain analogy between them. Witness the shepherd-plaid trousers for gentlemen, and coarse shawls and muslins worn by ladies, in Great Britain, during the Reform fervour of 1832-4.

be kept a profound secret, and at the same time exhibited a pretended letter of her majesty's authorising the purchase. Boehmer was not satisfied with these assurances, upon which she promised to send one of the highest dignitaries about the court to complete the transaction; and in effect, the Cardinal Rohan, grand almoner of the queen, soon after waited on him, and concluded the bargain in the queen's name, for 1,400,000 francs (£56,000). The necklace was delivered to Madame de la Mothe, who gave in exchange forged orders of the queen, signed "*Marie Antoinette de France*." When the first of these fell due, it was not paid by the queen's treasurer; Boehmer made complaints to a lady of the court, and the affair came to the knowledge of the king, who instantly sent for the Cardinal Rohan, and interrogated him closely on so strange an affair. He admitted having had a certain share in the transaction, and having bought the necklace; though he loudly protested that he had been imposed upon by Madame de la Mothe, and that he believed the forged letter-orders were genuine. "Did you not know the queen's signature?" inquired Louis. "I never saw her majesty write," answered the cardinal. "A Rohan and a cardinal," replied Louis, "might have known that a queen of France does not sign '*Marie Antoinette de France*.'"^{*} He was committed to custody; but before being sent to prison, he contrived to despatch a secret messenger with instructions to burn all his private papers—an injunction which, by riding so hard that he killed his horse, the servant contrived to effect. Madame de la Mothe was soon after arrested at Bar-sur-Aube; and both she and the cardinal were brought to trial before the parliament of Paris.

92. Sufficient food for censorious observation was afforded even by the bare outline of the case as it has now been given; but the details which came out on the trial were much more prejudicial to the queen's reputation, and furnished abundant materials for the malignity of

scandal to magnify. It appeared that Madame de la Mothe, among other devices to support her credit, and carry on a transaction which proved so lucrative to herself, had succeeded in imposing so far on the credulity of the cardinal that she made him believe that the queen would meet him at night, disguised in a domino, in one of the shrubberies of Trianon, to give him a rose, expressive of her approbation of the steps he had taken concerning the necklace. In effect, she got one of the courtesans from the Palais Royal, named Mademoiselle Oliva, who had an elegant figure and resembled Marie Antoinette, to personify the queen on that occasion. She gave him the rose, and made the deluded cardinal believe he had been honoured with a private nocturnal interview with royalty. It was admitted by Madame de la Mothe and her husband, that she had got the necklace and disposed of part of it;† her great accession of riches sufficiently proved where the proceeds of it had gone; the letters and orders bore scarcely any resemblance to the queen's handwriting, and Cardinal Rohan's sudden and complete burning of his papers sufficiently indicated that he had something at least which he was desirous to conceal. But the Orleans faction and the libellers of the queen fastened with such avidity on this scandalous affair, that the public became soon incapable of forming an impartial judgment concerning it. The noblesse were indignant at the thought of a prince of the blood of Rohan being even suspected of such an offence as theft and forgery; the ecclesiastics loudly murmured against a cardinal

† "Madame de la Mothe has none of the fragments of the necklace, except the pieces awaiting, the traces of which might be followed. My wife gave me these pieces (which I have sold), assuring me that they were a present from the queen. The gift was magnificent; but it was the daughter of the Caesars who offered it to the last of the house of Valois, whose inheritance, the first crown of Europe, shone on the queen's head. The cardinal received the necklace in its integrity, to place it in that condition in the hands of my wife. My wife, then, has been misled, and made the instrument of the cardinal."—*M. DE LA MOTHE à M. DE MONTMORIN*, 22d September 1790; *SOULAVIE, Règne de Louis XVI.*, vi. 77.

* The queens of France all signed by their Christian names merely, as "*Marie Antoinette*;" never adding "*de France*."

being tried before a temporal court; the populace implicitly believed everything which tended to involve the court in obloquy and scandal. So general was the delusion, so universal the clamour, that it was commonly believed in Paris, down to the Revolution, in defiance of the clearest evidence, and the admissions of the parties themselves, that the queen had really been privy to the purchase of the necklace. After a long trial before the parliament of Paris, the issue of which was looked to with intense anxiety by all France, the cardinal was, by a majority of votes, declared not guilty, amidst the tumultuous applause of the mob, who rejoiced in the opportunity of thus showing their hatred of the queen; but Madame de la Mothe was convicted, and sentenced to be branded on the shoulders with a red-hot iron, and imprisoned for life. This cruel sentence, unworthy for one, how guilty soever, who bore the name of Valois, was carried into execution—the king deeming, and perhaps justly, that, how repugnant soever to his feelings, he could not relax it in any respect, without confirming the general suspicion that the queen was no stranger to the transaction. Such was the impression produced in France, and indeed over Europe, by this extraordinary affair, that a young ecclesiastic, destined to no common celebrity in future times, and whom, even then, nothing escaped—M. TALLEYRAND PERIGORD—wrote at the time to a friend, “Attend narrowly to that miserable affair of the necklace: I should not be surprised if it overturned the throne.”*

93. Fed by so many causes, a spirit of INNOVATION, like a malady, over-spread France at this crisis; precipi-

* Madame de la Mothe, after a year's detention in the prison of l'Hôpital, effected, or was suffered to effect, her escape, and went over to London. She lost her life, some years after, in a frightful manner. Being pursued for debt, to avoid an arrest she endeavoured to escape by a window two stories from the ground; but, finding it too high to let herself down, she clung for some time, with her hands, from the window-sill, and when her strength was exhausted, fell, and was killed on the spot.—*Biographie Universelle*, xxiv. 121 (LA MOTHE).

tated all classes into a passion for changes of which they were far from perceiving the ultimate effects, and in the end induced evils far greater than those which these changes were intended to remove. There is no unmixed good in human affairs: the best principles, if pushed to excess, degenerate into fatal vices. Generosity is nearly allied to extravagance—charity itself may lead to ruin—the sternness of justice is but one step removed from the severity of oppression. It is the same in the political world: the tranquillity of despotism resembles the stagnation of the Dead Sea; the fever of innovation, the tempests of the ocean. It would seem as if, at particular periods, from causes inscrutable to human wisdom, a universal frenzy seizes mankind; reason, experience, prudence, are alike blinded; and the very classes who are to perish in the storm are the first to rouse its fury. France exhibited a striking proof of the truth of this observation for a number of years preceding the Revolution. During the reign of Louis XVI. no one thought of a convulsion, though it was rapidly approaching, and the most ardent in the cause of innovation were those whose fortunes were about to perish from its effects. The young nobles applauded the writings of Raynal, Voltaire, and Rousseau, and repeated all the arguments against their own exclusive privileges and the feudal system, without ever suspecting that they would be the first victims of such opinions.

94. Long before the Tiers Etat had adopted them, the thirst for liberty, and a blind passion for change, had spread widely among the French noblesse; but the approaches of the spirit of innovation were so disguised under the colours of philanthropy, that none perceived its consequences. “In truth,” says Ségur, “who could have anticipated the terrible flood of passions and crimes which was about to be let loose on the world, at a time when all writings, all thoughts, all actions, seemed to have but one end—the extirpation of abuses, the propagation of virtue, the relief of the people, the establishment of freedom? It is

thus that the most terrible convulsions are ushered into the world ; the night is serene, the sunset fair, which precedes the fury of the tornado." The passion for innovation, which had been continually increasing during the latter years of the reign of Louis XV., became irresistible in the years immediately preceding the Revolution. It seized all classes, embraced all subjects, overwhelmed all understandings. The extravagant imitation of English customs and manners, called the *Anglo-mania*, was more than a mere foolery of fashion : it was the expression of a disposition disquieted and dissatisfied with itself, and arose from a secret desire to imitate the free institutions of a country whose extravagances were so much the object of admiration.

It is hardly credible, however, to what an extent this passion for everything English overspread all classes in the nation. The Philosophers constantly held up the English constitution as the model of political wisdom, English philosophy as the school of enlightened reason, the English soil as the only asylum of freedom on earth. The Duke of Orleans and the liberal nobles pushed even to excess the passion for English amusements : the dress, the manners, the air, the slang, of English jockeys, were the object of universal imitation. Horse-racing and hunting became favourite amusements ; leather breeches and top-boots the most fashionable morning attire. Even the mode of riding was altered ; and the astonished Parisians, instead of the stately seigneur, sitting erect, with huge jack-boots, on his ambling high-mettled palfrey, beheld tightly-dressed youths arrayed like English grooms, trotting along and rising in their stirrups. Almost alone of his subjects at Paris, Louis XVI., who was thoroughly national in his habits and inclinations, resisted the general contagion, and maintained inviolate the habits and amusements of the old school. Superficial observers will exclaim that these are trifles beneath the dignity of history ; but they know little of human affairs who are not aware that nothing is unworthy of notice which marks, in

a period of ferment, the inclination of the general mind ; and in the political, not less than the physical world, it is straws which show how the wind sets, and often prognosticate the direction of the coming storm.

95. Everything at this period indicated that restless desire for change, and those sanguine anticipations of indefinite extension in human powers and felicity, which are so often the precursor of the most dreadful calamities. Many accidental circumstances conspired to add to the effervescence, which were eagerly seized on by a heated generation to swell the general illusion. The invention of balloons by Montgolfier in 1783, was deemed a prodigious step in the progress of improvement ; and hundreds of thousands of the Parisians beheld with transport the vast ball of silk rise majestically from the earth, bearing the intrepid aeronauts, who were the first to launch the human race into the unknown regions of the air. Unbounded were the visions which filled the minds of men at this brilliant discovery. England was to be prostrated, the Channel traversed by legions of invincible aeronauts ; from the clouds the blessings of civilisation were to descend upon savage and unenlightened man.* "While

* " 'What an age is ours ! ' said the spectators : ' how many discoveries fall to the lot of this happy generation ! It is only a few years since we found out the composition of lightning, the art of attracting it, of discharging it, of causing it to stream along in insignificant jets. Behold, here there is now discovered the art of transporting ourselves aloft, above the clouds whence the thunder growls. What a new source of relief to the oppressed and captive ! What a rapid exchange of productions, and the light of knowledge ! How beautiful will it be, to descend from the clouds upon barbarous nations, like beneficent deities, dictating to them laws, come from the skies, which will soften their ferocity, and oracles which will enlighten their ignorance.' 'What vertigo possesses you ! ' said more alarmed observers : ' these dangerous machines, if brought to perfection, will introduce frightful anarchy into society, will burst the restraints of the laws, and, in fine, man, master of the air, will speedily make it a new field of battle.' ' Silence,' replied the more enthusiastic of the young ; ' these alarms might have been reasonable, if aerial navigation had been discovered in the fifteenth or sixteenth century ; but in the eighteenth, what cause have we for fear ? Is there not a league

that," says Bulwer with historic truth, "was the day for polished scepticism and affected wisdom, it was the day also for the most egregious credulity and the most mystical superstition. It was the day in which magnetism and magic found converts among the disciples of Diderot; when prophecies were current in every mouth; when the salon of a philosophical deist was converted into a Heracles, in which necromancy professed to conjure up the shadows of the dead; when the Crosier and the Book were ridiculed, and Mesmer and Cagliostro were believed." * The first of these, a German physician, announced that he had discovered that man was "an electrical machine;" and amused philosophers, and carried away many heated heads, with the mysteries of animal magnetism, which appears destined every half-century to overspread the civilised world with its false pretensions and real delusions.† In the midst of these sanguine anticipations of intellectual progress and scientific discovery, it was in vain that a few more sagacious observers, judging from experience, remarked that it would be well if some moral improvement were mingled with these mental acquisitions. No one seemed to think that such a change was either necessary or desirable. Selfishness, immorality, and infidelity were daily extending their influence in society; but all classes, save a mere fraction who were stigmatised as alarmists, were blind to their tendency; and amidst incessant declamations on the lights of the age, and the boundless prospects of social felicity which were opening, the only solid foundations for either—religion and morality—were fast disappearing from the realm.

96. It was in the midst of this universal dissolution of opinions, morals,

between all wise men to turn away the scourge of war?"—LACRETELLE, *Histoire de France pendant le 18^{ème} Siècle*, vl. 91, 92. This was on the eve of the reign of Napoleon, and the Moscow campaign.

* Zanoni, b. ii. c. 2.

† After slumbering fifty-four years, it reappeared in 1843, and for a few seasons amused the frivolous, and carried away the weak, especially in the higher and least occupied classes of society.

and habits, that M. de Brienne received the helm of affairs, and undertook to moderate the universal effervescence, and rule the general insubordination, by a recurrence to the arbitrary principles of the ancient monarchy. The attempt, in the first instance, met with unlooked-for success. Three edicts, on the passing of which the king had set his heart, which Calonne had adopted from Turgot, and submitted in vain to the Notables, were successively registered by the parliament. Encouraged by this unwonted instance of moderation, Brienne next sent them an edict to register which imposed an additional duty on stamps; but the moment that the word "tax" was mentioned, their old refractory disposition returned, and, imitating the tactics of the Notables, they stated that they could not register the edict, unless the national accounts were previously submitted to their examination. In the course of the discussions which ensued on this subject, the Abbé Sabatier observed: "You ask for the states of accounts! You are mistaken in your object. It is the STATES-GENERAL which you require."‡ This witty expression, thrown in at a period of unusual excitement, produced an extraordinary impression—it so completely fell in with, and so happily expressed, the public opinion. Carried away by the general enthusiasm, the parliament passed a resolution that a perpetual tax, such as that proposed, could only be imposed by the States-General. The king upon this made some slight modifications in the proposed impost, and again returned it to the parliament; but though the older councillors hesitated, even for their own sake, to merge themselves in the greater assembly, a majority, composed chiefly of the younger councillors, under the guidance of d'Espréménail and Goisard, two enthusiastic young men, again rejected the impost, exclaiming that they must have the States-General, and that they alone could give legality to the impost. "Providence," said

‡ "Vous demandes des états: c'est les états-généraux qu'il vous faut." The wit can only be appreciated in French.—DE STAEL, l. 123.

d'Ormesson, who was president, "will punish your fatal councils by granting your prayers." His prophecy was too faithfully accomplished. In less than six years afterwards, d'Espréménil perished by the violence of the people whom the States-General had roused to madness.

97. Hoping to disarm the resistance he could not directly overcome, the king published a list of the reductions he proposed to effect in the different departments of the state; and Brienne set vigorously to work to effect a saving in the army and the civil establishments of the king. But the magnitude of the deficit, which was now 125,000,000 francs (£5,000,000) yearly, was such, that no reductions in the guards or royal household could make any sensible impression on it. The minister at war stated he could save 15,000,000 francs (£600,000) in his department; but what was that to the total amount of the deficiency! The real evil was the impossibility of getting any new taxes imposed, from the refusal of the parliaments to register them, and the oppressive weight of the loans, for the interest of which no provision had been made during the American war. The reductions which were made, and they were very considerable, did rather harm than good; for they excited an angry feeling among those who suffered by them, without giving any sensible relief to those who contributed to the public funds. They regarded their offices, and not without reason, as their private property during their life; and one of the sufferers, Baron Besenval, declared that such iniquitous spoliation was unparalleled, save in Turkey. Meanwhile the parliament, not content with having thrown out the new tax, proceeded to offensive measures. Duport, at a solemn meeting of both chambers, brought forward an accusation against Calonne, on the ground of "his dilapidations and abuses of authority," which the parliament ordered their public prosecutor to take up. The decree to that effect was afterwards annulled; but such was the violence with which the tide ran against the ex-minister, that, seeing a fair trial

was out of the question, he left the country, and retired to England. His poverty bore decisive evidence to the integrity, if not the wisdom, of his administration, so far as he was personally concerned; he retired from office poorer than he entered upon it.* Meanwhile the public indignation against the court rose to the highest pitch, although Louis, to weaken it, had recommended Calonne to leave the country. Pamphlets multiplied, and were devoured with ominous rapidity. The queen, to whom the whole was ascribed, was now universally called *Madame Deficit*; she was insulted even in the park of St Cloud; and by the advice of the lieutenant of police, she abstained from going to the capital while the effervescence continued.

98. If the parliament of Paris had made use of the vast influence they had now acquired to establish a just and equal system of taxation, which might at once have relieved the public necessities, and removed the unjust exemptions which the privileged classes still enjoyed, they would have deserved the title of generous and intrepid patriots. But this was very far indeed from being their object; and it soon appeared that, amidst all their zeal for a restraint on the royal authority, they had no intention of making any sacrifice of their own pecuniary immunities. Brienne, far from being discouraged, for a third time sent back the proposed edict for a tax on stamps; and with it one for the equal imposition of the land-tax on all classes. This was the touchstone of patriotic or selfish opposition; and the

* Calonne was so poor when he left office that he owed his means of subsistence to the rich Madame d'Harvelay, who had now become a widow, and bestowed on him her hand and her fortune.—*Droz*, ii. 10.

The exaggerations of which Calonne was the object would be beyond belief, if anything was incredible of popular credulity and passion. It was stated, and generally believed, that he had absorbed in four years 3,000,000,000 francs (£120,000,000). The parliament of Grenoble said—"If you assemble in one mass the whole dilapidations of which our annals have preserved a record, from the commencement of the monarchy, it would hardly compose a sum so enormous as in his hands has disappeared in four years."—*Droz*, ii. 10, 11.

parliament failed at the test. By a slender majority, the assembled chambers, including the peers, decided "that the States-General alone had the power to consent to such measures; and that the parliament was incompetent to register them." In coming to this decision, the majority had no intention of really compelling the convocation of that body—which they were well aware would speedily extinguish at once their own influence and their popularity; they thought the king would do anything rather than convoke that dreaded assembly; that this was the most popular ground on which to rest their opposition, and that thus, without losing their reputation for patriotism, they would preserve the substantial advantages of immunity from the heaviest of the direct taxes. But the people, passionately desirous of the States-General, and delighted at the unusual spectacle of a successful resistance to the royal authority, were entranced with the decrees of the parliament; and d'Espréménil, the leader of the opposition, was drawn home in triumph in his carriage.

99. Brienne, thus defeated a third time, had recourse to measures of severity. By a royal edict on the 15th August, the parliament was exiled to Troyes, the chief town of Champagne; and the Count de Provence was sent to the one court of the parliament, the Count d'Artois to the other, to register the edicts by force, as in a *lit de justice*. The former, known for his liberal principles, was loudly applauded as he passed through the streets on this mission; the latter, deemed attached to arbitrary maxims, was assailed with such a storm of hisses and abuse, that the commander of his guard ordered the men to carry arms, which alone dispersed the mob. This event deserves to be noticed as the *first collision* between the crown and the people which occurred during the Revolution. The decrees were registered by force, in the face of formal protests entered on their books by both chambers of the parliament; but the parliament obeyed the mandate, and retired to Troyes, where they commenced their sittings, after

passing a decree, declaring all judgments legal pronounced there. None, however, of the practitioners followed them; and, though the courts were opened, no one appeared as a suitor, and no business was done. The magistrates, however, were consoled for this defection by laudatory addresses, which showered in upon them from all the parliaments of France, in which their firmness was extolled to the skies. All concurred in demanding the abolition of arbitrary acts, the diminution of the public charges, the recall of the magistrates, the prosecution of Calonne, and the convocation of the States-General.*

100. But too material interests were at stake on both sides to permit this state of hostility between the crown and the parliament of Paris to be of long continuance. The magistrates beheld with pain the suspension of business and entire desertion of their courts, for which the laudatory addresses from the other parliaments of France afforded but a poor compensation; the councilors sighed for the pleasures and the profits of the capital; all were soon wearied of the monotony of life in a retired provincial town. One by one, after a residence of some weeks, they began to drop off, and reappear in the streets of Paris. Brienne had not less pressing motives for desiring an accommodation. The want of money was daily becoming more urgent at the treasury: the fermentation throughout France was alarming; the forced registration of the edicts had excited universal dissatisfaction; and, in the temper of the public, it was doubtful whether the taxes registered by force could be generally collected. In this state of matters, it was not long difficult

* The parliament of Grenoble said: "The continued renewal of *coups d'état*, the forced registrations, the exile of members of parliament, the substitution of constraint and rigour for the course of justice, create astonishment in an enlightened age, hurt a nation that loves its king even to idolatry, but which is proud and free; they freeze the hearts, and may in the end break the bonds which unite the sovereign to his subjects and the subjects to their sovereign."—*Adresse du Parlement de Grenoble au Parlement de Paris*, Sept. 2, 1787; Droz, ii. 35.

to come to an accommodation. Brienne adroitly proposed a compromise, by virtue of which the two edicts registered by force were to be withdrawn, and the parliament was to consent to the additional *vingtième* for two years, to be levied equally on all classes, not excepting even the princes of the blood-royal. D'Espréménil vehemently opposed this concession. "You went out of Paris," said he, "covered with glory, and you will return covered with mud." But the methods of seduction at the disposal of the court prevailed with the majority, and the compromise took place. The edict imposing the territorial tax equally on all was registered, and the parliament made a solemn entry into Paris amidst the acclamations of the people. This was the first example given in France of the great and just principle of the equal taxation of all classes; and the first great victory over the exclusive privileges of the aristocracy, gained by the crown, in the face of the strenuous resistance of the parliaments and the impassioned hostility of the people.

101. Although, however, the principle involved in the mode according to which the new tax was to be levied was in the highest degree important, and though it was the first step towards a just and equal distribution of the public burdens, yet the relief, in the first instance, afforded by so trifling an addition to the receipts of the treasury, was very inconsiderable. It was soon apparent that a much more extensive measure was necessary; and Brienne, overjoyed at his recent success, came to the parliament with a proposal which revealed at once the necessitous state of the exchequer, and the magnitude of the burdens on the nation which would be necessary to relieve it. He proposed to borrow immediately 420,000,000 francs (£16,800,000), to be paid up in the course of five years;* and in order

* The loans were to be paid up as follows:—

	Francs.	£
In 1788, . . .	120,000,000 or 4,800,000	
1789, . . .	90,000,000 - 3,600,000	
1790, . . .	80,000,000 - 3,200,000	
1791, . . .	70,000,000 - 2,800,000	
1792, . . .	80,000,000 - 3,200,000	

—SOUZLAIR, vi. 186.

to induce the magistrates to record, that is, give legal validity to those large loans, he pledged the royal word that the States-General should be assembled before that time expired. As a reason for not convoking them at an earlier period, he stated, that by the year 1792 the income of the state would be equal to its expenditure; and that thus the national representatives, without being disquieted by the pressing concerns of finance, would be able to give their undivided attention to the means of social amelioration. An edict was also proposed giving additional liberty and security to the Huguenots. To give greater solemnity to this proposal, it was determined that the king should attend in person, and announce the fundamental principles of the constitution, and in particular assert, in the most unqualified manner, for the crown, the right of determining where and when the States-General were to be assembled.

102. "It belongs to me alone," said Louis, "to judge of the utility or necessity of these assemblies; and I will never permit that you should demand with indiscretion what you should await from my judgment. The Keeper of the Seals will inform you, that as soon as the state is liberated from its debts, I will with pleasure communicate the measures which I shall have taken to render that situation durable. The nation will then see its finances re-established; agriculture and commerce encouraged under the auspices of liberty; a formidable navy, a regenerated army, a new harbour in the Channel, to secure the glory of the French flag; and the means of public education generally diffused." The Duke of Orleans, from the commencement of the assembly, had been observed to evince marks of the utmost agitation; and at length he said, "Sire! I venture to ask your majesty if this sitting is a *lit de justice*!"—"It is a *séance royale*," answered the king. "Nevertheless," replied the duke, "I see nothing around me which does not characterise a *lit de justice*; and your faithful subjects ventured to hope that your majesty would not again have had recourse to a step

contrary to the laws of the kingdom. I supplicate you, sire ! to permit me to lay on the table of the court a declaration that I regard this registration as illegal. It will be necessary, to relieve the persons present at the deliberation, to add that it is done by the express command of your majesty." "Who can hear," said Sallier, "of a proposal to register at once loans to so enormous an amount as four hundred and twenty millions. This is a combination of all that is most disastrous in perpetual and life-rent loans. Can we expect that the parliament will consent to such a measure, when, if done by any son of a family, it would immediately be annulled by the courts of law? Can we hope for any stability in a plan of finance, when, within the last eight years, no less than four finance ministers have been called to the helm? Sire ! the remedy for the wounds of the state has been pointed out by your parliament: it is to be found in the convocation of the States-General; and, to be of any avail, they must be assembled immediately." After a long and stormy discussion, the parliament resolved that they could not register the edict for establishing the loans. This was a mortal stroke to the court, for it deprived them at once of resources now become indispensable. Next day the Duke of Orleans was exiled to his estate of Villers-Cotterets; and Freteau and the Abbé Sabatier were sent to the Bastille, on the charge of having assisted at conferences at the Palais Royal tending to dethrone the reigning family, and substitute the Duke of Orleans in its room.

103. This severity was keenly felt by the Duke of Orleans, whose ambition never made him forget his pleasures, and who sighed in the seclusion of Villers-Cotterets for the society of Madame Buffon, with whom he had long had a *liaison*, and the pleasures of the Folie de Chartres, at Paris. But the parliament was not discouraged. Next day Duport introduced a motion to declare *lettres de cachet* illegal, null, and contrary alike to national law and natural right, which was carried by acclamation. A resolution was adopted soon after, loudly demanding guarantees for

personal freedom; the king, by Brienne's direction, annulled that decree, upon which the parliament passed other resolutions still more stringent, declaring arbitrary imprisonments contrary to imprescriptible right, and demanding the recall of the exiled members, not as men of rank, but as men and French citizens.* Other addresses followed, in which it was stated that the parliament were well aware that those measures did not originate with the king, but emanated from another source; designating thus, by an oblique insinuation, the queen as the author of the public divisions. Meanwhile the edict for the protection of the Protestants, which was again brought forward, met with the most violent opposition, especially from d'Espréménil and the other zealous patriots, though it went no further than authorizing the registry of their births, marriages, and deaths, without removing any of their other civil disabilities. But at length it was registered by a large majority. Before this the Duke of Orleans had been permitted to return, first to the neighbourhood of Paris, and at length to the Palais Royal; and the imprisonment of Freteau and Sabatier was commuted into exile from Paris to the charming Isles d'Hieres in the Mediterranean, near Toulon. But the beneficial effect of all these lenient measures was obviated by the cupidity of Brienne, who exchanged his archbishopric of Toulouse for that of Sens, which was much more lucrative, and the incumbent of which had recently died. His ecclesiastical appointments had now reached the enormous amount of 678,000 francs (£27,000) a-year—a scandalous accumulation for a single

* "Various facts, sufficiently well known," said they in their address to the king, "prove that the nation, now more enlightened as to its real interests, is disposed, even among the humblest classes, to receive from your majesty the greatest good which a King can concede to his subjects—Liberty. It is this good, sire, which your parliament has just demanded, in the name of a generous and faithful people. It is not merely a prince of your own blood, it is not merely two magistrates that your parliament demands in the name of the laws and of reason: it is three Frenchmen—it is three human beings."—*Droz*, ii. 48.

prelate, especially when disposing of the patronage of the crown.*

104. Still, however, no money was got, and the condition of the finances daily rendered it more indispensable. The *compte rendu* for 1788 was published in May, and admitted a deficit of 161,000,000 francs (£8,440,000) in a period of profound peace.† It was no ways surprising that the deficiency had so rapidly increased, when it is recollected that both the Notables and parliaments constantly refused their sanction to any new taxes, and had done so for ten years, even to pay the interest of the loans which had been contracted during the American War, which they themselves had forced upon an unwilling sovereign. The time had now arrived when it had become necessary either to discover some practicable mode of levying taxes to meet the public exigencies, or to proclaim a national bankruptcy. Temporary expedients had been exhausted; an entire change in the mode of obtaining supplies was indispensable. The plan which Brienne had matured, in conjunction with Lamoignon, an able and intrepid old man, who was the keeper of the seals, was this: he proposed to establish a new court at Paris, to be called the *Cour Plénière*, which was alone to be intrusted with the registration of edicts over the whole kingdom. This court was to be composed of the chancellor, the keeper of the seals of the highest chamber of the parliament of Paris, of some other elevated functionaries, the princes of the blood, the peers, ten councillors of state, and of a member of every provincial parliament, and two from the parliament of Paris. The members of the court were to be nominated by the king, but to hold their appoint-

ments for life, and be irremovable. The court was to have power to remonstrate on edicts proposed for its consideration, and the king was to determine on the objections submitted to him. At the same time, the parliament of Paris was to be reduced to seventy-six members, less than half its present number, in order to exclude the young councillors, with whom the chief opposition originated.

105. The utmost pains were taken to keep this design secret, in order that it might be put in force at once by a *lit de justice* at Versailles, before the parliament had time to take measures for rousing the nation to resist it. A printing-press was established in the most secret manner, at that town, to throw off the requisite proclamations announcing this great change to the public; and a double row of guards surrounded the building, to prevent any communication with the outside. But in spite of all this vigilance, one of the workmen employed succeeded in throwing a proof of the proposed edict, enclosed in a ball of clay, to an emissary of d'Espréménil who was in attendance to receive intelligence on the outside. The project thus got wind, and the parliament took fire. D'Espréménil unfolded the designs of the court in an impassioned speech. "We have only," said he, "a few hours left to protest: let us do so with the energy of men of honour, with the valour of courageous and faithful subjects. When a reason for terror is about to be spread abroad through the land, let the nation at least have the consolation of knowing that none of us will be severed from the companions of our labours. You have seen from the edict which has been read, what a ridiculous representation the ministers have given of their proposed assembly, where our kings are to confer with their great vassals. It is by the aid of such a phantom that they have persuaded the king to disengage himself from his solemn promises, and elude the convocation of the States-General. The nation, however, will not forget the monarch's words; it will not forget what we have done to restore to it its rights. After the honour of having made so noble an attempt, there

* In addition to this, he received from a single cutting of wood on one of his benefices 900,000 francs (£36,000), in the year 1788.—Droz, i. 52, note.

† So entirely had the public now lost confidence in the *comptes rendus*, published by the court, that though this one admitted so large a deficit, yet government, to make it credited that it was not still larger, were obliged to submit the public accounts, with all the vouchers, to three accountants of the capital, Didelot, St Amand, and Salvette, who reported in favour of the accuracy of the financial statement.—SOUTHWELL, vi. 186.

remains still a higher one before us—that of suffering punishment for our fidelity to the constitution of the kingdom.” He then proposed that they should all take an oath never to form a part of any assembly but the parliament, composed of the same persons, and enjoying the same privileges as at present. The oath was unanimously taken, and served as the prelude to the celebrated *Jeu de Paume*, which convulsed France eleven months afterwards. Moved by the general enthusiasm and these generous sentiments, the united chambers of the parliament adopted and recorded a dignified protest, which deserves a place in history, as an authentic record of what, in the estimation of the friends of freedom, and probably in truth, was the old constitution of France.*

106. The government was confounded

* The parliament, “warned by the public notoriety of the blows which, in striking the magistracy, threatened the nation; and considering that the resistance of the parliament to the two imposts—its declaration of inability to accord the subsidies—its entreaties to obtain a meeting of the States-General—caused these attacks of ministers upon the magistracy; considering that these attacks had no other aim than that of veiling, if possible, past extravagances without having recourse to the States-General, and that the principle manifestly adopted by ministers of taking their own will as the sole law discloses the fatal project of annihilating the principles of the monarchy—Decrees that France is a monarchy governed by a king according to the laws—some of the most fundamental of which embrace and concern the rights of the house reigning, in its descendants, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture; the right of the nation to accord freely subsidies by the instrumentality of the States-General constitutionally assembled; the independence of the magistrates, the customs and conventions of the provinces, the duties of the courts to attest the wishes of the king, and to ordain that they be enrolled *when in conformity with the laws*; the right of each citizen to be brought before no others than his natural judges, and the right of not being arrested unless to be placed in the hands of a competent tribunal.” The parliament added further, “that all the magistrates rejected any position different from that they at present occupied; and that, in case the magistracy should be dismissed, the parliament placed the present act in the hands of the king, of his august family, of the peers of the realm, of the States-General, and of each of the orders, *united or separated*, representing the nation.” — *Protation du Parlement de Paris*, 2 Mai 1788; SOULAVIE, vi. 187, 188; and LACRETELLE, vi. 243, 244.

by this intrepid and dignified assertion of the principles of a constitutional monarchy; and, being resolute not to be defeated, they determined to put in practice the power of a military one. *Lettres de cachet* were issued against d'Espréménil and Montsabert, the leaders of the opposition, who took refuge in the bosom of the parliament, which assembled in great strength on this momentous crisis. The parliament protested against their seizure, declared that it “put them under the protection of the king of the law,” and ordered the preparation of a representation to the king, against the prosecution of measures which would “drag legitimate authority and public liberty into an abyss, from whence all the zeal of the magistrates would be unable to extricate it.” Meanwhile an immense crowd assembled round their hall, in the deepest anxiety as to the issue of a contest which would apparently determine whether France was to become a constitutional or remain a despotic monarchy. The most violent cries were heard from the assembled multitude: “We will make a rampart for d'Espréménil with our bodies,” resounded on all sides. Loud cheers followed the arrival of the peers, who repaired to the parliament to stand by the defenders of public liberty in this extremity; but all cries ceased, and a deathlike silence prevailed, when the Marquis d'Agoust, aide-major of the Gardes Françaises, arrived at the head of a battalion of the household troops; with fixed bayonets, preceded by a company of sappers with their hatchets on their shoulders, and followed by a body of the Swiss guards.

107. “Where are Messrs d'Espréménil and Montsabert?” said d'Agoust, with a faltering voice, as he entered the hall and cast his eye round the august assembly. “We are all d'Espréménils and Montsaberts: since you do not know them, take us all,” answered the whole magistrates. D'Agoust, who acted throughout with the most perfect temper and politeness, withdrew for the night, but returned next morning at eleven o'clock with an officer of the court, who was ordered, on pain of imprisonment, to point them out. “On my honour,”

said the officer, "I do not see them." D'Agoust was again about to retire to obtain new orders, thinking they were really not there; but d'Espréménil, touched with the devotion of the officer, called him back and said, "I, sir, am d'Espréménil, one of those whom you seek: my honour forbids me to submit to arbitrary orders; if I resist, have your soldiers orders to lay their hands on me!" "Do you doubt it," replied d'Agoust, "if you resist?" "I will follow you then," interrupted d'Espréménil, "to avoid such a profanation of the sanctuary of the laws. Let us retire by a back staircase, to avoid a crowd which might endanger the execution of your orders." He then laid on the table of the assembly a protest against the violence of which he and Montsabert were the objects, and declared that he regarded the orders of which that violence was the result as having been obtained by surprise from a just king. He conjured his colleagues not to be discouraged—to forget him, and attend only to the public interest. He recommended his family to their kindness, and declared that, whatever might be his fate, he would glory to his dying hour in professing their principles. Bowing then respectfully to the assembly, he descended with a firm step to d'Agoust, followed by Montsabert, and was conducted to the Isle of St Marguérite, one of the Hieres. The parliament, after protesting against the whole violence, and recording their admiration of the courageous patriotism of the arrested members, separated after a continued meeting of thirty hours.*

* "The court, strongly moved by the deplorable spectacle of two magistrates violently torn from the very sanctuary of the laws, in the midst of armed men who had violated the asylum of liberty, has decreed: That it be represented to his majesty the king, that he would have been deeply affected had he witnessed the sad and gloomy silence which preceded, accompanied, and followed, the execution of these rigorous orders in the midst of a most respectable assembly, and the noble pride with which the deposed magistrates met the blow which has struck them, their sensibility to which is shared by all the peers and magistrates of France, as if this disgrace were personal to each of them."
—*Protêt du Parlement de Paris*, 3 Mai 1788; SOULAVIE, vi. 191.

108. It is difficult to form a conception of the enthusiasm which these dramatic scenes, and the calm yet resolute conduct of the parliament of Paris, excited over all France. That body had now placed itself at the head of the national movement; sacrificing, or not perceiving, its individual interests, it had united with the people in demanding the States-General; and, by declaring that it had no power to register the proposed taxes, it had in effect rendered their convocation unavoidable. The imprisonment of some of its members on account of their patriotic efforts, their temperate yet courageous conduct, excited a universal enthusiasm. D'Espréménil was the object of unbounded interest; his words when arrested were everywhere repeated: for a short period he was the idol of popular admiration. Alarming fermentation began to prevail in the capital; it rapidly spread to the provinces; the parliaments of Rennes, Bordeaux, Lille, Toulouse, Aix, and other places, passed strong resolutions applauding the conduct of the parliament of Paris, and were assailed by similar military violence; and the whole kingdom was agitated by those mingled hopes and fears which are the food of revolutionary passion.

109. On the day after the arrest of d'Espréménil the parliament was directed to assemble at Versailles, where the king held a bed of justice. The monarch addressed the magistrates with a mournful countenance, and in accents in which the profound grief of his heart was clearly evinced. "No measure," said he, "has been attempted for the public good for the last year, which has not been thwarted by the parliament of Paris; and its factious opposition has been immediately imitated by all the other parliaments in the kingdom. The result of their resistance has been the stoppage of the most necessary and interesting improvements in the laws, the suspension of judicial business, the weakening of national credit, even the shaking of the social edifice, and disturbance of the public tranquillity. I owe it to my people, to myself, to my successors, to repress similar attempts. Compelled by stern necessity to punish

some magistrates, I did so with regret; and I would rather prevent than repress the repetition of their offences. I have no wish to destroy the parliaments; I wish only to bring them back to their duty, and their legal institution. I would convert a moment of crisis into a salutary epoch; commence the reformation of the judicial body by that of the tribunals of law; promote the rapid distribution of justice to the poor; confide anew to the nation the exercise of its legitimate rights, which are never at variance with those of the sovereign; and impress upon the kingdom that unity of laws, without which the very number of its provinces becomes an evil. The parliament was a single body when Philippe le Bel rendered it stationary at Paris. What is necessary to a great kingdom is a single king, a single law, a single assembly for its registration: numerous inferior courts, to determine summarily the greater number of processes; higher courts or parliaments, for the decision of those of a more weighty description: a supreme court, the depository of the laws common to the whole kingdom; in fine, States-General assembled, not once only, but on all occasions when the interest of the state requires it. Such is the restoration which my love for my subjects has prepared, and which I now consecrate to their happiness."

110. Lamoignon, the keeper of the seals, then detailed the intentions of the king in six edicts, which were registered as in a bed of justice without observation by the parliament. Prepared

* The first edict introduced several valuable regulations for the more rapid administration of justice.

The second reduced the parliament of Paris to one grand chamber, with subdivisions for the different departments of business. It was reduced to seventy-three councillors and nine presidents.

The third introduced the most valuable reforms, long required and loudly called for, in every department of the criminal law. It swept away at once all the cruel punishments which had so long shocked the increasing humanity of the age, and provided against the principal abuses of criminal procedure. The frightful punishment of the wheel was abolished; an interval was provided between sentence and execution, to enable the evidence to be laid before the king; torture, both before and after sentence, was declared

with great care by Lamoignon and Malherbes, the latter of whom had now been restored to the ministry, they contained the elements of practical good government; and, if accepted by the parliaments, and acted upon by them in the same patriotic spirit in which they were conceived, they might have prevented the Revolution; for they began the great work of reform at the right end, by the redress of experienced evils, not the conferring of untried powers.* But all was lost upon the parliament; the excitement of men's minds rendered them incapable of appreciating the most valuable practical reforms when brought within their reach, if not accompanied by theoretical innovation and the perilous gift of power. That the changes introduced by the six edicts would have been an immense improvement on the laws and institutions of France, by providing for their uniformity and abolishing their cruelty, will probably be disputed by none who have any practical acquaintance with human affairs; and that they were suitable to the wants of the country is decisively proved by the fact, that they were all, within two years afterwards, adopted by the Constituent Assembly, with the entire concurrence of the nation. But, coming, as they did, from the free gift of the king, they neither excited attention nor awakened gratitude. Jealousy of the *Cour Plénière* which was to be established, irritation at the abridgment of its own jurisdiction, rendered the parliament of Paris insensible to all the benefits which the country would derive from the

illegal; criminal trials were to be conducted in public, and counsel allowed to the accused; the crime of which the accused was found guilty was to be specified in the sentence, and no punishment to be permitted but what the law prescribed for the offence.

The fourth established the *cour plénière*, for the registration of taxes and for other elevated functions, which has been already described.

The fifth restricted the jurisdiction of the parliament of Paris, and established certain local courts, styled *grands bailliages*, in its stead, in the places detached from its jurisdiction.

By the sixth and last edict, all the courts of the kingdom were declared in a state of vacation—in other words, suspended—till the new courts of law were in full operation.—SALLIER, *Annales Françaises*, viii. 168-174; and WEBER, i. 215, 216.

changes; the edicts were received in sullen silence; and the first thing the councillors did, when the assembly was dissolved, was to meet in private, and protest against them all. Soon after, they wrote officially to the king, declaring that they declined to execute any of the edicts, or interfere in any way with their administration.

111. Brienne, however, soon found that the new machinery which he had established could not be put in motion. The excitement produced by the resistance of the parliament of Paris, imitated as it was by that of all the other parliaments in France, was such, that it was found impossible to get other magistrates to supply their place. The High Court of Châtelet at Paris was the first to set this example. Over all France, a similar *coup d'état* had been attempted as at Paris, on the same day; but the resistance was everywhere the same: the old courts were suspended, but adequate persons could frequently not be found to fill the new ones. The members of inferior courts erected into great bailliages, indeed, cordially approved of the change, and strongly supported it; but their influence was inconsiderable compared to that of the parliaments, which were all on the other side, and the abilities and information of the new functionaries were seldom equal to the duties to which they were called. Pressed by the necessitous state of the exchequer, Brienne, as a last resource, convoked an extraordinary assembly of the clergy, hoping that in them, at least, the crown, in its last extremity, would find supporters; and that, by consenting to the imposition of the direct taxes on their extensive possessions, or by voting a gratuitous gift in lieu of these, they would furnish a considerable relief to the public treasury. But here, too, he experienced the same resistance as from the other privileged bodies: the clergy readily divined what was expected of them, and instead of voting the expected gift, they imitated the example of the Notables and parliament, and eluded the demand by representing, that the States-General could alone sanction the imposition of new burdens,

and that their immediate convocation had become indispensable. Juigné, archbishop of Paris, a prelate of an austere and irreproachable life, was the leader of this unexpected opposition. They remonstrated, in an especial manner, against the alarming principle, that the clergy were to be subjected to the taille; and even insisted, that the investigation as to the frauds committed in evading the last *vingtième* should be discontinued.* The people, carried away by the spirit of factious opposition to everything which emanated from the crown, loudly applauded the assertion of these unjust exclusive privileges. It was hard to say whether they were most vehement in supporting the nobility or the clergy, in the maintenance of these invidious distinctions; everything was patriotic, so as it embarrassed and weakened the king. Thus

* "Our silence," said the clergy, "would be a crime of which the nation and posterity could never absolve us. Your majesty has put into operation in the *lit de justice* of the 8th May, a great movement, affecting things and persons. We might have hoped that if such a revolution must happen, it should have followed rather than preceded the meeting of the States-General. The constitution of the kingdom is, that all the laws are devised in the privy council of the sovereign, and then verified and published in his open and permanent councils. The will of the king, which has not been developed by his courts, may be regarded as his momentary wish. It does not acquire that majesty which assures its execution and obedience, until the opinions and remonstrances of your courts have been heard in your privy council. . . . The French people, sire, is not taxable at will. The Franks were a free people. The kings lived upon their demesnes and upon the presents made to them at the Champ-de-Mars. The three orders appeared at the States-General, when the subsidies were granted out of good will and special favour, from liberality and courtesy, which could not be interpreted as a servitude upon the subjects, nor as a new right for the sovereign. Such is the ancient law of the kingdom, preserved intact in the states of the country. The clergy in their assemblies present to-day its principles and forms; they have always preserved and maintained them. If these liberties are suspended, they are not destroyed; if parliament have sanctioned the imposts by their especial authority, they had a colourable title. The poll-tax, the twentieth, and all the fiscal extensions, were introduced furtively: it is time to declare them invalid."—*Remontrances du Clergé*, 15th June 1789; SALLIER, *Annales Françaises*, viii. 324, 356; and SOULAVIE, vi. 198, 200.

the Notables, the parliaments, and the clergy successively refused to surrender one tithe of their exclusive privileges, and obstinately resisted all the measures proposed by government calculated to effect legislative improvements, and strengthen the crown, by restoring the finances; and in doing so they were all cordially supported by the nation. They all concurred in demanding, each in a louder tone than its predecessor, the convocation of the States-General; and the first thing the States-General did was to destroy them all.

112. Troubles of a very serious kind broke out in many parts of France, in consequence of the attempt to introduce the *Cour Plénière* at Paris; and the rural noblesse, in the disturbed provinces, generally took part with the parliaments. It was in the *pays d'états*, which already possessed little States-General of their own, that these chiefly appeared—an ominous circumstance as to what might be expected of the whole nation, when a similar assembly was brought together from every part of the country. In Béarn, which had from time immemorial possessed estates of its own, and in which a strong independent spirit had always prevailed, the nobles met, and addressed an energetic remonstrance to the Duke de Guiche, who had been sent down on the part of the king to allay the disturbances.* Supported by the whole nobles of the country, the clergy, and the Tiers Etat, the parliament resolved to set at nought the royal edict, and not discontinue its functions. In Dauphiné, another *pays d'états*, the effervescence assumed a still more alarming character. No sooner

was intelligence received that their provincial parliament was suspended, than the tocsin sounded in the mountains. Menacing groups of highlanders descended from the elevated valleys: Grenoble was attacked, the gates forced, the guard of the intendant of the province dispersed, and the dispossessed magistrates conducted, amidst loud shouts, to the old hall of justice, where they were obliged to resume their functions. Happily, at this critical juncture, the military noblesse of the province assembled, and, by heading, obtained the direction of the movement. Three hundred landowners, of that order, swore on their swords to defend the rights of the province to the last drop of their blood; and a general rendezvous of the whole of Dauphiné was appointed to be held forthwith at Vizile, to take the oath of fidelity to their country on the tomb of the Chevalier Bayard. They assembled there, accordingly, in such force that the governor of the province, the old Marshal de Vaux, a man of known firmness of character, wrote to the king, that he could not prevent the meeting though he had twenty thousand men under his orders. Five hundred nobles of Dauphiné met with the clergy and deputies of the Tiers Etat of the province, and appointed as their secretary, MOUNIER, the judge-royal of Grenoble, a man of an upright and honourable character, afterwards well known in the commencement of the Revolution.† They declared “infamous, and traitors to their country,” all

* “Behold,” said they, “the cradle of the great Henry; and under that sacred standard the Bernais fear not death. They feel in their veins the blood of their ancestors, who placed the princes of the house of Bourbon upon the throne. We are not rebels. We claim our contract and fidelity to his oath in a king whom we love. The Bernais is born free—he will not die a slave. A great king has said it, ‘He is ready to sacrifice his fortune for the king;’ but let the king respect his contract with us. Let him expect everything from our love, nothing from violence. We will pour forth our blood in defending the state against its enemies; but let none come to demand our lives when we stand in defence of liberty.”—*BOULAY, vi. 205.*

† Jean Joseph Mounier, born at Grenoble on the 12th November 1758, was the son of a worthy and respectable citizen of that place. At first he was desirous of entering the army, but the rigid rules which at that period confined the higher ranks of that career to young men of aristocratic birth rendered this impossible. He then became a merchant, but soon tired of that profession, and at length took to the law, and passed at the bar in Grenoble in 1779. At the age of twenty-six he was appointed to the office of judge-royal in that city; and with such assiduity and talent did he discharge its duties, that, during six years that he held the office, there was only one of his judgments appealed from. In the intervals of his judicial labours he cultivated natural history, and entered with ardour upon the study of public law and politics. Similarity of study and inclinations made him early contract a close intimacy

who should take office in the courts established by Brienne; and unanimously passed resolutions demanding the recall of the parliament of Dauphiné, and the resumption of its functions without any abridgment; the assembly of the States-General; the convocation of the estates of the province in a single chamber, with the *Tiers Etat* equal in number to the other members; their immediate union with the other provinces; and declaring their determination to resist the payment of all taxes till the States-General were assembled, and the deposed magistrates restored.

113. In Dauphiné the vehemence of popular excess was prevented by the nobles putting themselves at the head of the movement, and the wisdom with which they were directed by Mounier. But it was not thus in Brittany, where the governor of the province, Count de Thiard, prohibited the assembling of the estates, and the nobles were at once brought into collision with the royal authority. It was well known that the king would not permit the military to use their arms against the people; and, in fact, secret orders to that effect had

with several English travellers, who were attracted to Grenoble by the romantic beauties of its environs, particularly the inimitable passes which lead up to the Grande Chartreuse; and from them he imbibed that profound admiration for a constitutional government, and the forms of the English parliament, which distinguished him throughout his political career. When the parliament of Paris, in August 1787, gave the signal for general resistance to the government in regard to the proposed duty on stamps, he took an active part in the parliament of Grenoble in following up the movement; and his great weight as a judge gave him the lead in their deliberations. He was an able, upright, and patriotic man; his sense of justice was profound, his passion for liberty disinterested—no one meant more sincerely to do good to his country; and yet, on the opening of the States-General in 1789, few did it, by imprudent zeal, more essential injury. Of that no one was soon more thoroughly sensible than himself. He was, early in the Revolution, denounced as a traitor at Paris, and obliged to fly from France; and the latter years of his life, down to his death in 1806, were devoted to combating, with sincere and honourable zeal, those ideas of equality, in promoting which, at first, he had borne so prominent a part.—*Biographie Universelle*, xxx. 810-831 (MOUNIER).

already been given, so that the prohibition met with no attention. The very day after it was issued, a hundred and thirty nobles drew up a protest, in which they "declared infamous all those who should accept any place either in the new courts, or the administration of the province, contrary to its laws and constitution," and delivered it to the governor. Twelve hundred gentlemen assembled at St Brieux and Rennes, and deputed twelve of their number to bear the remonstrances of the estates of Brittany to the king, but with a positive order not to see either Brienne or Lamoignon. No sooner did they arrive in Paris than they attended the meetings of the liberal leaders, who afterwards took so prominent a part in the Revolution—particularly the Dukes of Rohan and Praslin, Lafayette, Boisgelin, and others. The twelve deputies were forthwith sent to the Bastille. Upon this, violent disturbances broke out in Rennes, Nantes, and the chief towns of the province; the military were publicly insulted; mobs paraded the streets without resistance, and the officers, indignant at the passive inaction to which they were constrained, protested against it in a solemn instrument, and endeavoured to vindicate their outraged honour by a duel of fifteen of their number against fifteen Breton nobles. Symptoms of insubordination even appeared in some regiments. The officers of one—that of Bassigny—publicly protested against the orders with the execution of which they were intrusted; and the weakness of the governor of the province was excused, perhaps justified, by the doubt whether his troops could be relied on for acting against the people. In lieu of the twelve imprisoned deputies, the province sent up eighteen others to lay their remonstrances before the king: an order not to enter Paris, or approach the court, was disregarded; the clergy of the whole province agreed to addresses requiring the liberation of the imprisoned deputies, the restoration of the parliament of the province, and the convocation of the States-General; and to such a length did the general enthusiasm proceed, that many Breton

officers, holding commissions in the guards, resigned them, and hastened to their homes, to stand by their country in the hour of danger.

114. Matters now looked sufficiently ominous for the royal authority, in the temper both of the capital and the provinces; but, serious as those difficulties were, they were outdone by those arising from the exhausted state of the public exchequer. Brienne preserved his accustomed indifference. "Everything," said he, "is foreseen and provided for—even a civil war. The king shall be obeyed; the king knows how to cause his authority to be respected." But these vague assurances did not replenish the exchequer, and it was at length announced that all the resources were exhausted: that there remained only 400,000 francs (£16,000) in the royal treasury; and that, without some extraordinary resource, the public creditors, whose dividends fell due in August next, could not be paid. This brought matters to a crisis. Brienne, having failed in his application to the nobles, the parliaments, and the clergy, resolved to endeavour to propitiate the *Tiers Etat*, at once the wealthiest and the most numerous class in the state, from whose gratitude he hoped to obtain that assistance which he had sought in vain from the justice or patriotism of the privileged classes. On 8th August, an edict appeared CONVOKING THE STATES-GENERAL FOR THE 1ST MAY 1789. The *Cour Plénière* and edicts of 8th May were meanwhile suspended till that event took place, so that the old parliaments resumed their functions. Nothing was said as to the form of their convocation, the qualifications of the electors, or whether they were to vote by order or by head. As if, too, it had been intended purposely to excite the people to the highest pitch on these vital points, an ordinance appeared soon after, which not only authorised the municipal authorities to tender their advice to government on the approaching emergency, but invited all private persons to come forward with their ideas and plans, as to the best method of convoking them, and to publish them for the public information.

So little was Brienne aware of the extreme peril of the course he was thus adopting, that, when a hint was dropped in the council as to the dangers with which the convocation of the States-General might be attended, he replied with imperturbable *sang froid*, "Sully had no difficulty with them,"—forgetting that he was not Sully, that Louis XVI. was not Henry IV., and that 1614 was not 1789.

115. The consequences of this royal invitation to all classes to go back to first principles, and tender their ideas to government on the approaching regeneration of society, were soon apparent. Hundreds of pamphlets immediately inundated the capital and the provinces, in which, disregarding all reference to usage, law, or precedent, an appeal was at once made to first principles and the natural rights of man. The king's permission to tender advice on the convocation of the States-General was made a pretext for disseminating doctrines, with impunity, subversive not merely of the royal, but of any authority whatever. The most vehement fermentation instantly seized the public mind. Social regeneration became the order of the day; the ardent and philanthropic were seduced by the brilliant prospects of unbounded felicity which appeared to be opening upon the nation, the selfish entranced by the hope of individual elevation in the midst of the general confusion. But though all classes were unanimous in desiring the convocation of the States-General, and the commencement of the public reforms, they differed widely as to the measures which they deemed likely to advance the general welfare, and already were to be seen the seeds of those divisions which afterwards deluged the kingdom with blood. The higher classes of the noblesse, and all the prelates, desired the maintenance of the separation of the three orders, and the preservation of their exclusive privileges; the philosophic party, from whom the Girondists afterwards sprang, considered the federal republics of America as a model of government; while the few cautious observers whom the general whirl had left in the nation, in vain

suggested, that, as they were about to embark on the dark and unknown sea of innovation, the British constitution was the only haven in which they could hope to find a secure asylum.

116. This great victory had been gained by the united efforts of all classes—the nobles had supported the Tiers Etat, and the clergy had been almost unanimous on the same side; but, as usual on such occasions, divisions were consequent on success. The separate interests of the different bodies who had combined in the struggle appeared when it was over. Each of the three bodies had entertained different views in demanding the States-General. The parliaments had hoped to rule them as in their last assemblage; the nobles expected, by the convocation of this body, to regain their lost influence—the Tiers Etat, to rise into political importance. These discordant views were immediately supported by their respective adherents, and divisions broke out between the three estates. The commons vehemently maintained that the vast increase in the numbers and consideration of their body, since the last assemblage of the estates in 1614, rendered it indispensable that a great addition should be made to the number of their representatives; that many places, formerly of no moment, had risen into opulence and importance within the last two centuries, which were wholly without representatives; that no national assembly could stand on a secure basis, which was thus rested only on a partial representation; that the light of the age was adverse to the maintenance of feudal distinctions, and that the only way to prevent a revolution was to concede in time the just demands of the people. On the other hand, the parliament of Paris, the nobles and privileged classes, alleged, that the only way to arrest innovation was to adhere to the practice of the constitution; that no human wisdom could foresee the effect of any considerable addition to the representatives of the people; and that, if such a deviation from established usage could ever be expedient, the last time when it should be attempted was in a moment of great public excite-

ment, when the object of political wisdom should be to moderate rather than increase the ambition of the lower orders.

117. A pamphlet published at this period, by the Abbé Sièyes, under the title, "*Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat!*" had a powerful influence on the future destinies of France. "The Tiers Etat," said he, "is the French nation, *minus* the noblesse and the clergy." Public opinion ran daily more strongly in favour of the commons; extravagant expectations began to be formed, visionary schemes to be published, and that general unhinging of opinions took place which is the sure prelude of a revolution. The country was daily more and more deluged with pamphlets, many written with great talent, others indulging in the most chimerical projects.* Everything tended to increase the public effervescence, and to disqualify men from forming a rational judgment on public affairs. Sièyes, in consequence of the celebrity of his pamphlet, acquired a lead in public estimation, to which he was far from being entitled either by his judgment or his principles. He was a good dialectician, had great facility in writing, and an ingenious speculative mind; but he was neither a profound thinker nor a judicious legislator. Ignorant of mankind, he thought human affairs were to be regulated on abstract principles, as physical objects are by the laws of mechanics. Extravagantly vain of his own abilities, he boasted to Dumont that he had brought the science of politics to perfection, while in effect he proved himself incapable of constructing a constitution which could subsist two years. Nor was he without a strong intermixture of worldly ambition; he seldom took a decided part in politics, except when his own interest was concerned; and permitted, at last, all his aspirations after liberty to be quietly stifled by the gift of a valuable estate in the park of Versailles,

* The author is in possession of a collection of seventeen thick octavo volumes of these lucubrations, all published in 1788 and 1789. Their united bulk is double of the whole of this History, and many of them had reached a fifth and sixth edition.

when Napoleon rose to the head of affairs.*

118. It soon appeared to what cause this sudden and decisive change in the politics of the court had been owing. By a royal edict, dated August 16, 1788, it was declared legal for the king to pay the whole public creditors, whether holders of annuities or of capital stock, the interest due to them, if above twelve hundred francs (£48), *two-fifths in paper*, and only the remaining three-fifths in cash. This was followed two days afterwards by a second edict, which declared that *billets de la caisse d'escompte* (exchequer bills), down to the 1st January 1789, were not to be paid in money to holders presenting them for payment, but in bills only on private individuals; they were declared at the same time a legal tender, in payment both to government and between man and man; and all prosecutions on these bills were suspended till the 1st January ensuing. As these exchequer bills were the principal resource of government, and two-fifths of the interest on the public debt was declared payable in these bills thus bearing a forced circulation, these edicts were equivalent to a declaration of national bankruptcy.

* The Abbé Sièyes was born at Frejus, on the 3d May 1748, so that at this time he was forty years old. He was bred to the church, and in 1784 was appointed dean of the cathedral of Chartres, and vicar-general of the diocese. His abilities having soon made themselves known, he was, in 1787, named a member of the Provincial Assembly which Necker had established at Orleans. For long his studies had been directed to the questions of politics and constitutional government which had for some years agitated France, and in consequence he was one of the first to publish, in pursuance of Brienne's invitation, an essay on the States-General about to assemble, entitled "*Vues sur les Moyens d'Exécution dont les Représentans de la France pourront disposer en 1789.*" Soon after he published another pamphlet, entitled "*Essai sur les Privilèges*," in opposition to the decision of the Notables against the duplication of the Tiers Etat, and the voting by head; and then a third, which gained a prodigious reputation, "*Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?*" The tendency of this able production may be judged of from two words. He asked, What has the Tiers Etat been hitherto? "*Rien.*" What will it be in future? "*Tout.*" *Rien ou tout* were thus made the watchwords of the movement in commencing the Revolution; we shall see

This last and melancholy resource was not adopted till imposed by absolute necessity; a few days after, when Necker was recalled to the ministry, he found only two hundred and fifty thousand francs (£10,000) in the royal treasury—a sum not equal to a single day's expenditure by government.

119. Financial embarrassment is the real cause of the overthrow of most administrations in countries where the people have either legally or practically an effective control over the measures of government. Mankind can stand anything rather than a stoppage or diminution of their accustomed payments. Brienne, though to the last degree unpopular, had weathered the storm as long as the public creditors were regularly paid; but that which neither the *Cour Plénière*, nor the resistance of the parliaments, nor the revolt of the provinces, could effect, was at once accomplished by the edicts concerning the public creditors, and the diminution of the wonted dividends. Indescribable was the sensation which these financial measures produced. Credit of every kind was violently shaken. Money became scarce, creditors clamorous, debtors desperate;

in the sequel that "*tout ou rien*" was the maxim of Napoleon at its close, and which occasioned its fall. There is more here than a mere play upon words; these words are descriptive of the march, in its earliest, equally as its last stages, of revolutionary ambition—seeking to engross everything at first; losing everything by its reluctance to abandon anything at last.

Sièyes's reputation now became such that not merely his entrance into, but his great influence in the States-General, was a matter of certainty. Soon after he published another pamphlet, entitled "*Projet de Délibération à prendre dans les Assemblées des Bailliages*;" and so great was the public anxiety to obtain the benefit of his talents that, after the electors of Paris had passed a resolution to the effect that neither nobles nor priests should be included among their representatives, they rescinded it purposely to let in Sièyes. He was one of the members for Paris, accordingly, in the States-General, and was the person who proposed that they should assume the title of *National Assembly*. But his talents for speaking were by no means equal to his ability in writing; and he was soon eclipsed in that assembly by Mirabeau, and many other orators.—See *Biographie des Contemporains*, xix. 189, 190 (SIÈYES).

the holders of the public securities were loud in their complaints that the paper money was forced on them at a third more than they could get for it; the excitement was universal. Alarmed at this perilous state of affairs, the queen privately sounded Necker, through the Austrian ambassador M. de Meray, as to whether he would resume his post at the finances in conjunction with the present ministry; but he wisely declined. Upon this the Count d'Artois represented to the king the absolute necessity of Brienne's removal, which was agreed to. The archbishop was reconciled to his fall by the gift of considerable ecclesiastical preferment, in addition to the immense benefices he already enjoyed, and the promise of a cardinal's hat, which, by the king's influence, he soon after obtained. His retreat was, two days afterwards, followed by that of Lamoignon; who, having ever acted on honourable and conscientious motives, was regretted by his friends, however disliked by the people, whose advances he had opposed.* The victory of the parliament was complete; its functions were immediately resumed; and Necker, with the general approbation of the nation, but with great reluctance on the part of the king, was recalled to the direction of the finances.

120. It soon appeared in what an extraordinary state of excitement the public mind was, and how prone to violence the people were, even in that moment when, having gained a complete victory, it was least excusable. The police of Paris, formerly so admirable under Lenoir and Sartines, had sensibly declined in efficiency since the frequent contests for power had rendered it uncertain which party was likely to be long in the ascendant, and the known repugnance of the king to vigorous measures had rendered it doubtful whether

* Lamoignon was shortly after found in his demesne, where he had retired, with a fowling-piece in his hand, shot dead. It is not known whether his untimely end was the result of design or accident.—*LARABUE*, II. 273. The king, from esteem for his upright character, made him a present of 400,000 francs (£16,000) on his retiring from office; but so low was the treasury, that he only received the half of that sum.—*Ibid.*

the authorities did not run greater risk in repressing than permitting disorders. Taking advantage of this circumstance, a violent mob assembled on the evening of the 25th August, the day on which Brienne left Paris, and, traversing the Pont Neuf, obliged all the passers-by to shout out "Long live Henry IV.—To the devil with Brienne and Lamoignon!" As these disorders were not checked, the mob soon swelled immensely, and began to throw stones at the adjoining houses; and these obnoxious ministers were burnt in effigy.† A detachment of cavalry, having been sent to disperse the assemblage, were assailed by the populace, fired in return, and killed a man. The people, now become furious, advanced to attack the soldiers: eight persons fell on the side of the troops, who were driven across the Pont Neuf. The mob, with loud shouts, paraded the adjoining streets, celebrating their triumph, and burning several watch-houses which fell in their way. They were only arrested on the Place de Grève by a discharge from the armed police, which brought down twenty of the foremost, and dispersed the rest.

121. But in every age the populace of Paris have been found to be the most resolute and intractable of any recorded in history. Far from being deterred by so bloody a termination of their triumph, the people collected in still greater force on the succeeding evening, armed with sabres, bayonets, and torches; and after burning Lamoignon in effigy, proceeded with their brands to set fire to the hotel of M. de Brienne,

† The Abbé Sabatier, who had first demanded the States-General in the parliament of Paris, made a narrow escape on this occasion. He was mistaken for the Abbé Vermond, preceptor to the queen: and the people insisted he should alight, go down on his knees, and make the *amende honorable* for his misdeeds.—"What would you have?" exclaimed the counsellor of parliament, in great alarm. "I am the Abbé Sabatier, your best friend." Upon this the air rang with acclamations of "Vive notre père! Vive notre sauveur!" Yet he had been the principal means of throwing out the equal territorial assessment which the king had made such efforts to lay on the noblesse, to the relief of the Tiers Etat! Such is popular judgment.—*DUVAL, Souvenirs de la Terreur*, i. 11-14.

minister at war, and brother to the fallen prelate. Already they had got entire possession of the street, and were just beginning to force the doors, when Brienne himself arrived, and ordered two companies of the Gardes Françaises to charge with fixed bayonets, which at length dispersed the crowd, but not before several of their number had been killed and wounded. At the same time a vast assemblage collected in the Rue Meslay, and attacked the house of the commander of the city guard, Du Bois, who was the object of great hatred, from the vigour he had displayed on the preceding day. But he arranged his troops in his hotel and the adjoining houses, and received the assailants with so vigorous a fire of musketry that thirty of their number were stretched on the pavement; and a troop of horse, which arrived at the same time, completed their defeat. Symptoms of irresolution, however, had already appeared among some of the troops; and the frequent shouts from the mob, "Vivent les Gardes Françaises," proved that the soldiers of that body had already begun to experience that debauching influence, which afterwards proved fatal alike to the monarchy and the cause of freedom.

122. The disorders were, by these vigorous military measures, effectually arrested, though not before above two hundred persons had perished on the two sides, in the tumults which had taken place. But now began a system both on the part of the government and the magistracy, which revealed at once the weakness of the monarchy, and was productive, in the end, of unheard-of calamities. The authors of these disorders, though well known, were not prosecuted; the Marquis de Neales, their principal leader, was not even inquired after. The parliament, instead, as they were in duty bound, of protecting the police and military who had put down the riots which threatened such serious consequences, and instituting prosecutions against the ringleaders in them, passed over their crimes in silence. In place of doing so, they adopted two *arrêts*, directing the trial, not of the insurgents, but of the *police officers* who

had arrested their incendiary violence! Du Bois, whose firmness had saved the capital from incalculable calamities, was obliged to fly from Paris to avoid destruction by the populace. Not one of the insurgents was brought to justice, nor was the slightest attempt made to discover them—the distinctive mark of revolutionary times, and the certain prelude to the overthrow of society. When government deems it prudent not to prosecute, or does not venture to bring to justice the leaders of popular violence, how great soever their crimes; when it is generally felt that more danger is run by the magistrates and soldiers, who are intrusted with the preservation of the peace, if they discharge their duty, than if they neglect it; and when it becomes evident that the only persons who are secure of impunity, in a collision between them and the people, are the perpetrators of revolutionary crimes, it may be concluded with certainty that unbounded national calamities are at hand.

123. But although to the far-seeing sagacity of political wisdom, this weakness on the part of government, and betrayal of duty on the part of the magistracy, might appear fraught with the most perilous consequences, yet to the ordinary observer the restoration of Necker to office seemed fraught with the happiest auguries, and to forebode only peace and happiness to France. His reception at court was in the highest degree flattering: the queen and princes assured him of their entire confidence; the repugnance of the king seemed to be overcome; the courtiers and nobles flocked round him in crowds when he came from the presence chamber, after receiving his appointment. Even the most inveterate of his former opponents were among the foremost to tender their congratulations. They were perfectly sincere in doing so; they regarded him as the only barrier between them and national bankruptcy; he was the mighty magician whose wand was again to unlock the doors of the treasury. The same rejoicings took place all over France. Universally, for a brief space, the public discontents were stilled. On entering upon office he

found the treasury empty, and the credit of government extinct. Next day, he received tenders of loans to a considerable extent, and the funds rose thirty per cent. An infusion of popular power into the government was deemed, at that period, a sovereign remedy for all difficulties, a certain antidote to all disorders. The public creditors were then only alive to the danger of national bankruptcy which arose from the perfidy or extravagance of kings; they had yet to learn the far more imminent peril which springs from the violence and vacillation of the people. He immediately recalled all persons exiled for political offences, and strove to the utmost to assuage individual distress. But it was too late. When he received the intimation of his recall, his first words were, "Ah! would that I could recall the fifteen months of the Archbishop of Toulouse!" In truth, during that eventful time the period of safe concession had gone by; every point now abandoned was adding fuel to the flame.

124. It was in the midst of the effervescence arising from these popular tumults, that the royal edict for summoning the States-General appeared. It set out with an eloquent and touching exposition, which all felt to be true, of the king's motives for calling them together.* It appointed the election to take place by a double process. In the first instance, the electors of each bailliwick were to meet and choose delegates, and these delegates were to elect the members of the States-General. Strange to say, no property qualification whatever was declared necessary, either for

an elector in the primary assemblies which chose the delegates, or for the delegates themselves, or for the members of the States-General. It was merely declared that the number of delegates chosen in the rural districts should be two for each two hundred hearths, three above two hundred hearths, four above three hundred, and so on. In the towns, again, two delegates were to be chosen for each hundred "inhabitants," four above a hundred; six above two hundred, and so on. Nearly three millions of Frenchmen were admitted under this regulation to a privilege which substantially amounted to the power of choosing representatives; for the electors were nothing but delegates, who, in every instance, obeyed the directions of their representatives. Finally, this immense body were intrusted with the important privilege of drawing up *cahiers*, or directions to their constituents, in regard to the conduct they were to pursue on all the great questions which might come before them.† These *cahiers* were absolute mandates, which the representatives bound themselves by a solemn oath to observe faithfully, and support to the utmost of their ability.

125. Nor was this all. Not content with establishing an electoral system which amounted almost to universal suffrage, and permitting these numerous electors to bind their representatives *a priori* by absolute mandates on all the questions which might occur, Necker imposed no restraint whatever on the persons who were to be chosen as representatives. Neither property, nor age, nor marriage, were required as qua-

* The circular calling together the States-General bore,—"We have need of the concurrence of our faithful subjects, to aid us in surmounting the difficulties arising from the state of the finances, and establishing, in conformity with our most ardent desire, a durable order in the parts of government which affect the public welfare. We wish that the three estates should confer together on the matters which will be submitted to their examination; they will make known to us the wishes and grievances of the people in such a way that, by a mutual confidence, and exchange of kind offices between the king and people, the public evils should as rapidly as possible be remedied. For this purpose we enjoin and command that, immediately on the receipt of this letter, you proceed to elect deputies of the three orders, worthy of con-

fidence from their virtues, and the spirit with which they are animated; that the deputies should be furnished with powers and instructions sufficient to enable them to attend to all the concerns of the state, and introduce such remedies as shall be deemed advisable for the reform of abuses, and the establishment of a fixed and durable order in all parts of the government, worthy of the paternal affections of the king and of the resolutions of so noble an assembly."—CALOINE, 315; LABAUME, ii. 335; *Hist. Parl.*, i. 268, 269.

† The collection of these *cahiers*, in thirty-six volumes folio, is the most interesting and authentic monument which exists of the grievances which led to the Revolution. An abstract of this immense record has been published by Prudhomme, in three vols. 8vo; another by Grille, in two vols. 8vo.

fications. Every Frenchman of twenty-five years of age, domiciled in a canton, who paid the smallest sum in taxes, was declared eligible. The consequences were disastrous in the extreme. Youths hardly escaped from school; lawyers unable to earn a livelihood in their villages; curates barely elevated either in income or knowledge above their humble flocks; physicians destitute of patients, barristers without briefs; the ardent, the needy, the profligate, the ambitious, were at once vomited forth from all quarters to co-operate in the reconstruction of the monarchy. Very few, indeed, of the assembly were possessed of any property; fewer still of any knowledge. The only restraints on human passion—knowledge, age, property, and children—were wanting in the great majority of its members; they consisted almost entirely of ardent youths, many of whom already thought themselves equal to Cicero, Brutus, or Demosthenes, while all were resolutely bent on making their fortunes: they were elected by almost universal suffrage, and subjected to the most rigorous mandates from a numerous and ignorant constituency. And yet from such a body, all classes in France, with a few individual exceptions, expected a deliverance from the evils or difficulties with which they were surrounded, and a complete regeneration of society. The king, the ministers, and courtiers, anticipated the cessation of the vexatious opposition of the parliaments, and more ready submission from a body of men who were thought to be so ill calculated to combine as the *Tiers Etat*; the nobles, a restoration of order to the finances, and emancipation from the public difficulties by the confiscation of the church property; the commons, liberation from every species of restraint, and boundless felicity from the prospects which would open to them in the new state of society which was approaching. When hopes so chimerical are entertained by all classes of society, and a chaos of unanimity is produced, composed of such discordant interests, it may usually be concluded that a general infatuation has seized the public mind, and that great national calamities are at hand.

126. Necker's influence as a minister was prodigiously increased on his restoration to power. It is hardly going too far to say, that, for good or for evil, he was omnipotent. The extreme penury of the exchequer rendered his powerful credit with the capitalists indispensable to carrying on the government; the recent and entire overthrow which the crown had received in the contest with the parliaments, rendered irresistible the influence of any minister who came in from the impulse of their victory, and was supported by their immense weight throughout the country. He was the movement leader, and all history tells us that such a legislator, in a moment of popular triumph, can do what he pleases, provided he does not visibly check the popular desires. Sensible of, perhaps exaggerating his influence, aware of what was expected of him, he bent his whole attention to the vital question of the convocation of the States-General, and left the ordinary details of his office to his friend, Dufresne de Saint-Leon. Alive to the incalculable importance of the measure which was now to be adopted, and knowing that a single false step would probably prove irretrievable, Necker concurred with the king in thinking that the *Notables* should be convened afresh, to deliberate on the course to be adopted. They were convoked, accordingly, for the 3d November 1788. Necker had previously made up his own mind what to do; his known professions and opinions left him hardly room for choice. But, like all men who are rash in opinion but timid in action, he wished to throw the responsibility of the change he meditated off himself—a sure sign that he was not adequate to the crisis. A great general seldom calls a council of war: Napoleon rarely summoned one—Wellington, never.

127. It was historically known that on former occasions, when the States-General were assembled, the representatives of the three orders of the nobles, the clergy, and the *Tiers Etat*,—named in equal numbers in the different electoral districts, or baillages, as they were called, whatever the population of those districts was,—met in a common hall to

verify their powers and adjust the roll. This done, the representatives of each order retired to a *separate chamber*, where they deliberated on the matters submitted to them; and, when they had come to a decision, they returned into the common hall, and then the judgment of the whole was taken, not by *head* but by *order*; so that, if any two of the orders concurred, the third was outvoted. This, in particular, was the form observed in the last meeting of the estates in 1614, and indeed on all previous occasions. It need hardly be observed, that this is strictly in conformity with the structure of modern society as it has appeared in all the old forms of national assemblies; and it is still observed without the slightest deviation in the British parliament, where the sovereign, in the first instance, meets the Lords and Commons in the House of Lords; but, before business begins, the Commons withdraw, and every vote on public questions is taken in each house separately. It was equally well ascertained that the States-General had never, in any period of French history, possessed the privilege of commencing legislative measures, or even putting a simple negative upon those issued by the king. Royal ordinances could alone originate laws or legislative changes; what the states had to do was only to consider the ordinances in which each order was interested, either in the existing laws or in proposed modifications of them, and make their remarks upon them, which were to be decided on by the king in council. They were only invested with the right to make remonstrances, or tender advice: the exclusive power of originating and altering laws was vested in the king in council, enlightened, when it was so offered, by their advice. And in the event of a royal edict issuing on such advice, it was addressed, not to the States-General as a whole, but to the particular order which was interested in the question, and had tendered the advice.

128. When the States-General were promised by Brienne, and appointed to meet in May 1789, the whole popular party in France immediately united their strength to gain two points, entirely at variance with all these usages.

These were,—1. That the number of the deputies elected by the Tiers Etat should be *equal* to that elected by the two other orders taken together. This, it was contended, was indispensable to prevent the two privileged orders, whose interests were identified, entirely crushing the third estate, which had rights and interests adverse to theirs to contend for. 2. That the whole orders should deliberate and vote, not in separate chambers, but by *head*, in one assembly. This, it could not be denied, was an innovation hitherto unknown in the French, or indeed any European constitution; but it was strenuously argued that it was an innovation loudly called for by the changes in the circumstances of society, and the increasing wealth, importance, and intelligence of the commons. The interests of the three orders, it was said, are not in reality at variance: they have only been rendered so by unjust privileges having been assumed on the one side, and general ignorance existing on the other. But at length all these causes of discord have been removed, by the increasing liberality of the age, the dictates of an enlarged philosophy, and the augmented information of the people. Now, then, is the time to impress this new character, already communicated to the age, upon its institutions, and build up the monarchy afresh upon the only basis which is likely to be durable—a conformity to the wishes, necessities, and interests of the people. All objections drawn from the perilous tendency of such sweeping changes were lost upon the heated generation which had now sprung up into social activity: the threatened danger was in their estimation a recommendation the more, an objection the less. They replied in the words of the turbulent democracy of Poland: “We prefer liberty and danger to slavery and tranquillity.”

129. The parliament of Paris was the first body to give the signal of resistance to these sweeping innovations. That powerful assembly had too long been in alliance with the leaders of the Tiers Etat, not to be well aware of the aspiring temper of that body; and was too well versed in constitutional law, not to be sensible how completely the

pretensions so strongly advanced by them were at variance with former usage. Gloomy presentiments, accordingly, seized several of its leading members, as to the ultimate tendency of the prodigious excitement which now agitated the public mind, and the proposal to invest popular vehemence at once with supreme power, by the duplication of the *Tiers Etat*, and the voting in a single chamber. Robert de Saint-Vincent, in particular, who had taken so decided a part against the king in former contests, knowing what a fabric of popular usurpation the *Tiers Etat* proposed to build upon the duplication of their numbers, and voting in a single chamber, was filled with the most dismal apprehensions. He was haunted by perpetual terrors of a vast social conflagration, of which posterity would accuse him of being the author. Impressed with these ideas, he strongly opposed the proposed measure; and after a violent debate, the parliament, by a considerable majority, resolved that the *States-General* should be assembled according to the forms observed when they last met in 1614. This was a very important decision, as it was held by the constitutional party that a registry by the parliament was essential to give legality to a royal ordinance; for, as matters now stood, it was registered only under this qualification.

130. Never did a public body experience so quickly the eternal truth, that the popularity of popular leaders is entirely dependent on their advancing with the movement, as the parliament of Paris did on this occasion. In an instant their influence was gone. Brienne, Lamoignon, themselves, were not the objects of greater obloquy. Such was the universal odium into which they fell, that they could not appear in the streets without being insulted. D'Espréménil had been prevented from attending at this debate by his detention in the *Isles d'Hières*; and being soon after liberated, he was received along the whole road with the most intoxicating marks of public admiration. But no sooner did he arrive in Paris, and learn from Adrian Duport, his

intimate friend, the designs of the popular party, than he at once gave in his adherence to the decision of the parliament. He was the supporter of constitutional right, not speculative change. This honourable act of moral courage, which proves the sincerity and force of his character, instantly raised against him a host of enemies; he was accused of treachery, weakness, corruption, because he did not choose, disregarding the laws he had sworn to observe, to adventure on the boundless sea of innovation. Already he began to feel in his own person the truth of the prophecy of d'Ormesson, that heaven would punish them for demanding the *States-General* by granting their supplication.

131. The Notables met soon after, and took into consideration the all-important subject of the form of convoking the *States-General*. They consisted of the same individuals who had been assembled two years before; and Necker secretly flattered himself that he would give a decisive proof of his influence and popularity by triumphing over the aristocratic body, which had proved so refractory to the proposals of Calonne. But the event soon showed that he was mistaken. The question was warmly debated before them, not only in oral discussion, but in a multitude of pamphlets, which, professing to go to the bottom of the question, lost sight entirely of usage or precedent, and launched into the boundless fields of speculation and ambition. Nothing was omitted which could tend to inflame the public mind. The grossest falsehoods, the most extravagant exaggerations, were passed off without contradiction on the people—the parliament was loaded with obloquy on account of its recent decision—Necker extolled to the skies—and to accustom the people to a contempt of things sacred, many parodies appeared on pieces of the church service, which had a prodigious circulation.* But though these arts had a vast effect upon the people, they were entirely lost upon

* The titles of some of these were "Litanies of the Third Estate; its Gospel; its Vespers; its Passions; its Death and Resurrection."—BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, *Hist. de la Révolution*, i. 138.

The following commencement of a cate-

the Notables. Of the six bureaux or divisions into which the assembly was divided, five reported that the convocation and voting should be according to the old form; the remaining one, headed by Monsieur Count of Provence, whose liberal principles were well known, supported the double representation. In that bureau, the vote was carried by the casting vote of Monsieur himself, so that but for him the decision of all the bureaux would have been the same.

132. The decided resistance of such important bodies as the parliament of

Paris and the Notables of France to the projects of doubling the Tiers Etat, and voting in a single chamber, might well have made Necker hesitate in the course which he was pursuing. The Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, and the other princes of the blood, except Monsieur, soon after presented a memorial of great ability to the king, in which the dangers of the proposed innovation are pointed out with surprising force and accuracy, and the consequences foretold precisely as they afterwards occurred.* But nothing could over-

chism regarding the parliament of Paris will show the temper of the times, and the obloquy into which that once popular body had fallen:—"Question. What are you by nature? Answer. We are officers of the king, commissioned to render justice to his people.—Q. What do you seek to become? A. The legislators, and consequently the masters of the State.—Q. How can you become the masters? A. Having the legislative and executive power, there will be nothing that can resist us.—Q. How have you conducted yourselves hitherto to the king? A. We have opposed all his wishes, persuading the people that we are their defenders, and that it is for the good of all that we refuse to register the imposts.—Q. Will the people not see that you have rejected the imposts only because you would have had to pay them yourselves? A. No; because we will divert their attention by saying that the nation alone can ratify the imposts, and we will demand the States-General.—Q. If unhappily for you, the king should take you at your word, and convocate the States-General, how will you get out of it? A. We will dispute about the form, and demand that of 1614.—Q. Why that form? A. Because, according to that form, the Third Estate will be represented by lawyers, which will give us the preponderance."—*Calichisme du Parlement*, 1788; *Hist. Parlement*, i. 254.

* "Sire! the State is in danger. Your person is respected; the virtues of the monarch insure the homage of the nation; but a revolution in the principles of government is preparing; it is clearly indicated by the ferment in men's minds. Institutions deemed sacred, and under which this monarchy has prospered for so many centuries, are changed into questions for discussion, or even denounced as wrongs.

"The writings which have appeared during the assembly of the Notables, the memorials which have been sent to the undersigned princes, the demands advanced by different provinces, towns, or corporations; the object and the style of these demands and memorials—all announce, all prove, an *organized system of insubordination*, and contempt for the laws. Every author erects himself into a legislator; eloquence, or the power of writing, even without study, knowledge, or experience, seem to be held sufficient titles for

adjusting the constitution of empires: whoever advances a bold proposition, whoever proposes changes in the laws, is sure to have readers and followers. Such is the unhappy progress of this effervescence, that opinions which a short time ago would have been looked upon as most reprehensible, are now regarded as reasonable and just; and what at present excites the indignation of respectable men may ere long be esteemed regular and lawful. Who can say where the rashness of these opinions will stop? Already the rights of the throne are in question: opinions are divided about the rights of the two orders in the state: soon the rights of property will be attacked: inequalities of fortune will be held up as a subject for reform: already the extinction of feudal rights has been proposed as the abolition of a system of oppression, a remnant of barbarism. It is from these new systems, it is from this project of changing rights and laws, that has sprung the pretension advanced by some bodies in the Third Estate to obtain for that order two votes in the States-General, while the two first orders should only retain one. The undersigned princes cannot conceal the alarm with which the success of these pretensions of the Third Estate would inspire them, and the fatal consequences of the proposed revolution in the constitution of the States-General; they see in it a mournful future. Several bodies have exposed the injustice and danger of an innovation in the composition and form of convoking the States-General; the mass of pretensions that would arise; the facility, if the votes were counted by head and without distinction of estates, of compromising by the reduction of a few members of the two first estates, the interests of these estates, and the destruction of the equilibrium so wisely established between the three estates, and even the eventual ruin of the Third Estate itself."—*Mémoire de M. le Comte d'Artois, le Prince de Condé, le Prince de Bourbon, et le Prince de Conti*, Dec. 1, 1788. *Histoire Parlementaire de France*, i. 256, 260. This memoir is history traced out with prophetic hand by anticipation; but it passed at the time among the whole philosophers, and, of course, in all the popular societies, as mere drivelling—the prejudices of a worn-out, ignorant, and corrupted aristocracy.

come the infatuation of the Swiss minister; and, unfortunately, Louis, judging of others by himself, and ever anxious to do what his people wished, went into his views. On the 27th December 1788 the fatal edict appeared—the death-warrant of the French monarchy—which declared that “the number of deputies in the States-General shall be at least a thousand; that this number shall be made up as nearly as possible in proportion to the population and taxes of each bailiwick; that the number of deputies of the *Tiers Etat* shall be equal to that of the two other orders put together; and that proportion shall be established in the letters of convocation.” Nothing was said as to the form of assembly or voting, whether by order or head.*

133. Nothing can be more instructive than to see the arguments by which Necker supported this great and decisive addition to the popular influence. He rested his opinion on the unanimity expressed on this point in all the petitions to the king from the towns and municipalities of the kingdom, on the general concurrence of the writers who had published their opinions, and on the recent decisions of the majority of the parliaments. “All hope,” said he, “of a successful issue would be lost, if it were made to depend on establishing harmony between three orders essentially at variance in their principles and interest. To put an end to the injustice of pecuniary privileges, and maintain a proper equilibrium between the *Tiers Etat* and the other orders, we must give it a double representation; without that, there would always be a majority of two to one against it: whereas, when all are compelled to look

to the common interest, they will only adopt the laws which impose the least burden upon the community, and will thus compel the *Tiers Etat* to accept the impost which at present they deem most onerous. We ascribe too much importance to this last order. The *Tiers Etat*, by their nature and their occupations, must ever be strangers to political passions. Their intelligence and goodness of disposition are a sufficient guarantee against all the apprehensions at present entertained of their excesses.”

134. The elections commenced soon after, and, as might have been expected with a conceding government and an inflamed people, almost all terminated in favour of the popular party. They were carelessly conducted by the constituted authorities. The crown made no attempt to influence the returns, the nobility little; the importance of attending to the qualifications of those who exercised the elective franchise was not understood; and, after a few days, every person decently dressed was allowed to vote without any questions being asked. Upwards of three millions of electors concurred in the formation of the Assembly, being more than triple the number which, with the same population, now forms the constituency of the united parliament of Great Britain. The parliaments had little influence in the choice of the deputies, the court none: the noblesse elected a few liberal persons of their rank, but the great bulk of their representatives were firmly attached to the interests of their order, and as hostile to the *Tiers Etat* as to the oligarchy of great families which composed the court. The inferior clergy named deputies attached to the cause of freedom, and the bishops those likely to uphold the hierarchy. Finally, the *Tiers Etat* chose a numerous body of representatives, firm in their attachment to liberty, and ardently desirous of extending the influence of their order.

135. Everything contributed at this period to swell the torrent of popular enthusiasm. The minds of men, strongly agitated by the idea of an approaching revolution, were in a continual

* The following table exhibits the progressive change in the number of the different orders at different periods of French history:—

	1560.	1576.	1588.	1614.
Clergy, . . .	98	104	134	144
Nobles, . . .	76	73	180	180
<i>Tiers Etat</i> , .	219	150	191	192

There was no fixed proportion, the royal edict summoning them having in each instance fixed the relative numbers. But the *Tiers Etat*, in general, sent about two-thirds, or somewhat more, of the other two orders taken together.—MONTGAILLARD, i. 435, 436.

ferment; the parliaments, nobles, and dignified clergy, who had headed the movement, already saw themselves assailed by the arms which they had given to the people. No words can convey an idea of the transports which seized the public mind at the prospect of the regeneration of society. The pamphlets swelled from hundreds to thousands; every hall in Paris was filled with popular meetings and debating clubs, where the most extravagant levelling doctrines were most loudly applauded; the journals daily added to the universal enthusiasm. No bounds, it was thought, could be set to the general felicity which was approaching, by the admission of the people into the practical direction of affairs. Even the elements contributed to swell the public effervescence, and seemed to have declared war on the falling monarchy. A dreadful storm of hail, in July 1788, laid waste the provinces, and produced such a diminution in the harvest as threatened all the horrors of famine; while the severity of the succeeding winter exceeded anything that had been experienced since that which followed the disasters of Louis XIV. The monetary crisis which had taken place in August 1788, in consequence of the edicts relative to the payments of the *rentes* two-fifths in paper, augmented to a very great degree the general distress. The charity of Fénelon, which immortalised the former disastrous epoch, was now equalled by the humane beneficence of the clergy of Paris; but all their efforts could not embrace the immense mass of indigence, which was swelled by the confluence of dissolute and abandoned characters from every part of France. These wretches assembled round the throne, like the sea-birds round the wreck, which are the harbingers of death to the sinking mariner, and already appeared in fearful numbers in the streets on occasion of the slightest tumult. They were all in a state of destitution, and for the most part owed their lives to the charity of the ecclesiastics, whom they afterwards massacred in cold blood in the prison of Carmes.

136. Disturbances of a very serious

kind soon after broke out in Brittany, already the seat of so vehement a fermentation, on occasion of the contests with the parliaments. But it strangely contrasted in principle and object with the previous convulsion. Already over all France, the parliaments, terrified at the work of their own hands, and anticipating their own speedy extinction in the superior majesty and power of the States-General, were desirous of pausing in their career, or even retracing their steps. But it was too late. They had sown the wind, and must reap the whirlwind. Divisions had broken out in Brittany between the noblesse and the Tiers Etat, immediately after their united victory over Brienne and the throne: the latter contended for the abolition of a hearth-tax from which the former enjoyed exemption, and the collection of which was often attended with vexation. The nobles of the province, seeing themselves thus assailed in their pecuniary interests, and alarmed at the general effervescence in favour of the Tiers Etat which was taking place over the whole kingdom, refused to concur in the appointment of deputies to the States-General—alleging as an excuse that they were prohibited, by the constitution of the province, from taking any part in an assembly where the two first orders were not secured a separate representation. They flattered themselves that, in this way, they would preserve their privileges, which were highly favourable to the noblesse, in a separate little state, or *pays d'état*, forgetting that the age of such minute subdivisions of the same country was past,—that the current ran strong in favour of uniform institutions,—and that if France was revolutionised, there was little chance that Brittany would be able to live through the storm.

137. Bloody discord soon succeeded this imprudent attempt of the Breton nobility to stop the current which they had so recently made such strenuous efforts to put in motion. The populace of Rennes, indignant at the attempt to arrest the movement by the very persons who had, a few months before, stimulated them to resist the royal

authority, armed themselves with sabres, pistols, and pikes, and commenced an indiscriminate attack on the noblesse when assembling to enter the hall of their provincial assemblies. The nobles on their side took up arms, and brought their retainers into the town. A fierce conflict ensued in the streets; great numbers were wounded—two of the noblesse, M. de Boishue and M. de St Rival, perished; and the exasperation on both sides soon became so excessive that there is no saying to what it would have led, if the Count de Thiers had not interposed, and restored, for the time at least, a seeming tranquillity. Meantime, at the first intelligence of these alarms, crowds of ardent patriots flocked to Rennes from Nantes, Angers, and the neighbouring towns, eager to avenge the cause of the Tiers Etat; the nobles summoned the peasantry from their estates to defend them from violence, who appeared in multitudes eager for the affray; and the governor, who was enjoined by Necker not to use military force, but trust to "the persuasion and ascendant of virtue," only succeeded in preventing an immediate civil war by adjourning the estates until the public effervescence had subsided.* Nor were matters less serious in Provence, where the approach of the elections increased to an extraordinary degree the general enthusiasm; although the efforts of the noblesse, who there had great influence over the people, prevented the breaking out of open hostilities. Notwithstanding all Mirabeau's influence, the nobles protested against the king's edict doubling

* To such a length did the general fervour proceed, that the women of Angers published an Arrêté, on 6th February 1789, in which they set forth—"We, the mothers, sisters, wives, and mistresses of the young citizens of Angers, in extraordinary assembly, declare that if the troubles begin again, and in the event of an expedition, all the orders of the citizens uniting for the common cause, we will join the nation, whose interests are ours. Strength not being our inheritance, we will adopt as our sphere of usefulness the care of the baggage, the provisions, the preparations for departure, and all those little cares, consolations, and service which will depend upon us."—"Arrêté des Mères, Sœurs, Epouses, et Amantes, des jeunes citoyens d'Angers, 6th February 1789;" *Histoire Parlementaire*, i. 292.

the Tiers Etat; and declared that they would not submit to sending deputies to the States-General, but would proceed in a body, according to the ancient privilege of their order in the states of Dauphiné. No prosecutions or punishments followed these disorders, either among the noblesse or the Tiers Etat; and Necker soon after published a general amnesty for all political offences in Brittany. This step increased the belief, already unhappily too general, that in political contests the government did not venture to punish even the most guilty; and that none ran any risk of ultimate responsibility but those who discharged their duty in repressing such disorders.

138. The elections in Paris, though they were of incomparably more importance, were attended with less disturbance, chiefly because the decided preponderance of the Tiers Etat rendered all attempts at a contest on the part of the nobles hopeless. By an ordinance issued by Necker on the 29th March 1789, the city was divided into sixty electoral districts, the inhabitants of which were to assemble in one day and choose their deputies, which were fixed at forty, of whom twenty were from the Tiers Etat, ten from the nobles, and ten from the clergy. Paris had the privilege, nowhere else enjoyed by the people of France, of choosing their deputies at once, without the intervention of delegates. So little was the importance of a qualification in the electors understood at that period, that a regulation, practically amounting to household suffrage, was set forth in the royal edict, and excited hardly any attention.† The court was most anxious that the old custom of the president of the Tiers Etat addressing the king

† "The inhabitants composing the Third Estate, born or naturalised Frenchmen, twenty-five years of age, and domiciled, will have the privilege of voting at the district assembly, according to the quarter in which they actually reside, by fulfilling the following conditions: To be admitted into the district assembly it will be necessary to prove the having an official situation, a degree in a faculty, a commission, or the freedom of a trade, or, in short, a discharge or notice for the poll-tax, amounting to not less than five shillings."—*Règlement du Roi*, 13th April 1789; *Histoire Parlementaire*, i. 307.

on his knees should be observed; but if this was done, it excited little interest whether or not the deputies were elected by universal suffrage. Great military preparations were made for preserving public tranquillity; but the elections passed off without disturbance. Twenty-five thousand electors, under this regulation, were admitted to the right of voting—a very great proportion in a city not at that period containing above seven hundred thousand souls. As might have been expected with such a suffrage, the whole twenty deputies of the *Tiers Etat* were chosen in the democratic interest; the questions which were ere long so fiercely contested in the National Assembly were all agitated, and excited a vehement interest, in the electoral chambers of Paris; and already might be seen the germs of that towering ambition in the *Tiers Etat* which ere long the limits of France and of Europe were unable to contain.

139. The most important part of the duty of the primary electors, next to that of choosing their representatives, was the drawing up of the *cahiers*, or statements of grievances and suggestions of remedies. They contained instructions to the deputies how to vote on all the principal questions which were expected to be brought forward, and therefore present an authentic record of what was generally desired by the people of France on the opening of the *States-General*. As might have been expected, the instructions to the representatives varied, generally speaking, according to the orders from which they emanated, though on some points there was a surprising unanimity. The instructions of the nobles, on the whole, were such as were calculated to uphold the interests of their order; those of the clergy, to establish religion on a better basis, and ameliorate the condition of the inferior orders of the parish priests. An infinity of local abuses were pointed out, and remedies suggested, many of which were of course inconsistent with each other. But the majority of the *cahiers* demanded, on the part of all the orders together, the removal of the chief abuses which had been experienced in the practical admini-

nistration of the country.* The fundamental points, on which they were nearly all unanimous, were—that the person of the king was to be sacred and inviolable; that the crown was to be hereditary in the male line, and the king the depository of the executive power; the agents of authority responsible; the royal sanction indispensable to the promulgating of laws; that the *States-General*, with the sovereign, should make laws; that the consent of the nation should be necessary to taxes and loans; that taxes should not be legally imposed but from one sitting of the *States-General* to another. Private property was to be sacred as well as individual liberty, and *lettres de cachet* were to be abolished. All the *cahiers* expressed their attachment to the monarchical form of government; many, in touching terms, their affectionate regard for the person of the sovereign. Their general spirit was—“Concert with the king good laws for the nation;” not a few contained an express injunction to do nothing without his concurrence and sanction. When the National Assembly usurped the government, and centred in themselves the whole powers, executive as well as legislative, of the state, that ambitious

* The majority of the *cahiers* of the three orders concurred in demanding:—

1. Equality in punishments.
2. The suppression of the sale of public offices.
3. The redemption of feudal and seigniorial rights.
4. The revision of the criminal code.
5. The establishment of tribunals to conciliate litigants.
6. The suppression of seigniorial criminal powers, of the right of *Franc-fief*, of custom-house duties in the interior, and of gabelles, aides, and corvées.
7. The fixing the expense of all the departments of the public service.
8. The extinction of the public debt.
9. Toleration of all religious sects, but the recognition of the religion of the greatest number as the dominant religion.
10. The amelioration of the condition of the curés.
11. The abolition of drawing for the militia.

—See *Redaction des Cahiers*, par CLERMONT TONNERRÉ, 27th July 1789. *Hist. Parl. de France*, ii. 170, 175.

body violated not less expressly the instructions of its constituents, than it committed treason alike against the royal authority and the cause of freedom.

140. But though moderation and wisdom generally characterised the instructions of the cahiers, the case was very different in the clubs and coffee-houses of the capital. Already was to be seen, in the vehemence with which their inmates were agitated, and the enthusiasm with which the most violent and revolutionary doctrines were received, the most unequivocal proof of the near approach of a national convulsion. Such was the unparalleled multitude of pamphlets which issued from the press, that, in the three last months of 1788 alone, they exceeded two thousand five hundred.* The general excitement increased when the result of the elections was known; for it was then ascertained that at least four-fifths of the deputies of the Tiers Etat were decided in their movement principles; that two-thirds of the clergy were of the same way of thinking; and that even among the nobles, a strong minority, with the Duke of Orleans and several of the oldest peers at its head, would support the union of the orders and the voting by head. Political regeneration was now, therefore, more than a visionary speculation. It had acquired a majority in the great ruling assembly: and it was obvious to all, that if the union of the orders and the voting by head could be established, the government would be overthrown, and society might be remodelled in all its parts, at the pleasure of the revolutionary leaders. To the attainment of these objects, accordingly, the whole efforts of the popular party were directed. Projects of radical change and an entire remodelling of society became universal; the sixty electoral halls of Paris became so many centres of political fervour, where, in anticipation of the States-General, all the great questions about to be canvassed in that assembly were nightly debated with inconceivable warmth, and that general agitation

was observable in the public mind which is the invariable precursor of political catastrophes. Yet, so little were the leaders of the movement aware of the tendency of this universal excitement, that, so far from anticipating the general overthrow of society from the convocation of the States-General, their only fear was that they would do nothing. "The States-General," said the Duke of Orleans, "will not effect the reform of a single abuse, not even of *lettres de cachet*."

141. An event, however, soon occurred in the capital, calculated, if anything could, to open the eyes of Necker to the perilous and ungovernable nature of the spirit he had evoked. In the Faubourg St Antoine, a celebrated manufacturer of furniture papers, named Reveillon, had long been at the head of a wealthy and prosperous establishment, which gave employment to three hundred persons. Indulgent and humane in the extreme to all in his employment, he was adored by his workmen, and respected by every person of worth within the sphere of his acquaintance. But these very qualities rendered him obnoxious to the Revolutionists, who were envious of worth which they could not imitate, and jealous of influence emanating from others than themselves. They gave out that he was an aristocrat, who was practising these arts in order to render the noblesse popular in the district where democratic influence had its principal stronghold, and that he had said his workmen could subsist on fifteen sous a day—a smaller sum than was adequate for the support of their children. So far were these calumnies from being true, that, having risen by his good conduct from being a common workman, he had, in consequence of his known benevolence of disposition, and interest in the welfare of the poor, been shortly before named one of the commissioners for drawing up the cahiers for the Tiers Etat of Paris. In the present excited state of the public mind, however, the leaders of the populace could make them believe anything. On the evening of the 27th April, while Reveillon was at the elections, a crowd, which soon swelled to six thousand persons, issued

* "One man bought 2500 in the last three months of 1788, and his collection was far from complete."—Droz, ii. 136.

from the Faubourg St Marceau, burnt him in effigy before his door, and declared they would return on the following night, and consume himself in good earnest, with all his establishment. They were as good as their word.

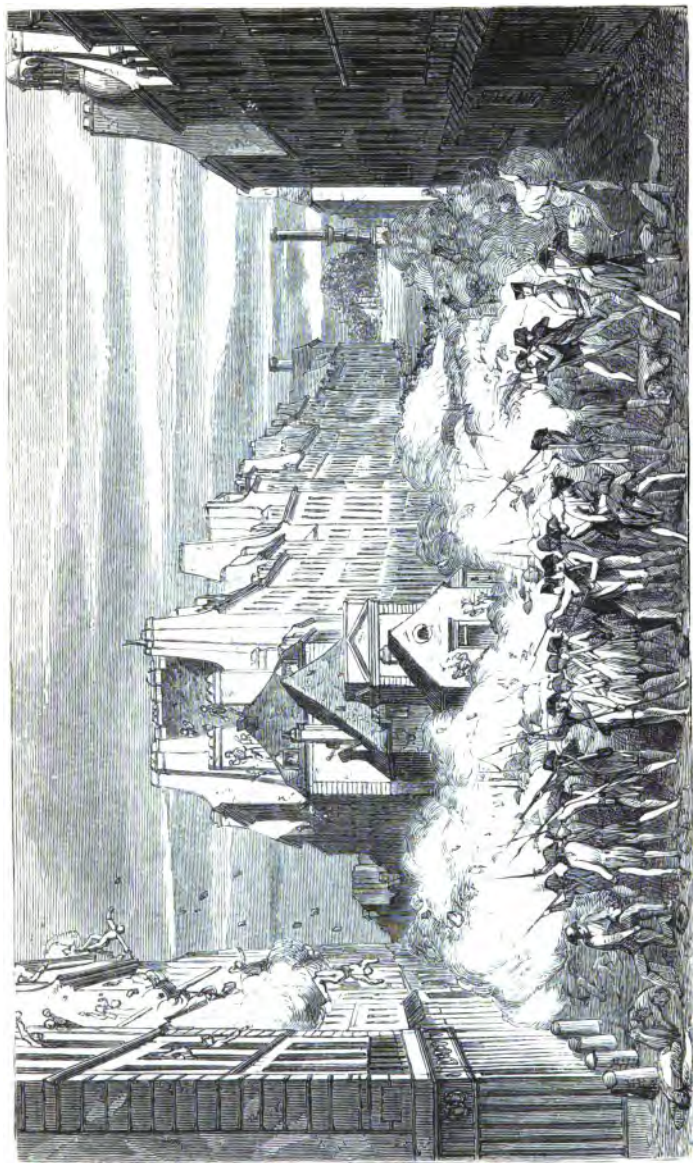
142. Early on the following morning a hideous crowd, armed with clubs, sabres, and old muskets, arrived in the Rue Montreuil, where Reveillon's manufactory was situated, and with loud shouts and direful imprecations commenced the work of destruction. A body of thirty police, who at his request had been stationed in the vicinity to preserve order, were unable to resist a mob which soon swelled to six thousand persons; a few courageous workmen, whom he had armed in his defence, were overpowered; and a furious mob, shouting "Vive le Duc d'Orléans!—Vive le successeur du Bon Henri!" burst open the doors, and instantly filled every apartment in the building. Reveillon himself narrowly escaped destruction from these bloodthirsty assassins; but his house and manufactory were utterly sacked, and soon after reduced to ashes. His cellars were broken open, and the wine drunk amidst loud cheers; the furniture and rich stock of papers all committed to the flames, and everything portable carried off or destroyed. Towards evening the troops arrived, consisting of three regiments, with two pieces of artillery, under the command of the Baron Besenval. He thrice ordered the mob to disperse and evacuate the premises; but, thinking the military would not fire, they treated the summons with derision. The guards then received orders to expel them by force; they made their way with fixed bayonets into the court-yard, and were received by a shower of stones and burning rafters from the ravaged edifice, which killed and wounded several soldiers. Regular volleys were then fired by the troops, and they at length drove the mob, who fought with desperation, out of the burned premises. A frightful scene presented itself: drunken brigands, half burned, were lying on all sides, many of them expiring in the most dreadful tortures from the sulphuric and other acids used in

the manufactory, which they had swallowed in their frenzy, taking them for spirits. At length, the disgraceful assemblage was dispersed; but not before two hundred of the insurgents had been killed, and three hundred wounded in the contest.

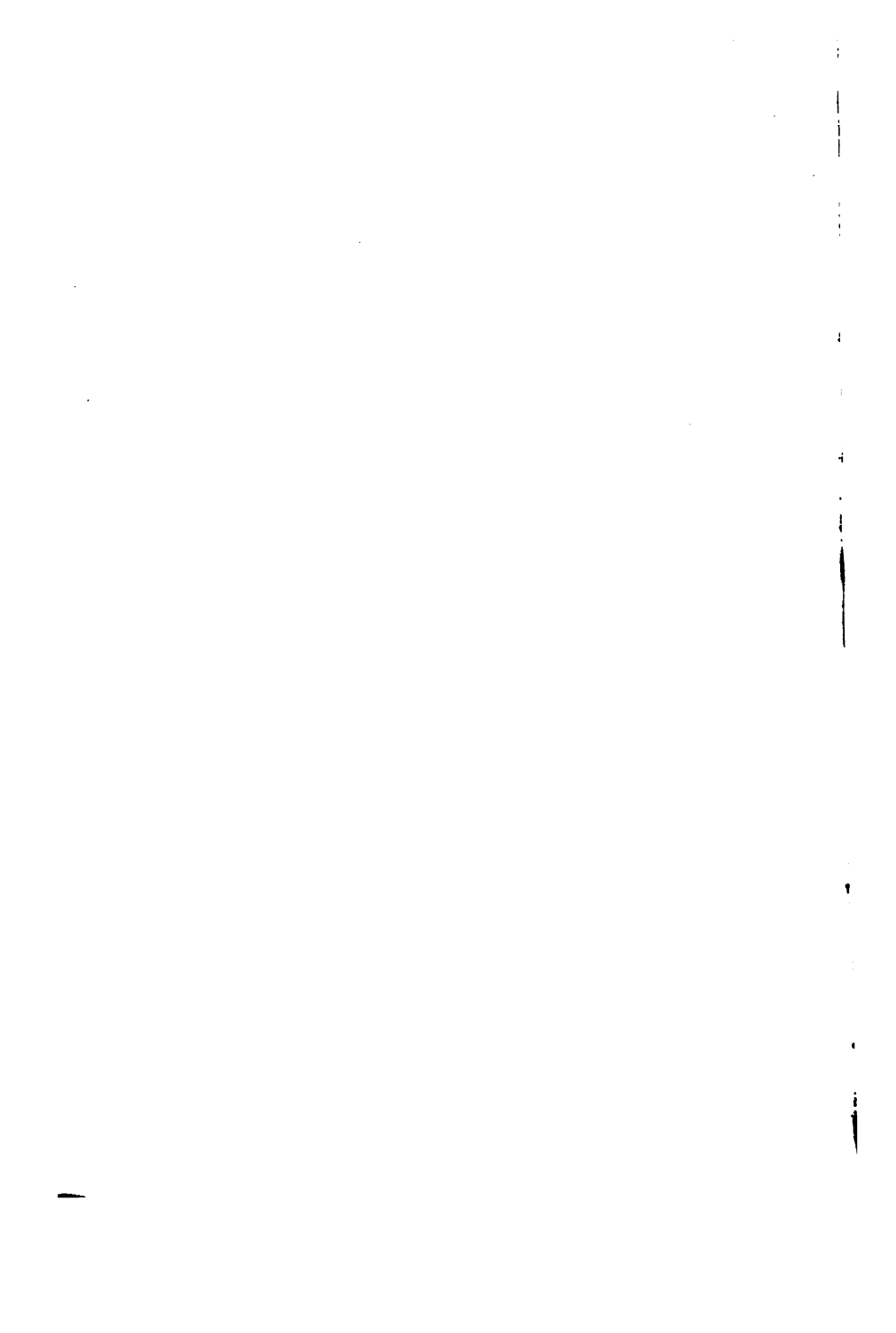
143. Baron Besenval was warmly applauded by all persons of worth and sense in Paris for this seasonable act of vigour, which, if duly followed up and imitated in subsequent times, would probably have arrested the whole horrors of the Revolution. But it was otherwise at the court; he was coldly received there; and no one even mentioned to him a circumstance, so evidently calculated, according to the manner in which it was received and acted upon, to determine the course of future events. No prosecutions took place; none of the guilty persons were arrested; no investigations, even, were instituted regarding it.* Necker's system of conciliation and concession, and the king's horror at the shedding of blood, made them on this occasion forget the first duty of government—that of protecting life and property. Meanwhile, the Orleans and movement party at Paris, as usual in such cases, unable to palliate the excesses of the insurgents, endeavoured to lay the blame of them on others. It was the court who had secretly provoked the tumult, in order to give them an excuse for introducing troops into the capital; it was English gold which had bought the riot, to stain the Revolution in its outset with blood, and for ever debar France from those blessings which Great Britain had long enjoyed. The character of the king and of Necker sufficiently demonstrate the absurdity of the first hypothesis; for the last, the French historians now confess there never has been discovered a vestige of evidence.†

* "Two of the rioters were hung by the provost-marshal in the act of plundering, several prisoners were made, and the parliament commenced an investigation. In a few days, however, they were all liberated, and the inquiry was stopped—some said in consequence of orders from the king; others, from discovery of the exalted personages whom the inquiry would implicate."—Droz, li. 171.

† "Great researches were made to discover whether the English government had taken any active part in our early troubles,



Destruction of Reveillon's Manufactory in the Faubourg St. Antoine.



Machiavelli's maxim, "If you would discover the author of a crime, consider who had an interest to commit it," enables us to solve the mystery. The States-General were on the eve of meeting: by vigorous measures the union of the orders might be effected: the whole members were already arrived in Paris: everything would depend on intimidating the court, and giving a striking example of popular power at that decisive crisis. The cries of the insurgents when they broke into Reveillon's premises, pointing to the Duke of Orleans as the successor of Henry IV.; the five-franc pieces found in the pockets of the dead rioters; the large sums spent by the mob in the neighbouring cabarets; the concert and vigour of their operations; the number of them who did not belong to Paris, and had come for that special purpose — evidently point to the source from whence this first great outrage of the Revolution proceeded.

144. Neither, however, the fervour which had become universal in the middle classes of society, nor the savage passions which had displayed themselves among the lower, could shake Necker in his determination to accede to the wishes of the Tiers Etat, and permit, at least to a certain extent, the union of the three orders in one chamber. A devout believer in human perfectibility, unbounded in his confidence in the wisdom and virtue of the middle class of society, he could not be brought to believe that any risk was to be apprehended from the intermingling of their representatives with those of the

nobles and clergy.* On the contrary, he saw the greatest possible danger, and a prolongation of the whole difficulties of government, in their exclusion. It was this opinion, the result of inexperience, and of the general reluctance of well-meaning but speculative men to believe in the wickedness of those with whom they have not been brought in contact, which even his warmest and ablest supporters admit was his fatal error at this decisive moment.† He had not moral courage enough to fix by a royal edict in what way the votes were to be taken in the States-General; and yet he had resolved in his own mind that the separation of the orders could not be maintained, and that the sooner and the more quietly the fusion took place the better. His great object was to get the privileged classes themselves to concede at once, and with a good grace, what could not ultimately be avoided; and in this way alone, he maintained, the dangers of the crisis could be averted. Thus, well knowing to what the general opinion was pointing, he left the matter, so far as authority went, unsettled—the most perilous course which could at such a moment by possibility have been adopted; for it stimulated revolt at the very time when it was most dangerous, and prepared for success the fatal belief, alike in its supporters and opponents, that popular power was irresistible.

145. It may appear strange how a monarch, possessing the good sense and penetration which distinguished Louis XVI., and who had had such ample

but no proof whatever of such interference was found. It was at a later period that it mixed itself up with our concerns."—Droz, *Histoire de Louis XVI.*, ii. 270.

"Finally, why should I disguise it? I attached myself with all my heart to the hopes of the nation, and I did not think them vain. Alas! can one reflect now upon the universal expectation of all good Frenchmen, of all friends of humanity, without shedding tears? Men said to themselves, At last the state treasury will no longer be at the mercy of a minister of finance; it will no longer be dependent upon his vices or personal combinations: an assembly of men elected by the nation will fix the public expenditure, adapting it with a firm hand to the extent of the revenue; *no slip will be possible*, and the

king himself will be saved from his own blunders and regrets."—NECKER, *Sur la Révolution*, i. 52.

† "Next to his religious duties, he cared most for public opinion: he sacrificed fortune, honours, all that ambitious men prize, to obtain the good opinion of the nation; and this voice of the people, not then inflamed, had for him something divine. The slightest speck upon his reputation was the greatest suffering that the things of this life could cause him. The earthly object of his actions, the worldly stimulus to his career, was the love of consideration. During 1788, M. Necker studied constantly the public mind, as the compass by which the decisions of the king ought to be guided."—DE STAEL, *Rev. Franc.*, i. 94, 172.

experience, in the preceding part of his reign, of the futility of all hopes of social regeneration founded on the expectation of disinterested virtue in mankind, should have been led away by these illusions—the more especially as he was so far from being blinded by the foolish Anglomania then generally prevalent, that he entertained a thorough, perhaps even an exaggerated, distrust of everything adopted from an English model. But the secret reason which inclined him to go into Necker's views of the fusion of the orders was this—and when once stated, its force becomes very apparent: His whole life had been one continued contest with his subjects; but it was with the higher classes alone that he had been brought into collision; and their selfish, obstinate resistance to any social amelioration, or just measures of any kind, had profoundly afflicted his benevolent heart. The necessities of the exchequer absolutely required a consent on the part of the nation to increased burdens; but he had found, by experience, that all attempts to get the privileged classes either to submit to taxation themselves, or to register new taxes, so as to render them a legal burden on others, were ineffectual. Finally, he had been personally hurt at the determined resistance of the Notables to his just proposal for an equalisation of the public burdens, and not less so at the impassioned resistance of all the parliaments of France, and the nobles of Brittany and Dauphiné, to his *cour plénière* and relative ameliorations.

146. He had thus, not unnaturally, come to entertain a belief, that still, as in feudal times, the real antagonist power which the crown had to contend with was that of the noblesse, who seemed now determined only on maintaining their own unjust privileges, to the entire stoppage of all measures likely to conduce to the public good; and that it was only by a union with the Tiers Etat that the king could either obtain the supplies requisite for carrying on the government, or be enabled to establish the ameliorations become essential in the public administration. To accomplish these objects, a union

of the orders and voting by head appeared to be indispensable; for every project for the public good would be thrown out by the selfish resistance of the privileged classes in their separate houses. Referring to the past, these views appeared to be entirely supported by French history—for it was by elevating the boroughs, and relying on the support of the commons, that Louis XI., and after him Cardinal Richelieu, had reared up a counterpoise to the power of the feudal nobility. And yet this opinion overturned the monarchy, in consequence of the fatal mistake which it involved—that of supposing that the principal thing to be done was the discovering means to overcome the resistance of the nobles, whereas the real point was to erect a barrier, by the combination of all the power and property in the kingdom, against the encroachments of the people. Another instance, among the numerous ones which history affords, of the important truth, that while experience is the only secure guidance for the statesman, it is experience in *parallel circumstances* that is alone to be relied on; and that, in the perpetual change of human affairs, the highest effort of political wisdom is to discern correctly when that similarity of circumstances has taken place.

147. The French Revolution, the greatest and most impassioned effort ever made by man for the attainment of public freedom, has failed in its object; and failed not only at the time, but for ever. This is now generally admitted, alike by its supporters and opponents; nor can it be denied by any with the slightest show of reason, when it is recollected that, half a century after, the Revolution broke out, and after its progress has been marked by unutterable calamities, the electors of France are under two hundred thousand; that they are confined to the class of proprietors, and the entire remainder of the nation is wholly unrepresented: that no *habeas corpus* act, or restraint upon prolonged imprisonment, has yet been established: that the odious fetters of the police system are unremoved: that the taxes are twice as heavy, the standing army twice as

large, the land-tax twice as burdensome, as they were before the Revolution: that Paris is permanently garrisoned by forty thousand regular soldiers, and restrained by a girdle of forts placed around its suburbs; and that the whole remainder of France is obliged to submit without a murmur to any government which the dominant capital chooses to impose. Rejecting, as contrary alike to reason and religion, and as decisively disproved by the examples of Rome in ancient, and Great Britain in modern times, the gloomy doctrine that such consequences are the unavoidable result of the struggles of a great nation for freedom, the question recurs—the all-important question—What has occasioned this failure? And it will be evident to every candid observer that the cause of it is to be found, not in any stern necessity, but in that common fountain of social and individual evil—the selfishness and guilt of the persons intrusted with its direction. And the important question here occurs—*Who did wrong in this stage of the Revolution?*

148. I. The whole nation, and, in an especial manner, the popular and democratic leaders, were in fault in forcing the king, alike against his own judgment and that of his queen and council, to engage in the American War. That aggression, alike unjust towards an allied and friendly power, and inexpedient as tending to render inextricable the already alarming embarrassments of the exchequer, contributed powerfully to bring on the Revolution. It at once doubled the strength of the democratic party, by combining national rivalry of England with a contest of an insurgent people against their government, and halved the power of resistance in the crown, by the vast addition which it made to the national debt, at a time when the selfish resistance of the parliaments to the registering of new taxes rendered it impossible to make any lasting provision for the payment even of its interest. National bankruptcy or a revolution were rendered unavoidable by forcing the king into such a contest, at a time when the

state of the finances and the temper of the public mind made it impossible to provide for its expenses.

149. II. The nobles and clergy did wrong in refusing to equalise the public imposts, and relinquish their exclusive privileges in the matter of taxation. This was not merely a flagrant piece of injustice towards their fellow-citizens, then burdened exclusively with the heaviest part of the direct taxes, but a manifest dereliction of duty—it may almost be said an act of treachery—towards their sovereign, in the predicament into which they had brought him. They had cordially concurred with the *Tiers Etat* in forcing him into the American War, which had so immensely increased the embarrassments of the treasury; they had for long drawn the chief benefit from those numerous civil and military offices which constituted so large a part of the public expenditure; and they had strenuously and successfully resisted the numerous efforts made by the king and his ministers to reduce this unnecessary part of the national charges. It was in an especial manner incumbent on them, therefore, to contribute their fair proportion to the national income, and relieve the king from the perplexity into which, by their efforts and for their benefit, he had been brought. Instead of this, they refused to depart from one iota of their exclusive privileges, and, without doing or suggesting anything whatever to save their sovereign or their country, contented themselves with opposing an inert passive resistance to every project calculated either to increase the public income, or remove the grievances that were complained of. Whoever has had practical acquaintance with the almost invincible repugnance of mankind generally, and of none more than the highest landed proprietors of every country, to direct taxation, even for the most useful and necessary purposes, if not absolutely called for by dangers which strike the senses, will have no difficulty in appreciating both the magnitude of the embarrassment which this resistance imposed on the sovereign, and the guilt of those who,

for their own selfish purposes, occasioned it.

150. III. The parliament of Paris, and the other parliaments of France, did wrong in refusing, in the manner which they did, to register the loans and taxes which the king sent to them for their sanction. That this power with which they were constitutionally invested, of refusing their consent to new taxes, was a most important one, and constituted the only barrier remaining against despotic power, is indeed certain. If, therefore, they had made use of it to compel the sovereign to abrogate pernicious privileges, or consent to salutary improvements, they would have been real patriots, and have deserved the eternal gratitude of mankind. But though, under the corruptions of the preceding reign, they had often done this, under the beneficent rule of the patriotic Louis the case was very different. They then showed no disposition to concur in the reforms of the sovereign; suggested little or nothing for social amelioration; sturdily resisted all such when introduced by the government; threw out all attempts to subject themselves to the common burdens of the state; but contented themselves with a determined resistance to the imposition of any new taxes, even though rendered necessary by the American War, for which they had so loudly clamoured, and though plainly indispensable to save the nation from national bankruptcy. The pretext for this conduct—viz., that they were entitled to have the public accounts submitted to them before they consented to new taxes—was a manifest usurpation. What right had they, who were not the representatives of any portion of the people, but simple magistrates, invested with judicial functions in virtue of offices which they had bought for money, to erect themselves into a states-general or privy council, entitled to examine and control the whole administration of government? Even if they had possessed such a power, was it expedient to assert it, to the effect of involving the king in inextricable pecuniary embarrassments, and convulsing the nation by the convocation of the States-General, at the very time when

the unparalleled excitement in the public mind rendered it evident that such a step was fraught with the utmost danger both to the stability of the monarchy and to the cause of freedom?

151. IV. Necker as clearly erred in the regulations which he laid down in the royal edict of 27th December, for the convocation of the States-General. The effect of these concessions has thus been described by the man in existence who gained most by the Revolution, Napoleon Buonaparte: "The concessions of Necker were the work of a man ignorant of the first principles of the government of mankind. It was he who overturned the monarchy, and brought Louis XVI. to the scaffold. Marat, Danton, Robespierre himself, did less mischief to France: he brought on the Revolution, which they consummated. Such reformers as M. Necker do incredible mischief. The thoughtful read their works; the populace are carried away by them—the public happiness is in every mouth—and soon after, the people find themselves without bread: they revolt, and society is overturned. Necker was the author of all the evils which desolated France during the Revolution; all the blood that was shed rests on his head." Making every allowance for the despotic feelings which so strongly characterised the French emperor, it is impossible to deny that there is much truth in these observations. Admitting that a struggle was inevitable, the question remains, Was it expedient to make so extraordinary an addition to the *powers* of the people at such a crisis—to double the number of the popular representatives on the eve of a conflict? The result proved that it was not. It was intended to conciliate—it had the effect of alienating: it was meant to attach the people to the throne—it made them combine for its overthrow: it was designed to produce oblivion of past injury—it induced ambition of future elevation.

152. Timely concession, it is frequently said, is the only way to prevent a revolution. The observation is just in one sense, but erroneous in another; and it is by attending to the distinction between the two great objects of popu-

lar ambition that the means can alone be attained of allaying public discontent, without unhinging the frame of society. There is, in the first place, the love of freedom—that is, of immunity from personal restriction, oppression, or injury. This principle is perfectly innocent, and never exists without producing the happiest effects. Every concession which is calculated to increase this species of liberty is comparatively safe in all ages, and in all places. But there is another principle, strong at all times, but especially to be dreaded in moments of excitement. This is the principle of democratic ambition—the desire on the part of the people of exercising the powers of sovereignty, of usurping the government of the state. This is the dangerous principle—the desire, not of exercising industry without molestation, but of exerting power without control. The first principle will only produce disturbances when real evils are felt; and with the removal of actual grievance, tranquillity may be anticipated. The second frequently produces convulsions, independent of any real cause of complaint: or, if it has been excited by such, it continues after they have been removed. The first never spreads by mere contagion; the second is frequently most virulent when the disease has been contracted in this manner.

153. It was not the mere duplication of the *Tiers Etat* which was attended with these disastrous effects. That measure, if proper care had been taken to confine the right of voting for the delegates to persons possessed of an adequate property qualification, and the right of sitting in the *States-General* to men of respectability, and if the separation of the orders had been preserved, would have been attended with little peril. It was the combination of no property qualification in electors, delegates, or representatives, with that duplication, and the leaving the question of voting by orders or head at the same time unsettled, which was the fatal error. At the very moment when three millions of electors—a number above triple that of those who now hold the franchise among a

larger number of inhabitants in the British empire*—were suddenly, and for the first time, admitted to a right of choosing representatives, for the avowed purpose of reconstructing and regenerating the monarchy, the number of these representatives in the *States-General* was doubled, and no restraint whatever was imposed by government on the prevailing and all-absorbing passion for a union of the orders. What was to be expected from such a step but the total overthrow of society? How long would Great Britain, with its sober temperament, practical habits, and centuries of freedom, withstand a similar strain? Not three months. What then was to be expected from the ardent passions, excited feelings, and unbounded enthusiasm of the people of France, roused to the highest pitch by the visions of political regeneration, and then admitted for the first time to the exercise of the highest and most perilous political power?

154. In moments of political agitation, it should be the object of the statesman to remove all real causes of complaint, but firmly to resist all rapid encroachments of popular ambition. All restrictions upon personal liberty, industry, or property, all oppressive taxes, all odious personal distinctions—should be abandoned; all prosecutions calculated to inflame the passions, and convert a demagogue into a martyr, should be avoided. If punishment is required, the mildest which the case will admit should be chosen; in selecting the species of prosecution, the least vindictive should be preferred. The inflicting of death should, above all things, be shunned, unless for crimes which public feeling has stigmatised as worthy of that penalty. But having conceded thus much to the principles of justice and the growth of freedom, all attempts at a sudden increase of

* At this time, under the combination of the Reform and original constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, there are 830,000 electors among a population of 27,000,000, or 1 in 80 nearly. In France, on occasion of the election of the *States-General*, 3,000,000 electors voted out of 25,000,000 persons, or somewhat above 1 in 8.

the power of the people should be steadily opposed, and nothing conceded which tends to awaken democratic passion. In so far as Necker laboured to relieve the real evils of France—in so far as he sought to re-establish the finances, curb the powers of the nobles, emancipate the industry of the peasants, purify the administration of justice, his labours were wise and beneficial; and he did all that man can do to terminate the oppression, and avert the disasters, of his country. In so far as he yielded to public clamour, or the fatal thirst for popular applause, and conceded unnecessarily to the ambition of the people—in so far as he departed with undue rapidity from ancient institutions, to acquire temporary popularity, he deserves the censure of posterity, and is answerable for all the disasters which ensued.

155. The talent of using political power so as not to abuse it, is one of the last acquisitions of mankind, and can be gained only by many ages of protected industry and experienced freedom. It can seldom with safety be extended to any considerable body of the people, and this least of all in a nation just emerging from the fetters of servitude. Unless the growth of political influence in the lower orders has been as gradual as the changes of time, or the insensible extension of day in spring, it will infallibly destroy the personal freedom which constitutes its principal object. A certain intermixture of the democratic spirit is often indispensable to the extrication of individual liberty, just as a certain degree of warmth is requisite to vivify and cherish animal life; but, unless the fire is restrained within narrow limits, it will consume those who are exposed to its fierceness, not less in political than in physical life.

156. The love of real freedom may always be distinguished from the passion for popular power. The first is directed to objects of practical importance, and the redress of experienced wrongs; the second aims at visionary improvement and the increase of democratic influence. The one complains of what has been felt, the other anticipates

what may be gained. Disturbances arising from the first subside, when the evils from which they spring are removed; troubles originating in the second magnify with every victory which is achieved. The experience of evil is the cause of agitation from the first; the love of power the source of convulsions from the last. Reform and concessions are the remedies appropriate to the former; steadiness and resistance the means of extinguishing the flame arising from the latter. The passion of love is not more dependent on the smiles of beauty, than democratic passion on the hope of successive augmentations of power. It is the intention of nature that the power of the people should increase as society advances; but it is not her intention that this increase should take place in such a way as to convulse the state, and ultimately extinguish their own freedom. All improvements that are really beneficial, all changes which are destined to be lasting, are gradual in their progress. It is by suddenly increasing the power of the lower orders that the frame of society is endangered, because the immediate effect of such a change is to unsettle men's minds, and bring into full play the most visionary and extravagant ideas of the most desperate and ambitious men. Such an effect was produced in France by the duplication of the *Tiers Etat* and the union of the orders in 1788; and similar consequences will, in all ages, be found to attend the concession of great political powers, at a period of more than ordinary political excitation.

157. "No revolution," says Madame de Staël, "can succeed in a great country, unless it is commenced by the aristocratic class; the people afterwards get possession of it, but they cannot strike the first blow. When I recollect that it was the parliaments, the nobles, and the clergy, who first strove to limit the royal authority, I am far from intending to insinuate that their design in so doing was culpable. A sincere enthusiasm then animated all ranks of Frenchmen; public spirit had spread universally; and among the higher classes, the most enlightened and gen-

erous were those who ardently desired that public opinion should have its due sway in the direction of affairs. But can the privileged ranks, who commenced the Revolution, accuse those who only carried it on? Some will say, we wished only that the changes should proceed a certain length; others, that they should go a step farther; but who can regulate the impulse of a great people, when once put in motion? A heavy responsibility attaches to those of the higher ranks who, during periods of agitation, support the demands of the populace for a sudden increase of power, instead of directing their desires to what may really benefit them, the redress of experienced evils. On

their heads rest all the disasters and bloodshed which necessarily follow in their train. It is difficult to say which are most worthy of reprobation—the haughty aristocrats, who resist every attempt at practical improvement when it can be done with safety, or the factious demagogues, who urge on additions to popular power when it threatens society with convulsions. The true patriot is the reverse of both: he will, in every situation, attach himself to the party which resists the evils that threaten his country; in periods when liberty is endangered he will side with the popular, in moments of agitation will support the monarchical party.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE MEETING OF THE STATES-GENERAL TO THE TAKING OF THE
BASTILLE. MAY 5—JULY 15, 1789.

1. It is a common, but a very fatal mistake, to suppose that ignorance is the greatest evil which can afflict a nation. The want of knowledge is not so much to be feared as its perversion; for the one leaves men powerless animals, the other makes them powerful demons. "The higher branches of science," says Plato, "are not useful to all, but only to a few; general ignorance is neither the greatest evil, nor the most to be feared; a mass of ill-digested information is much more dangerous." "A little knowledge," says Bacon, "makes men irreligious; but profound thought brings them back to devotion." In the truths unfolded by these great men, are to be found the remote sources of the miseries of the French Revolution. Science had never attained a more commanding height than in France at the close of the eighteenth century; astronomy, by the aid of mathematical calculations, had, first of all the exact sciences, been brought almost to per-

fection; the profound researches of her geometers had rivalled all but Newton's glory; while the talents of her chemists, and the genius of her naturalists, had explored the hidden processes of Nature, and ere long made the remains of animated life unfold the pristine order of creation. What, then, was wanting to fit her people for rational liberty, and qualify them for the exercise of the rights of freemen? A sense of religion, the habits of sober thought, and moderation of general opinion: and the want of these rendered all the other advantages of no avail.

2. History affords no example of an era in which innovation was so hastily hurried on, and ambition so blindly worshipped; when the experience of ages was so haughtily rejected, and the fancies of the moment so rashly adopted; in which the rights of property were so scandalously violated, and the blood of the innocent so profusely shed. If we trace these frightful disorders to their

source, we shall find them all springing from the pride of a little knowledge: from historical analogies being imperfectly understood, examples of antiquity rashly misapplied, dreams of perfection crudely conceived, speculations of the moment instantly acted upon. The danger of proceeding on such false conclusions had been repeatedly exposed; the annals of Tacitus, the discourses of Machiavel, the essays of Bacon, had long before illustrated it; but these and all the other lessons of experience were passed over with disdain, and every village politician who had dreamed of politics for a few months, deemed himself superior to the greatest men whom the world had ever produced. The great risk of setting the ideas of men afloat upon political subjects consists in the multitude who can think, compared to the few who can think correctly; in the rapidity with which the most stable institutions can be overturned, compared with the slow rate at which they can be restored. Every man can speak of politics; there is not one in ten who can understand them: every man flatters himself he knows something of history; to be qualified to reason justly upon it requires the incessant study of half a lifetime. But, unfortunately, the knowledge of the difficulty of the subject, and of the extensive information which it requires, is one of the last acquisitions of the human mind: none are so rash as those who are worst qualified to govern; none are so really worthy of the lead as those who are least desirous of assuming it.

3. The 5th of May, 1789, was the day fixed for the opening of the States-General; with that day the French Revolution actually began.

On the evening before, a religious ceremony preceded the installation of the Estates. The king, his family, his ministers, and the deputies of the three orders, walked in procession from the church of Notre Dame to that of St Louis, to hear mass. The appearance of the assembled bodies, and the reflection that a national solemnity, so long fallen into disuse, was about to be revived, excited the most lively enthu-

siasm in the multitude. The weather was fine; the benevolent and dignified air of the monarch, the graceful manners of the queen, the pomp and splendour of the ceremony, and the undefined hopes which it excited, exalted the spirits of all who witnessed it. But the reflecting observed with pain, that the sullen lines of feudal etiquette were preserved with rigid formality, and they augured ill of the national representation which commenced its labours amid such distinctions. First marched the clergy in grand costume, with violet robes; next the noblesse, in black dresses, with gold vests, lace cravats, and hats adorned with white plumes; last, the Tiers Etat, arrayed in black, with short cloaks, muslin cravats, and hats without feathers. But the friends of the people consoled themselves with the observation, that, however humble their attire, the numbers of this class greatly preponderated over those of the other orders. It was observed that the Duke of Orleans, who walked last, as of highest rank among the nobles, lingered behind, and was surrounded by the dense masses of the Tiers Etat, who immediately followed. Hardly any of the deputies had hitherto acquired great popular reputation. One alone attracted general attention. Born of noble parents, he had warmly espoused the popular side, without losing the pride of aristocratic connection. His talents universally known, his licentiousness too notorious, his integrity generally suspected, rendered him the object of painful anxiety. Harsh and disagreeable features, a profusion of black hair, an expressive and daring countenance, a commanding air, attracted the curiosity even of those who were unacquainted with his reputation. Many admired, some feared, none despised him. His name was MIRABEAU, future leader of the Assembly.

4. Two ladies of rank, from a gallery, with very different feelings, beheld the spectacle. The one was Madame de Montmorin, wife of the minister of foreign affairs; the other the illustrious daughter of M. Necker, Madame de Stael. The latter exulted in the boundless felicity which seemed to be opening

under the auspices of her father. "You are wrong to rejoice," said Madame de Montmorin; "this event forebodes much misery to France and to ourselves." Her presentiment turned out too well founded: she herself perished on the scaffold with one of her sons; another was drowned; her husband was massacred in the prisons on September 2d; her eldest daughter was cut off in jail; her youngest died of a broken heart before she had attained the age of thirty years. It soon appeared what was the temper of the Assembly, and how much reason there was for Madame de Montmorin's gloomy forebodings. The Bishop of Nancy preached on the occasion, in the Church of St Louis, and he began with the words, as in ancient days, "Receive, O God! the homage of the clergy, the respects of the noblesse, and the humble supplications of the Tiers Etat." Upon this, loud murmurs were heard on all sides. But when, in the course of his sermon, he made an ill-timed allusion to the goodness of the monarch, and the rapacity of the tax-gatherers, tumultuous applause burst forth from all quarters, and the sounds of worldly exultation for the first time resounded through these sacred aisles.

5. On the following day the Assembly was opened with extraordinary pomp. Galleries, disposed in the form of an amphitheatre, were filled with a brilliant assembly of spectators, among whom all the rank, talent, and beauty of Paris was to be found. The deputies were introduced and arranged according to the order established in the last convocation in 1614. The clergy sat on the right, the nobles on the left, the commons in front of the throne. Loud applause followed the entry of the popular leaders, especially those who were known to have contributed by their efforts to the convocation of the states. The Duke of Orleans was twice loudly cheered; first on his first appearance, next when he made a *curé* of the deputation of Crepi in Valois, to which he belonged, pass before him. The deputies of Dauphiné were received with tumultuous applause. Similar approbation was beginning for those of Provence, but it was checked to mark the

personal application of the applause to Mirabeau, who was one of them. M. Necker, in particular, was distinguished by the reception which he experienced. After the ministers and deputies had taken their places, the king appeared, followed by the queen, in simple attire but radiant with beauty, the princes, and a brilliant suite. The monarch placed himself upon his throne, amidst the loudest applause. He looked happy, and he was so; for he was received by his subjects with sincere affection. The three orders at the same instant rose and covered themselves. The days were past when the Third Estate remained uncovered, and spoke only on their knees; that first spontaneous movement was ominous as to the subsequent conduct of that aspiring body. The king, on taking his seat, perceived that the Duke of Orleans was sitting amongst the Tiers Etat, and immediately made a sign to him to take his place among the princes of the blood. The duke replied, "My birth gives me always a right to be near the throne; but on this occasion I prefer taking my place among the Tiers Etat of my bailiage." It was not difficult to see who aspired to be their head.

6. The meeting of the States-General had been appointed to take place in Versailles, and the king had been at great pains to provide a place of meeting suitable to the august assembly. The hall selected was a very large one in that town, capable of holding two thousand persons, besides the galleries. It was a spacious, handsome room, a hundred and twenty feet long, by fifty-seven feet broad within the columns, which were fluted of the Ionic order; the entablature being rich, and the roof pierced in the centre by a large oval skylight—and this, with two other windows in the sides, by which the light was admitted through azure gauze, threw a pleasing tint over every part of the interior. At one extremity of the room was an elevated dais, magnificently ornamented, and covered with violet-coloured velvet, embroidered with lilies. At the upper end of it, under a superb canopy, adorned by deep gold fringe, was placed the throne. On the left of the throne a

large chair was set apart for the queen, and lesser ones for the princesses: on the right stood richly ornamented seats for the princes: the ministers were seated in front of the throne, round a large table covered with blue liliated velvet. Behind the table on the right were seats for the fifteen councillors of state, and twenty *maitres des requêtes*; on the left the like number, for the governors and lieutenants-general of provinces. On either side of the hall were arranged the benches for the deputies, all adorned with rich covers: on the right those for the clergy, on the left for the noblesse; in front of the throne, at the opposite end, those for the Tiers Etat. Spacious galleries, capable of holding above two thousand persons, as if inviting the attendance of the public, were arranged behind the seats of the deputies. It would seem as if, in the very disposition of the seats, it had been intended to point to the intended union of the orders, and the fatal influence of the galleries on their deliberations. Louis had anxiously superintended the arrangements, and frequently visited the hall to observe the progress of the operations. By such hands, and with such magnificence, was the theatre prepared on which was to be enacted the overthrow of the French monarchy.

7. "Gentlemen," said the monarch, with emotion, "the day which my heart so long desired is at length arrived; I find myself surrounded by the representatives of the nation, which it is my first glory to command. A long period has elapsed since the last convocation of the States-General; and although the meeting of these assemblies was thought to have fallen into desuetude, I have not hesitated to re-establish a usage from which the kingdom may derive new force, and which may open to its inhabitants hitherto unknown sources of prosperity. The debt of the state, already large at my accession to the throne, has increased during my reign: an expensive, though glorious war, has been the cause of this; and the augmentation of taxes, which it compelled, has rendered more perceptible their unequal imposition. A general disquietude, an exaggerated desire of innovation, have

taken possession of all minds, and might have led to a total unhinging of opinions, if haste were not made to fix them by a union of those capable of giving the most enlightened and moderate advice. It is in this confidence, gentlemen, that I have called you together; and I understand with pleasure that it has already been justified by the disposition which the two first orders have evinced to renounce their privileges.* The hope which I had formed to see all the orders, united in opinion, concur with me in measures for the general good, will not be disappointed.

8. "I have ordered considerable retrenchments in the expenses; I shall receive with eagerness the suggestions which you make to me in that particular; but in spite of all the resources which the most rigid economy may afford, I fear it will be impossible to relieve my subjects as rapidly as I could desire. I shall direct the exact situation of the finances to be laid before you; and, when you have examined them, I feel assured that you will propose to me the most efficacious means to restore their order, and support the public credit. The minds of men are in a state of agitation; but an assembly of the representatives of the nation will listen, without doubt, to nothing but the counsels of wisdom and prudence. You must doubtless have observed, gentlemen, that these counsels have not been always followed on recent occasions; but the ruling spirit of your deliberations will respond to the real wishes of a generous nation, which has always been distinguished by its love for the sovereign. I know the authority and power of a just king, surrounded by a faithful people, attached from the earliest times to the principles of the monarchy: they have given rise to the power and glory of France: I am bound to support them, and I will do so constantly. All that can be expected from the most tender interest in the public good, all that can be asked from a sovereign, the first friend of his people, you may rely on finding in me. May una-

* This statement was founded on their cahiers, which were known, and almost unanimously recommended such a step.

nimity, gentlemen, prevail among you, and this epoch be for ever memorable in the annals of French prosperity! That is the first prayer of my heart, the most ardent of my wishes, the reward which I expect from the rectitude of my intentions, and my love for my people!"

9. These generous sentiments excited, as well they might, universal applause; and the king and queen, for a few seconds, surrendered themselves to the delicious belief of a blessed regeneration of society springing from the virtue and gratitude of its members. The queen had stood, like the rest of the assembly, during the royal speech. The grace and modesty of her demeanour, joined to the beauty of a countenance on which a passing smile shone through the settled expression of melancholy which it had already assumed, added to the general enchantment. But hardly had they sat down when they received a proof that, even in that moment of general enthusiasm, the ambition and passions of the world possessed the hearts of the assembly. The sovereign, on resuming his seat, put on his hat; the nobles, jealous of the privilege they had been wont to assert in former States-General, had the imprudence to do the same. Some members of the Tiers Etat, resolved to assert an equal pretension for their order, immediately covered themselves: the cries, "On with your hats," "Uncover," "Off hats," were heard on all sides; and the meeting was about to be seriously disturbed by an incident which, how trifling soever itself, was important, as revealing the secret divisions of the members, when the king, with admirable presence of mind, feigning to be incommoded by the heat, took off his hat, and the whole assembly, having no longer a pretence for discord, followed his example, and tranquillity was restored.

10. The Keeper of the Seals followed

with a studied harangue, which told little. It contained only one sentence of importance, which related to the double representation and voting by head;* but that rather favoured the union of the orders. M. Necker was now anxiously looked for, and a breathless suspense pervaded the assembly when he began his speech. But never was disappointment more universal than was felt as it proceeded. It contained nothing which threw a light on the views of the court in regard to the all-important question of the mode of voting; and, instead, abounded with tedious details on taxes and retrenchments, which had ceased to excite any interest in the public mind.† In truth, notwithstanding his abilities, the Swiss minister entirely mistook the signs of the times. Pressed by the needy state of the public treasury, his attention was exclusively fixed on the means of replenishing it. He persisted in considering the crisis as financial, when in reality it had become social; as arising from embarrassments of government, when these, all-important in a former stage, had yielded to a more absorbing passion; and when the crisis was now forced on by the growing importance and ambition of the people. He spoke to them of accounts when they wanted to hear of principles, and dwelt on the means of extinguishing the deficit when their attention was directed to filling up the blanks in the constitution. Thus his speech pleased few, and disappointed many. He hoped to accommodate his measures to the public exigencies, without compromising or breaking with any party. He was aware that the ancient system of government could not be maintained, but he trusted that the divisions in the political parties would enable him to repair the machine without destroying it. By this he lost the confidence of all. Conciliatory measures are admirable, when they are

* "In yielding to this demand (the double representation) his majesty has not changed the system of the ancient deliberations; and although the plan of voting by head, by producing only one division, might seem to possess the advantage of making the general wish better known, the king has decided that this new form should not come into

operation without the free consent of the States-General, and with the approbation of his majesty."—*Histoire Parlementaire*, i. 838.

† Such as the following:—"Tobacco is now sold ground almost all over France; this plan has greatly increased the tobacco-duty."—*Moniteur*, 5th to 10th May 1789.

founded on reforms which remove a practical evil; they are ruinous when they proceed on a balance of mutual jealousies, or a blind concession to popular menaces. Then they disappoint all, without attaching any.*

11. No debate followed these official speeches, but the assembly broke up in an orderly manner at half-past four o'clock. Next day, however, the great contest upon which the eyes of all France were fixed began in its bosom. The three orders met, as on the preceding day, in one room, but afterwards repaired to the halls appointed for their separate meetings. That of Menus, in which they had met on the preceding day, being by much the largest, was set apart for the Tiers Etat, whose numbers equalled that of the two others taken together. This circumstance, in appearance trivial, was attended with important effects; for being styled the "*Salle des Etats-Généraux*," and the theatre of their first and common assemblage, it gave that aspiring body a colourable pretext to consider and represent themselves as in effect the national representatives. Having taken their places there, the skilful leaders of the commons affected to feel surprised that they were not joined by the other two orders, with a view to proceed jointly to the verification of their powers, and

* In Necker's financial statement, which was laid before the States-General, he represented the

	Francs.	£
Fixed expenses, . . .	531,000,000	or 21,240,000
Fixed revenue, . . .	473,294,000	- 18,931,000

Deficit, . . . 57,706,000 - 2,309,000

This, however, was the fixed expenses, as Necker called them; and when the floating debt was added, the deficit was 113,000,000 francs, or 24,520,000 more. This was clearly demonstrated by Calonne in his work on the state of France, and indeed it is inconceivable that a deficit which Brienne, only the year before, had admitted was 165,000,000 francs, should, without the imposition of a single new tax, have fallen to 57,000,000. In the "*Etat de la Dette Publique*," published by the Constituent Assembly in 1790, the real deficit was stated to be at that time 189,000,000 francs, or 27,560,000.—See *Histoire Parlementaire de France*, l. 375, 378. Calonne, in 1790, stated the real deficit, on grounds apparently very satisfactory, at 255,724,000 francs, or £10,228,000 yearly.—CALONNE, *L'Etat de la France présente et à venir*, 36, 37; and *Etat de la Dette Publique*, 47.

meanwhile did nothing. While this was going on in the *Salle de Menus*, the other two orders were proceeding rapidly with the separate verification of their powers; the clergy having resolved on that step by a majority of 133 to 114, and the nobles by one of 188 to 47. No sooner were these votes announced to the Tiers Etat than they broke up their meeting, without having taken any step to constitute themselves a separate body.

12. On the following day, so quickly did the germs of the Revolution develop themselves at this crisis, an event occurred hardly less important on its ultimate fortune, than the contest of the orders, now openly commenced. Mirabeau had begun a journal on the debates of the Assembly, entitled—"*Journal des Etats-Généraux*;" and government, conceiving such a publication from such a hand dangerous at this moment, had ordered its suppression. Upon this the electors of Paris, who were still engaged, as they were in many other parts of France, with the drawing up of their cahiers, met at the Hotel de Ville, passed unanimously and published an *arrêté*, or resolution, protesting against this act of authority, which they directed to be sent to the chambers of the clergy and the nobles, accompanied by an earnest invitation to them to unite themselves to the Tiers Etat, procure the revocation of the *arrêté* of the royal council complained of, and obtain for the National Assembly the immediate liberty of the press.† Such was the commencement of the direct interference of the electors of Paris in the affairs of government, which subsequently, when applied through the organ of the municipality which they had elected, became

† The assembly of the Third Estate of the city of Paris object unanimously to the Act of Council suppressing the *Journal des Etats-Généraux*, and forbid the carrying out of that act which pronounces penalties upon the printer, without meaning thereby to approve of or to blame the Journal: it objects because this Act of Council attacks the public liberty, at the moment when it is most precious to the nation—that it violates the liberty of the press demanded by all France—in short, that this act recalls, at the first moment of national liberty, a policy and regula-

of such paramount importance, and produced at once the most daring acts and detestable crimes of the Revolution.

13. On the 7th May the three orders again met in their respective chambers, the Tiers Etat still occupying the central Hall of Menus, and waiting, or pretending to wait, for the expected junction of the other orders. The contest was now openly commenced: the deputies of the commons alleged, that they could not verify their powers till they were joined by the whole Estates; while the clergy and nobles had already verified theirs in their separate chambers, and were ready to begin business. For several weeks they daily met in the great hall, and vainly waited for the accession of the other orders. They attempted nothing, but simply trusted to the force of inactivity to compel the submission of their opponents. It was soon evident that this state of things could not long continue. The refusal of the commons to constitute themselves occasioned a complete stoppage to every sort of business, while the urgent state of the finances, and the rapidly increasing anarchy of the kingdom, loudly called for immediate activity. Meanwhile the firmness of the Third Estate occasioned the utmost agitation in Paris, and crowds of all classes daily came to Versailles, to encourage the members in their courageous resistance to the measures of the court.

14. In this contest the advantage evidently lay on the side of the commons. The state of the finances rendered it absolutely necessary that the States-General should commence their labours: their dissolution, therefore, was not to

tions which had been suspended by the wisdom and goodness of the king; and in consequence, the assembly of the Third Estate has unanimously resolved that this decree be presented to the Chambers of the clergy and the nobles, and that they be invited to *write themselves to the Third Estate*, to procure from the *National Assembly* the provisional liberty of the press."—*Histoire Parlementaire de la France*, l. 383. With such fair requests and so reasonable a representation did the infernal atrocities of the electors and municipality of Paris commence. Mirabeau's journal was continued under the name of "*Courrier de Provence*."

be apprehended. On the other hand, by simply remaining in a state of inactivity, they did nothing which could apparently justify harsh measures, and there was every reason to believe that they would ultimately weary out their antagonists. They had gained the immense advantage in social contests—that of being in a position where, by simply resting and remaining passive, they achieved their object, and forced the initiative upon their opponents. Any decided measure on the part of government to stop this fatal inaction was sure to meet with the most violent opposition. The force of public opinion, always at first, in civil commotions, on the side of resistance, was daily strengthening their cause. The agitation of the capital was intimidating their adversaries, and the divisions which prevailed among them rendered it every hour more improbable that they would be able to maintain their ground. The Tiers Etat was unanimous, while a considerable part of the nobility, and the great majority of the clergy, were secretly inclined to their side. The able leaders of the commons thoroughly appreciated the advantages of their present position, and waited calmly for above a month for the arrival of the time when either the necessities of the crown might force government into measures of hostility, or the submission of the other orders should give them the entire command of the state, or the decided tone of the public voice, daily gathering strength in their favour, might enable them to take the initiative themselves with the prospect of success.*

This temporary lull in the parliamentary contest of parties affords a favourable opportunity, ere the decisive

* "You have persevered, with a rare firmness, in a system of political inaction vehemently decry'd by those whose interest it is to get you to take false steps: it was to give men's minds time to calm, to enable the friends of the public good better to second the claim of justice and of reason: it was to make yourselves more confident that, even in the pursuit of good, you would not go beyond bounds; it was, in a word, to show a moderation which of all things becomes courage, or rather, without which there is no truly durable and invincible courage."—*Discours de MIRABEAU, 19th June 1789; Histoire Parlementaire*, l. 443.

struggle commences, for surveying the feelings and interests by which they were severally actuated, and the leading characters who obtained their direction.

15. The greater part of the nobles were naturally desirous of maintaining the privileges they had inherited from their forefathers, and which, in one form or another, they regarded with reason as essential to the existence of government in modern times. Their interests in this, as is generally the case with men, determined their opinions; and they were firmly resolved to resist to the uttermost those pretensions of the commons, which they clearly foresaw would end in prostrating the monarchy at their feet. They perceived that, if the whole States-General were united in one chamber, they would, since the duplication of the Tiers Etat, the nearly equal division of the clergy, and the strong body of the noblesse themselves who adhered to the same views, be left in a minority of at least one to two. Rather than incur certain destruction in this way, they were prepared to incur all the hazards of civil war. But, though resolute on this vital question, they had abated much of their original pretensions, and were disposed to concede many points upon which formerly they had been most tenacious. They were no longer the proud and haughty Notables of 1787, determined to relinquish none of their exclusive privileges: the imminence of the danger had made them willing to avert it by large concessions. Their cahiers, though not unanimous, tended in general to the same point. The instructions to the noblesse of Paris, the most important of any in the kingdom, from their rank, influence, and intelligence, recommended the surrender of all exclusive privileges in the matter of taxation: the regular convocation of the States-General, the imposition of all taxes by their consent, and their illegality without it; their legal extension only from one meeting of the States-General to another; the passing of all laws by their consent; the suppression of *lettres de cachet*; the liberty of the press; the closing of the Bastille; the

abolition of all feudal rights, on a reasonable indemnity payable in ten years. The great majority of the instructions of the noblesse were in the same terms. The whole elements of real freedom were to be found in these concessions, on which the nobles were almost unanimous. But, in addition to this, a minority of forty-seven, with the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Rochefoucauld at their head, which carried much weight from the high rank and acknowledged talents of some of its members, was disposed to join at once with the commons, and go the whole length with them of revolutionary innovation.

16. The higher classes of the clergy shared the sentiments of the noble families from which they sprang, and were equally anxious to maintain the privileges from which they derived advantage; but the great body of the undignified ecclesiastics, who were indignant at their exclusion from all situations of consideration or emolument in the church, participated in the feelings of the Third Estate, with whom they were more immediately in contact, and might be expected, on any serious struggle, to join its ranks. Taken as a body, the clergy had supported all the efforts of the people for the establishment of their liberties. The vast proportion of their numbers, who were humble curés, destitute of any property, afforded a sufficient security that this would be the case. They had urged the convocation of the States-General. The clergy of Rheims, with their archbishop at their head, demanded, in their instructions to their representatives, the establishment of a national code, embodying the fundamental laws of the monarchy; the regular assembly of the States-General, the right of taxing themselves, the establishment of personal freedom, security to property, the responsibility of ministers, open eligibility to all the citizens to every employment, a new civil and military code, uniformity of weights and measures, and the abolition of the slave-trade. All the other instructions of the clergy to their representatives contained more or less the same sentiments. It was at a later period in the

Revolution, and in consequence of the treachery and injustice with which they were assailed, that this great body became the lasting and inveterate enemy of the Revolution.

17. Liberty and equality were the ideas predominant in the minds of the whole Third Estate, and of that large party of the clergy which, having risen from its ranks, was identified with its interests. EQUALITY was the great object of their ambition, because the distinctions of rank were the evil which occasioned their discontents. It was not so much absolute freedom which they coveted, as equality of restraint, and the repeal of all those laws which threw their fetters with undue severity upon the lower classes. They would rather have had servitude in common with the privileged ranks, than freedom accompanied with those privileges which drew an impassable line between them. The passion for distinction, as Napoleon afterwards observed, is the ruling principle in France. Equality was demanded because it promised to remove the load which depressed the buoyant ambition of the middle and lower orders of society. Proceeding on these principles, the cahiers of the Tiers Etat were unanimous in demanding the union of the orders and the voting by head; and the instructions in these respects were so precise, that in truth the deputies of that order had no discretionary power on the subject. In addition to this, and all the points conceded by the noblesse, the commons were led, both from the tenor of their instructions and their own wishes, to demand the abolition of incorporations and statutes of apprenticeship of every kind; universal freedom of commerce and labour; uniformity of weights and measures; a relaxation of the penal code; reformation in the administration of justice; the establishment of a general code of laws, and the restriction of the powers enjoyed by the police. Generally speaking, the instruction of the Tiers Etat pointed to the abolition of practical abuses, to an extent and with a minuteness never carried into effect by the National Assembly; and excepting in the one particular, the

union of the orders, gave no countenance whatever to the overthrow of the monarchical authority, or the nourishing of that aspiring ambition which so speedily caused the States-General to overturn the throne.

18. The king, who had never tasted one moment of repose since his accession to the throne, had been induced, by financial embarrassments, to convoke the States-General, and looked forward to their assembling as the termination of his difficulties. He in truth loved his people, and expected to meet their representatives with the tenderness of a parent who rejoins his long-lost children. He believed himself beloved, because he deserved to be so. Unhappily, it was the fashion to laugh at the idea of a revolution. Reposing under the shadow of the monarchy, men shut their eyes to the possibility of its overthrow, and deemed present institutions stable, because they had never seen them shaken. He had yet to learn that no reliance is to be placed on the affections of mankind when their interests are at stake; that democratic ambition may carry away in a few weeks the most rational; that the force of ancient recollections, strong in periods of tranquillity, is frequently lost in moments of danger; and that attachment to old institutions is powerful only in those who have shared in their protection. He had adopted from M. Necker two principles very generally received at that period, but of which subsequent experience has amply demonstrated the fallacy—viz. that public opinion is always on the side of wisdom and virtue, and that he could at pleasure sway its impulses. The principle, *vox populi vox Dei*, doubtful at all times, is totally false in periods of agitation, when the passions are let loose, and the ambition of the reckless is awakened by the possibility of elevation. It would often be nearer the truth to say then, *vox populi vox diaboli*. Public opinion, in the end, will always incline to the right side; but amid the violence of its previous oscillations, the whole fabric of society may be overthrown. The mariner who describes a coming storm, may with certainty predict that its fury will ultimately be stilled; but he cannot be

sure that his own vessel will not previously be sunk in the waves.

19. The people of Paris, whose opinions came to have so vast an influence on the march of the Revolution, looked forward to the States-General as a means of diminishing the imposts; the nobility hoped it would prove the means of re-establishing the finances, and putting an end to the vexatious parsimony of later years; the citizens trusted it would remove the galling fetters to which they were still subjected; the fundholders, who had so often suffered from breaches of the public faith, regarded it as a secure rampart against a national bankruptcy—an event which the magnitude of the deficit had led them seriously to apprehend. Every class was unanimous in favour of a change, from which all were equally destined to suffer. So strong and universal was this feeling, that, out of the sixty electoral districts into which Paris was divided, only *three* elected the president who had the support of the king. Without tumult, noise, or even a division, fifty-seven of the electoral districts displaced the chairman appointed by the crown, and chose one of their own.* All who were conscious of talents which were unworthily depressed, who sought after distinction which the existing order of society prevented them from obtaining, or who had acquired wealth without obtaining consideration, joined themselves to the disaffected. To those were added the unsettled spirits which the prospect of approaching disturbances always brings forth—the insolvent, the reckless, the ardent, the desperate; men who were suffering under the existing state of society, and hoped that any change would ameliorate their condition. A proportion of the nobles, as is ever the case in civil convulsions, also adhered to these principles; at the head of whom was the Duke of Orleans, who brought a princely fortune, a selfish heart, and depraved habits, to forward the work of corruption, but wanted steadiness to rule the faction which his prodigality had organised; and the Marquis Lafayette, who had nursed a republican spirit amidst American dangers, and revived

for the strife of freedom in the Old World the ardent desires which had been awakened by its triumph in the New. The Counts Clermont Tonnerre and Lally Tollendal were also attached to the same principles; the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and the Duke de Liancourt, the Marquis de Crillon, and the Viscount Montmorency—names long celebrated in the annals of French glory, and some of which were destined to acquire a fatal celebrity from the misfortunes of those who bore them. A portentous union of rank, talent, and energy! of much which the aristocracy could produce that was generous, with all that the commons could furnish that was eminent; of philosophic enthusiasm with plebeian audacity; of the vigour of rising ability with the weight of far-descended splendour.

Two circumstances, however, were remarkable in the composition of the Constituent Assembly, and contributed in a great degree to influence its future proceedings.

20. The first was the almost total exclusion of literary and philosophical talent, and the extraordinary preponderance of the legal profession. With the exception of Bailly, and one or two other illustrious individuals, no name of literary celebrity was to be found among its members. On the other hand, no less than two hundred and seventy-nine of the Tiers Etat were advocates, chiefly from the provincial courts of France. This class did not correspond to the barristers of England, who, although not in general men of property, are at least usually possessed of talent and information, but were provincial advocates, stewards of petty local jurisdictions, country attorneys, notaries, and the whole train of the ministers of municipal litigation, the fomenters of petty war and village vexation. "From the moment," says Mr Burke, "that I read a list of their names, and saw this, I foresaw distinctly, and very nearly as it happened, all that was to follow!" This fact is not surprising, when it is considered, on the one hand, how few of the electors were capable of appreciating the merits of scientific characters, in a country where not one in fifty could read; and, on the

* MICHELET'S *Histoire de la Revolution*, i. 10.

other, how closely the necessities of men brought them everywhere in contact with that enterprising and restless body which lived upon their divisions. The absence of the philosophers is not much to be regretted, as, with a few splendid exceptions, they seldom make good practical statesmen; but the multitude of lawyers turned out an evil of the first magnitude, possessing, as they did, talent without property, and the desire of distinction without the principles which should regulate it. The worst characters in the Revolution—Robespierre, Danton, and almost all their associates—belonged to this class.

21. The second circumstance was the great proportion of the *Tiers Etat* who were men of no property or consideration in the country—mere needy adventurers, who pushed themselves into the Estates in order to make their fortunes amidst the public convulsions which were anticipated. The leading persons of the banking and commercial interests were indeed members of this body, and took a pride in being considered its heads; but their numbers were inconsiderable compared with those of their destitute brethren, and their

talents were not sufficient to enable them to maintain an ascendancy. When the contest began, they were speedily supplanted by the clamorous and reckless adventurers, who aimed at nothing but public confusion. France, on this occasion, paid the penalty of her unjust and invidious feudal distinctions. The class was wanting, so well known in England, which, nominally belonging to the Commons, is bound to the Peers by similarity of situation and community of interest; which forms the link between the aristocracy and the people, and at once moderates the pride of the former by their firmness, and the turbulence of the latter by their authority.*

22. No member of the States-General had yet attained a commanding reputation except Mirabeau. Honoré Gabriel Riquetti, Count de MIRABEAU, was born at Bignon, near Nemours, on the 9th March 1749; so that, when the Revolution broke out, he was in the flower of his intellectual strength—aged forty years. He was son of the Marquis de Mirabeau, a distinguished member of the sect of the Economists, and the author of one of the most popular of their works—*L'Ami des Hommes*.†

* The Constituent Assembly was composed of 1128 persons, of whom about two-thirds were non-proprietors. They were arranged in the following manner:—

CLERGY.	
Archbishops and Bishops, . . .	48
Abbots and Canons, . . .	85
Curates, . . .	210—293

NOBLES.	
Prince of the Blood, . . .	1
Magistrates, . . .	28
Gentilhommes, . . .	241—270

TIERS ETAT.	
Ecclesiastics, . . .	2
Gentilhommes, . . .	12
Mayors, . . .	18
Magistrates, . . .	62
Lawyers, . . .	279
Physicians, . . .	16
Merchants, Farmers, &c., . . .	176—565

Tiers Etat, . . .	565
Nobles and Clergy, . . .	563

After the Assembly was united, and the parties were divided, they stood thus:—

COTE DROIT (<i>Royalists</i>).	
Archbishops and Bishops, . . .	39
Abbots and Canons, . . .	25

Carry forward, . . .	64
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Brought forward,	
Curates, . . .	64
Nobles, . . .	180
Magistrates, . . .	10
Lawyers, . . .	18
Farmers, . . .	40—322

COTE GAUCHE (<i>Democrats</i>).	
Prince of the Blood, . . .	1
Lawyers, . . .	160
Curates, . . .	80
Gentilhommes, . . .	55
Merchants, Farmers, &c., . . .	30—326

CENTRE (<i>Undecided</i>).	
Clergy, . . .	140
Nobles, . . .	20
Magistrates, . . .	9
Lawyers, . . .	101
Tiers Etat, . . .	210—480

Thus the *Côté Gauche*, which ultimately obtained the complete command of the Assembly and France, was at first less than a third of its number.

† Nevertheless, the capacity of this distinguished Economist may be measured by the following anecdote:—When the king of Sweden, in 1772, visited Paris, he called on the Marquis de Mirabeau, and having spoken of Montesquieu as a great man, the Marquis replied, "Montesquieu! the senile dreams of that man are no longer regarded except in some northern courts."—*Biog. Univ.* xxix. 89.

Endowed by nature with a herculean constitution, an ardent temperament, and burning passions, he possessed at once the intellectual vigour, energy of will, and physical strength, which, for good or for evil, were fitted to raise him to the highest distinction among men. Like Voltaire and Rousseau, his character is better portrayed in his life than it could be in the most laboured diatribe or panegyric. His education was discursive rather than complete; varied rather than profound. He acquired a slight knowledge of the classics, studied mathematics under the great La Grange, and at the age of seventeen entered the army. His spirit, however, was too ardent to be satisfied with the amusements of the theatre or the billiard-room, which generally at that period filled up the long leisure of a young officer's life, and too aspiring to bend to the general prejudice against a nobleman's reading. He accordingly studied his profession in all its celebrated masters, and published an éloge on the great Condé. Shortly after, he got involved in a love intrigue, and was, at the request of his father, immured in the state prison of the Isle de Rhé, as the best method of cooling his ardent temperament. In 1769, after a short confinement, he served with some distinction in the reduction of Corsica, and soon after gave proof of the natural bent of his mind, by the publication of an essay on the political oppression which the Genoese had exercised in that island.

23. Wearied with the monotony of a pacific military life, he retired in 1770, at his father's request, to the Limousin, where he engaged in country pursuits; but after a short trial, finding these still more foreign to his disposition, in 1771 he returned to Paris, where he soon evinced such a repugnance to the despotic system of the Abbé Terray that he became estranged from his father, and, retiring to Provence, married Mademoiselle de Marignane, a beautiful and richly endowed heiress, but whose fortune, chiefly consisting in inheritances which had not yet devolved to her, was soon grievously embarrassed by her husband's extravagance. And

as his father refused to make any arrangement with his creditors, he was constrained to remain in a sort of forced exile on his estates, where, smarting under the consequences of his imprudence, and real or supposed injuries, he wrote, after studying Tacitus and Rousseau, his "Essay on Despotism," in which rays of genius are to be discerned in the midst of the ravings of a disordered fancy. Having soon after broken his ban, or the space allotted to him during his exile, in the prosecution of a private quarrel, he was imprisoned in the chateau of If, from whence he was transferred to that of Joux in the Jura, in 1776. The magic of his conversation having there induced the governor to grant him permission to live on his parole in the neighbouring town of Pontarlier, he met and fell in love with a young lady of the name of Sophie de Ruffey, wife of the Marquis de Monnier, president of the Chamber of Accounts at Dol, whom he soon seduced. This led him into new difficulties. The relations of his wife and of the Marquis de Monnier combined with his father to have him again imprisoned; and it required the intervention of Malesherbes, who was at that period on the eve of quitting the ministry, to obtain for him the mitigated penalty of leave to withdraw to a foreign country. He withdrew accordingly to Holland, was outlawed as for rape by the parliament of Besançon, and beheaded in effigy by their sentence, which involved a confiscation of the life interest in his estates.

24. Reduced now to subsist in exile, and maintain Sophie, who had fled to his protection, by the productions of his pen, the prodigious activity and mingled greatness and turpitude of his mind at once displayed itself. He translated several respectable works, of which Watson's Philip II. was the most remarkable; and at the same time published the most violent libels against his father, who had accused him of having corrupted his wife, Mirabeau's own mother. There being no end to his violence, and the scrapes into which it betrayed him, he was a third time seized by warrant of a *lettre de cachet*, backed by the Dutch authorities in Holland, and taken to

Vincennes, where he was confined three years and a half. Again the charms of his conversation prevailed over the rules of his prison; and he obtained from the secretary of police leave secretly to correspond with Sophie, which he did during his confinement, and copies of his letters, having been preserved by the police, were afterwards published. For the edification of that fond mistress he translated in prison, and sent to her, Boccaccio's "Tales," and the "Baisers de Jean Second," works which sufficiently prove the character of the liaison. He there also wrote some original compositions, licentious in the extreme, and abounding in the satire on the sacred writings then so prevalent—particularly "L'Erotica Biblion," and "Ma Conversion," the latter of which equals the grossest productions of Aretin, and was a perfect disgrace to a man of Mirabeau's genius. He could not rest satisfied, however, with such scandalous pursuits; and, in a treatise on prisons of state and *lettres de cachet*, gave vent to his indignation at the coercion to which he was subjected.

25. At length he extricated himself from prison, and made his peace with his father by attacking the reputation of his mother, whose tenderness to him had been uninterrupted during all the family dissensions which had so long embittered his existence. Immediately after, he returned to Provence, where he published his memoirs, which produced an extraordinary sensation. Subsequently he compromised the lawsuit with M. de Monnier; and, in order to regain Madame de Mirabeau's fortune, exerted all his eloquence and art, both with her and the legal tribunal before which the process depended, to effect a reconciliation with that much-injured lady, whom he represented with truth as an "angel of sweetness and goodness." Having failed in that object, however, he thought no more of either his angel or Sophie, but came to London in company with a young Dutchwoman, who had succeeded both in his inconstant affections. But the strict morals of England soon disconcerted a person of his licentious habits, and he

afterwards passed into Prussia, the institutions and rapid rise of which, under the auspices of the Great Frederick, strongly arrested his attention. His residence there led to the composition of the most bulky work which ever appeared with his name, and which related to the Prussian monarchy. During his stay in that country, he corresponded regularly with Calonne, the minister of France, for whom he acted as a sort of spy, and to whom he furnished valuable statistical information regarding all the German states. During the whole time he was so employed, he incessantly importuned the French minister for money. After various other literary sallies, in one of which M. Necker, then at the height of his reputation, became the object of his attacks, he was at length thrown into his proper sphere by the convocation of the States-General, when he was elected representative of Aix in Provence. Even before the meeting of the assembly, he had given proof of the line he was to adopt in politics, by steering a middle part between the two extreme parties, whose collision was then shaking society to its centre in that remote province.

26. The preceding detail is necessary to a due appreciation of the character of Mirabeau, by far the most powerful man who appeared in the commencement of the Revolution. Impetuous in passion, unbridled in desire, vehement in anger, irascible in temper, vain and yet proud, alike without shame and without remorse, the tyrant of men, the corrupter of women, he had been at once an ungrateful son,* a faithless husband, a brutal lover, an imperious master, and a needy suppliant. Overwhelmed with debt, without a profession, insatiable in desires, panting for fortune, "alieni

* It is in reference to his mother, who always treated him with the greatest kindness, that this trait in his character is given. His father's conduct to him had been so cruel and unnatural, that it is not surprising it had extinguished every sentiment of filial affection. "L'Ami des Hommes" never ceased to persecute his son with the most impassioned rancour; and this circumstance affords some extenuation of his licentious life.—*LA HARPE, Cours de Littérature*, xii. 273; and WEBER, i. 336.

appetens, sui profusus,"* he realised the picture of those reckless yet formidable characters who formed Catiline's conspirators, and of whom the pencil of Sallust has left so graphic a picture. He looked to the Revolution as the means of reinstating his affairs, and reopening to him that round of licentious pleasures for which, even in middle life, he panted with unextinguishable ardour. Necker said of him with equal felicity and justice, that he was "an aristocrat by nature, and a tribune by calculation;" and such, in truth, was his character. Notwithstanding all his declamations in favour of popular rights, he never at heart had in view to surrender the vital privileges of his order, and entertained throughout a secret pride in those advantages of birth, with regard to which in public he professed himself to be so indifferent, and a thorough perception of the peril of those democratic principles of which he appeared so ardent a supporter.† He espoused with vehemence the popular side, because he thought it likely to prevail—because he had suffered under authority, was bankrupt in fortune—and his ardent spirit, thirsting for enjoyment, chafed against all laws human and divine. But he was equally ready to support the opposite side, if it held out still greater advantages; and when at last he accepted the secret bribes of the court, and sought to allay the tempest which he had been so largely instrumental in creating, he acted not less in conformity with his real inclinations than with the ruling principle of his conduct, which was ever to throw for the highest stake.

* "Covetous of others' fortunes, prodigal of his own."

† He said at the tribune, "As to my title of Count, any one is welcome to it who chooses to take it;" but that was only because he believed that, by the force of such professions, he could obtain a higher rank, and, above all, a larger fortune, than had devolved to him by birth, or he had acquired by marriage. He frequently said in private society, "The Admiral Coligny, who, by the by, was my cousin;" and when the decree abolishing titles of honour was passed, he said, "Do you know that you have disturbed Europe for three days?" At home he was always styled, even after that decree, M. le Comte, and his servants wore livery after it had been disused by every one else.—*Biog. Univ.* xxix. 108, 109.

The air of sincerity to which so large a share of his success was owing was all assumed; his professions of public zeal were a mere cloak for private ambition. He said of Robespierre, whose abilities early attracted his notice, "That young man will go great lengths; he believes all he says."

27. As an orator, Mirabeau was one of the most powerful that ever appeared on a great stage in public affairs. An ardent soul, a ready elocution, vast force of expression, a brilliant imagination, a voice of thunder, an unconquerable will, rendered him the natural leader of an assembly in which the selfish and generous passions were tossed together in wild confusion, and both sought their gratification in the most extravagant schemes for the reconstruction of society. Like Mr Fox, he had no great store of acquired information—he trusted to others for the materials of his orations; and the greater part both of the most celebrated and laborious compositions which bear his name were the work of an able circle of friends, who, fascinated by his talents, had become the coadjutors of his labours.‡ But though he got the materials, and often the exordium, from others, the great merit and unbounded success of his speeches were his own. Self-confident in the highest degree, no opposition could daunt, no clamours disconcert him; his ready capacity sel-

‡ Dumont, Duroverai, and Clavières, were the most remarkable of these assistants, and composed almost all the writings which at first, before his great oratorical talents had become known, gave Mirabeau his colossal reputation. The former, well known to the world by his invaluable "*Souvenirs de Mirabeau*," published in 1834, to which this history is so largely indebted, wrote his *Courrier de Provence*, which, after Mirabeau's *Journal des États-Généraux* had been stopped by a decree of the royal council, continued to give a summary of the debates of the Assembly, and obtained a prodigious reputation. He also, with Duroverai, wrote the celebrated address to the king for the removal of the armies, on July 8; the still more famous "Rights of Man," and many of the speeches which Mirabeau delivered with most emphasis and effect.—*Dumont's Souvenirs de Mirabeau*, 79, 105, 125, 139. Major Mauvillon, a Prussian officer, whom he had in like manner pressed into his service, wrote nearly the whole of his elaborate work on Prussia in eight volumes.—*Ibid.* 136.

dom failed to retort an interruption with effect on his adversaries; vehement and impassioned, he always contrived, even when insincere, to throw into his speeches that vigour of expression, and earnestness of manner, which contribute so largely to oratorical fascination. No one saw so clearly where the vital points in every question discussed lay; none knew so well how to address himself, whether in support or opposition, to the prevailing feelings of the majority. Though steeped in gross ideas, and burning for sensual enjoyment, none could utter more elevated sentiments, or avail himself with more skill of the generous affections. Ambitious in the extreme, conscious of powers which qualified him for the lead, he was impatient of attaining it, and fretted against every opposition he encountered. According as his speeches were applauded or interrupted, he gave way to sanguine anticipations, or stigmatised the Assembly as the most deplorable set of imbeciles who were ever brought together. Yet did his self-

confidence never desert him. There was something which savoured of the grand even in the resolution which sprang from his vices. Having lost all private character—even in the corrupted circles of Paris—he resolved to rear up a new influence founded upon public achievements; gradually rose superior to all his rivals in the Assembly; and by his courage in difficulty, and energy amid the hesitation of others, ultimately acquired its entire direction. Perhaps he was the only man in France who had a chance of moderating or arresting the fervour of the Revolution. He frequently said of Lafayette, when at the head of the national guard of Paris, "Lafayette has an army; but, believe me, my head, too, is a power."

28. The only orator on the aristocratic side in the National Assembly who was at all to be compared to Mirabeau, was the *ABBE MAURY*.^{*} This celebrated man, at once an academician and a preacher before the king, had already acquired a brilliant reputation before the meeting of the States-General. A vivid imagi-

^{*} The *Abbe Maury* was born on the 26th June 1746, at Vaurens, in the Venaisin, of obscure parents. His education, commenced in his native parish, was completed at Avignon. An ardent thirst for knowledge, a retentive memory, and ready talent, rendered him remarkable from his earliest years. At the age of eighteen, he came without either money or friends to Paris, where he at first earned a precarious subsistence by teaching. Before he was twenty he composed a funeral eulogy on the Dauphin; and in 1767, one on Charles V., and an essay on the advantages of peace, for a prize proposed by the French Academy. These juvenile performances having procured for him some notice, he resolved to take orders, and devote himself to the attainment of public eloquence. His talent in this respect soon made itself known; and having been chosen, in 1772, to preach a panegyric on Saint Louis, his pulpit oratory met with such success that the Academy petitioned the king to bestow some preferment on the young ecclesiastic, which was immediately done by his being promoted to the abbacy of Frenade. In 1775, he published a panegyric on Saint Augustin, which had been preached before the assembly of the clergy; and this was soon followed by other panegyrics on Fénelon and Bossuet. Subsequently he was promoted to the rich benefice of the priory of Lloria, worth 20,000 francs a-year; and he was admitted into the most brilliant literary and philosophical society in Paris. In 1787 and 1788, Lamignon, then keeper of the seals, availed himself of his talents in the

preparation of the edicts which excited such vehement opposition in the parliaments of France. In 1789 he was named deputy of the clergy for the bailiwick of Peronne, and he first appeared in debate during the discussions on the Veto in September of that year; after which he took a leading part in the discussions on every subject. The Revolution, which ruined the fortunes of so many others of his party, was, on the contrary, the making of his; he lost, indeed, all his benefices in France; but being called to Rome by the Pope, he was received with the utmost distinction by the head of the church, the two aunts of Louis XVI., and the whole conclave of cardinals; and ere long he was rewarded for his strenuous efforts in the cause of the altar and the throne by his elevation to the highest situations in the church. In 1792, he was named Archbishop of Nice *in partibus*, and in 1794 elevated to the dignity of cardinal and Bishop of Monte Fiascone. On the conquest of Italy by the French, in 1798, they did all they could to seize him, but he escaped disguised as a *votivier* to Venice, from whence he withdrew to St Petersburg. In 1799 he returned to Rome upon the conquest of Italy by Suwarroff, and in 1806 was recalled to Paris after the coronation of Napoleon, by whom he was much esteemed; but his conduct there was far from proving agreeable to the Pope, it being deemed, and apparently with justice, not in unison with the former tenor of his character, and he died in 1817, after having fallen under the displeasure of the court of Rome.—*Biog. Univ.*, xviii. 568, 575 (*MAURY*).

nation, a memory richly stored with the imagery of the East, a happy power of applying the sublime language of Scripture, great facility of elocution, and that decided style of expression which springs from strong internal conviction, made his oratory always impressive, and riveted the attention even of the hostile and unbelieving crowd which composed the great majority of the Assembly. They listened to him as they would have gazed on the opera stage at a representation of the antique and exploded, but yet powerful imagery of Gothic superstition. But, in addition to this, he possessed remarkable abilities as a debater; and his antagonists soon found, that it was with no theatrical remnant of the olden time that they had to deal in the contests of the States-General. A sound judgment, a clear and penetrating intellect, great rapidity of thought, and a mind fraught with the incidents and lessons of history, made him peculiarly powerful in reply. His speeches on these occasions, always extempore—a thing then rare in the Assembly—and poured forth with the vehemence and energy of impassioned conviction, recalled those sublime instances of ancient heroism, when the inspired prophets poured forth in burning strains, against a blind generation thirsting for their blood, the awful denunciations of judgment to come.

29. It was his unconquerable moral courage, and the steady adherence which he manifested in those perilous times to the great principles of justice and humanity, which secured for the Abbé Maury the respect even of his most venomous enemies. Opposed in debate by Mirabeau, Barnave, and Clermont Tonnerre; interrupted at every step by the hisses or cries of two or three thousand spectators in the galleries; certain of being defeated in all his efforts by an overwhelming majority; in danger of being stoned, strung up to the lamp-post, or torn to pieces at the close of every interesting debate, by the furious mob which often surrounded the Assembly—he never deviated from his duty, but was ever to be found at his post, combating the projects of spolia-

tion and robbery which were brought forward, and proclaiming aloud, in the midst of a guilty generation, the eternal principles of justice and religion. Such was the fervour and rapidity of his thoughts, that the reporters in the galleries were unable to write down his finest speeches; and next day, in the retirement of his dwelling, he was unable to recall what the animation of the tribune had drawn forth. A true soldier of the church, he threw himself with undaunted valour into the breach; and it was hard to say whether, in oratorical contests, the vehement fervour of his declamation, the cutting force of his sarcasm, or the inexhaustible resources of his knowledge, were most conspicuous. His character may be judged of by two anecdotes. In the commencement of the Assembly, seeing the universal delusion which had seized the nation, he said to his friend Marmontel—"I have studied the two parties; I know the views of each. My mind is made up: I will perish in the breach; but I have not the less the mournful conviction that the enemy will carry the place by assault, and give it up to pillage." And when he took leave of him for the last time, on his setting out for Rome, he said—"In defending the good cause, I have done all I could; I have exhausted my strength, not to prevail in an Assembly where all my efforts were in vain, but to spread profound ideas of justice and truth in the nation and over Europe. I hope even to be listened to by posterity. It is not without profound grief that I remove from my country, but I carry with me the firm conviction that *the revolutionary power will one day be destroyed.*"

30. The chief other supporter of the *Côté Droit*, or Conservative side in the Assembly, was M. CAZALÈS.* An old

* Cazalès was born in 1752, at Grenade, on the Garonne. He was the son of a counsellor of the parliament at Toulouse, and had the misfortune to lose his father, a man of rank, in early youth; and as this circumstance seemed to preclude him from the studies requisite for the learned profession, he entered the army, and joined at first with ardour in the amusements and pleasures of that career. But his character was too vigorous, and his mind too powerful to rest long satisfied with

military officer, he had, shortly before the Revolution, been received into the ranks of the nobility, and he proved one of its most able and intrepid defenders. His character was essentially different from that of the Abbé Maury; it was more contemplative and philosophic. Less fervent and animated than the intrepid champion of the church, he was more profound, and had taken a wider and more comprehensive view of human affairs. The ardent admirer of Montesquieu, he meditated deeply on that great man's writings, and now exerted himself in the Assembly to resist the movement, from a firm conviction, drawn from his principles, that it would infallibly terminate in the destruction of that freedom to the establishment of which its efforts were at present directed. Being unaccustomed to public speaking, he at first expressed himself with difficulty, and made no impression; but the copiousness of his ideas and the intensity of his thoughts soon, as is generally the case, removed that

impediment; and he at length spoke with such force that, after one of his extempore orations, Mirabeau addressed him with the words—"Sir, you are an orator." Simple and precise in his ideas, frank and conscientious in his character, he owed his success in the Assembly to the lucid order in which he unfolded his arguments, and the admirable language in which they were conveyed to his hearers. Had his knowledge been equal to his intellectual powers, or his erudition to his eloquence, he would have made a formidable opponent to Mirabeau himself; but his military education had left great defects in these particulars, which all his subsequent efforts were unable to overcome. Mirabeau frequently said—"If the knowledge of Cazalès were equal to the charms of his elocution, all our efforts would be ineffectual against him."

31. Of a disposition somewhat similar, but on the opposite side in politics, and incomparably superior in learning and information, was M. BAILLY.* This

such pursuits, and before he had been many years in the service, he took with avidity to literary studies; while he spent the day in military exercises or amusements, he sat up half the night labouring at every branch of knowledge, and seeking to make up for the deficiencies of his education by redoubled application in maturer life. He had profoundly studied Montesquieu, and constantly combated the innovations of the Constituent Assembly, upon the ground so ably taken by that great man, that no nation in the end can prosper but by institutions in conformity with its spirit. He was obliged to emigrate, and lost nearly all his fortune, in 1792, but returned to France in 1800, after the elevation of Napoleon, and with the wreck of his fortune purchased a small estate in his native province, where he lived contented and happy till his death in 1806. His simplicity of character, rare modesty, and entire disinterestedness, procured for him universal and lasting esteem.—*Biographie Universelle*, vii. 478, 479 (CAZALÈS).

* Bailly was born at Paris on September 15, 1736, so that in 1789 he was fifty-three years of age. His father, who was keeper of the king's pictures, destined him for the same office; but his disposition led him so strongly to literary studies that it determined his future career. In the first instance he composed some tragedies, which have not been published, and had no particular merit; but ere long science attracted him from the paths of literature, and, under the celebrated mathematician Le Caille, he soon attained great proficiency in it. In 1762, he presented to the Academy observa-

tions on the course of the moon, which attracted considerable attention; subsequently he calculated the course of the comet which appeared in 1759 and 1764, and published an essay on the theory of the satellites of Jupiter. In the midst of these scientific labours he did not neglect his literary tastes, but competed for the prizes proposed by the Academy, in successive eulogies on Charles V., Pierre Corneille, and Molière, and other eminent public or literary characters. In 1776 he published his celebrated history of astronomy, which, written in an elegant style, and coinciding with the irreligious principles then so generally prevalent in Paris, was received with extreme favour in the scientific circles of the capital. It has since been demonstrated, that the series of astronomical phenomena which Bailly regarded as affording decisive evidence of the extreme antiquity of the Hindoo nation, in reality established the reverse; for they have been shown not to have been taken from actual observation, but to have been framed by calculating backwards on tables constructed during a period consistent with authentic history, and to contain, in consequence, several errors which the more accurate researches of later times have proved are inconsistent with what must have occurred. The great celebrity, however, which in the first instance this work acquired, procured for him in 1784 a place in the Academy; and soon after he was chosen, by the royal commission appointed by the king to investigate the pretended marvels of animal magnetism, to draw up their report on the subject, which at once dissipated the illusion so generally prevalent

eminent and good man was one of the numerous party in France who, carried away by the enthusiasm of the age, and the entire ignorance which prevailed as to the working of human nature in a free constitution, had with sincerity and good faith embraced the cause of the Revolution, and believed that it would lead to the regeneration of society, the happiness of France, and the indefinite progress of the human race. That party was formidable, not only from its erudition and talents, but from the philanthropic principles by which its members were animated, the generous sentiments they uttered, the unceasing desires for social felicity which they expressed, the intermixture of truth and error which their principles contained, and the real worth of some of its members. Bailly himself was one of the most eminent and respectable of this body. Hewas a philosopher known

overall Europe, a person of unblemished character and the best intentions; and he possessed in the highest degree that great quality, rare in men of science, but the first requisite both in a patriot and a magistrate—moral courage and mental resolution. He was not gifted with the powers of extempore oratory, and his influence in the Assembly was rather owing to the elevated character and philosophic reputation he had long enjoyed, and the dignified position he acquired as mayor of Paris, than to any remarkable power in debate which he possessed; but he acted a decided and courageous part in its most momentous and dangerous crises, and subsequently evinced, in striving to arrest the Revolution which he had contributed so much to produce, an intrepidity which, with his tragic fate, must ever render his memory dear to the friends of mankind.

32. GENERAL LAFAYETTE* belonged

in regard to it. In 1785 he was admitted a member of the society of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, which has left such valuable transactions; and in 1787 he drew up, by desire of the Academy of Sciences, a report on the construction of hospitals, in which the discoveries of profound science were guided by the spirit of enlarged philosophy. Such was the reputation which these successive works procured for him among all circles in the capital, that, when the electors assembled in 1789 to choose their representatives for the States-General, he was the very first person they selected, and subsequently he was made president of the Assembly, and mayor of Paris. But these political elevations, which appeared to put the finishing stroke to his fame, ruined his fortunes, and precipitated him from one calamity to another, till he was guillotined by that very democratic party of whom at first he was the admired leader. His memoirs are one of the most valuable records of the first stages of the Revolution, though unhappily they terminate in October 1789.—*Biographie Universelle*, iii. 238, 241 (BAILLY).

* Joseph Gilbert, Marquis de Lafayette, was born at Chavagnac, near Brioude, in Auvergne, on the 6th Sept. 1757. His father, at the age of twenty-five, had been killed a few months before on the field of Minden, where he acted as *maréchal-de-camp*. Young Lafayette was early brought to Paris for his education; and there, from his earliest years, the future dispositions of the man evinced themselves. He has recounted in his memoirs, that, when prescribed at school a theme on the horse, he took peculiar pleasure in describing the "impatience of the noble animal under the rod of the rider." At the early age of sixteen he married the second daughter of the Duke de Noailles—an alliance which

secured for him a brilliant position at the court of France, but at the same time confirmed, from the liberal politics of his father-in-law, the strong tendency to republican ideas which he had already evinced. Polished and decorous in his manners, he exhibited the rare example of fidelity to his young wife in the midst of a corrupted court, and abstained from the usual vices and follies of persons of his rank in the capital. The love of popularity, joined to an attachment to freedom, were his ruling passions, and as both these appeared to be likely to obtain gratification in the American War, he engaged as a volunteer in the service of the insurgents on the 7th December 1776, before the French government had ostensibly engaged in the contest. He received the rank of major-general in the American service, but expressly stipulated he was to receive no pay or other emoluments. Previous to setting out, he travelled over and minutely examined Great Britain; and as the two countries were still at peace, it was with considerable difficulty, and only by withdrawing by stealth, that he avoided a *lettre de cachet* which Maurepas, at the instigation of the English ambassador, issued against him to prevent his serving in the insurgent ranks. On the 26th April 1777, he embarked with his friend and comrade, Baron de Ralf, for the New World, and landed at Georgetown, from whence he joined the army of Washington, then encamped, eleven thousand strong, near Philadelphia. He had some difficulty at first in getting an appointment, but at length he succeeded in attracting notice by the following laconic note: "Considering my sacrifices, I think I am entitled to ask two favours: the first, to serve at my own expense; the second, to begin as a simple volunteer." Washington then gave him an interview; and

to the same philosophical school as Bailly, and he was not less characterised by purity of intention and elevation of principle; but he had not the firmness of character of the philosophic mayor, and possessed a mingled vein of simplicity and vanity, which rendered him on more than one momentous crisis one of the most fatal promoters of the Revolution. Descended of an old and noble family, he had preserved the purity of his heart in the midst of a corrupted court, and continued, when married to an amiable wife, that simplicity of manners which belongs to a more primitive state of society. But his capacity and judgment in public were far from being equal to his virtues in private. Endowed with a lively imagination, a sanguine temperament, an ardent philanthropy, and an insatiable vanity, he had little penetration, and still less strength of intellect. Firmly

convinced of the truth of his principles, persevering in maintaining them, he gathered nothing from the course of events, and worshipped the chimera of a "throne surrounded by republican institutions" as fervently, after the termination of the French Revolution had demonstrated its futility, as when the American insurrection first awakened men to the entrancing hope of its realisation. This rendered him incapable of perceiving the pernicious tendency of his doctrines, when so many others of his party were striving to arrest their effects; and unfit, in truth, to acquire the direction of the frightful insurrection to which he first gave the discipline and force of military organisation. He was consistent throughout, but rather in error than in truth; individually brave, chivalrous to excess, often generous, enthusiastic in what he sincerely believed the good cause, he

as he evinced some reluctance to show the new American levies manœuvring before a French officer, Lafayette replied, "I am come here to learn, not to teach."

Soon after, he was appointed major-general, and was wounded at the battle of Brandywine, when endeavouring to rally the American fugitives during a rout which the inconceivable apathy of the English general alone prevented from becoming a decisive overthrow. Subsequently he took part, always with courage and ability, in the principal events of the American War; and, as he corresponded regularly with the French ministers, there can be no doubt that his information contributed not a little to the open accession of France to the coalition against Great Britain, which was the real cause of the contest with the insurgents terminating in their independence. Having been engaged in the battle of Barrenhill in 1778, where the Americans were again saved from total destruction by the supineness of the English, he received the thanks of Congress for his gallant conduct, and soon after returned to France to aid the cause of American independence, by stimulating the government to serious efforts in favour of the insurgents. By his indefatigable exertions the repugnance of Louis and Turgot to any intervention was at length overcome; and soon after the treaty of February 6, 1778, was signed between France and America, which proved, in the first instance, the cause of the dismemberment of the British, in the last, of the overthrow of the French monarchy. Having succeeded in this great object, he returned to America, now openly assisted by the land and sea forces of France; and so great was the attachment he had inspired, and the general sense of the services he had rendered to their cause, that

Washington shed tears of joy when he presented him to his troops. Subsequently, Lafayette was engaged in several successful expeditions, intrusted to his command; and he led the troops to storm one of the most important redoubts which protected the British lines in New York, and contributed essentially to the surrender of Lord Cornwallis in that town in October 1781. After this he was sent to the court of Madrid, to arrange some disputes which had broken out between the Spaniards and America. Charles III. received him very politely, but with some distrust, on account of the liberal opinions which he constantly expressed. When it was proposed to confide to Lafayette the command of an expedition against Jamaica, and give him the command of the island, the old king exclaimed "No, no, that would never do; he would make it a republic!"

On his return to France he received the most flattering reception; and, to gratify his secret thirst for popularity, he made the tour of the principal states of Europe, in all of which, even the most despotic, he was received with the most unbounded enthusiasm. Such was the interest he excited, that his progress resembled rather that of a popular king than even of the greatest and most successful general. At Berlin he was received with the utmost distinction by the Great Frederick, who, however, was far from being carried away by the democratic illusions then so generally prevalent. "I once know," said the aged hero to him, "a young man who, after having visited the countries where liberty prevailed, wished to establish it in his own country. Do you know what happened to him?"—"No, sire!"—"Sir, he was hanged." So far, however, was Lafayette from perceiving the sarcastic depth of this remark, that

looked for no personal advantage from the Revolution, and repeatedly said, "it would leave him where it found him." He was satisfied if he thought American institutions, the object of his unceasing admiration, could be established in France; seeing no difference between the circumstances of a young republic with English blood and a boundless unoccupied territory, and an aged monarchy with French passions, and a limited, fully appropriated soil. Occasionally he made a gallant though ineffectual stand against popular violence; but in general a thirst for popularity, and a blind belief, which even the horrors of the Revolution could not shake, in the virtues of mankind, were his besetting weaknesses; and one unpardonable piece of neglect, when the lives of his sovereigns were at stake, and committed to his defence,

he recounts it with infantine simplicity in his *Memoirs*. At the court of France, however, when he returned to Paris, the same penetration did not prevail as to the ultimate tendency of his conduct: his reception there was so flattering that it might have turned the strongest head. Marie Antoinette, by a condescension without precedent, drove Madame de Lafayette to the hotel of the Duke of Noailles when her husband arrived; he never appeared in public without being overwhelmed by acclamations. Ever dreaming, however, of resistance and revolution, he soon repaired to the south of France, and entered into correspondence with the Protestants there, still labouring under the unjust restrictions following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and with his usual haste and *impromptu*, he was clear, if immediate redress was not given, to commence an insurrection.

Having consulted Washington, however, on the subject, that great man replied, "It is a fundamental rule in military operations to study the ground well before hazarding an engagement: often more is done by approaches in force than by a sudden assault." This sage advice turned him aside from his design; but still his head teemed incessantly with similar projects. The "Hero of the Two Worlds," as his admirers called him, could not rest in peace. Plans for the conquest of Egypt; for seizing Algiers and the States of Barbary; for the general emancipation of the negroes; and other projects equally chimerical, successively engaged his attention, and were embraced with such seriousness, that it was only by the advice of Washington, with whom he regularly corresponded, that he was dissuaded from actually engaging in them. Such a disposition found a lasting object of interest and action in the Revolution. Elected deputy by the noblesse

has left a blot on his memory which can never be effaced.

33. CLERMONT TONNERRE * had a generous disposition, and an uncorrupted heart; he wished for others the happiness, and believed there existed in them the virtue, which he felt in himself. He had a contemplative disposition, an enthusiastic mind, great facility in speaking, and unbounded application; but, like all the others of that philosophic party, he was entirely destitute of knowledge of mankind by actual experience; and though well acquainted with history, he had not sufficient force of mind to distinguish its imaginary from its real lessons. Perhaps no intellect under that of Machiavel or Montesquieu is able to do so, till instructed in the facts of value, and the real inferences to be drawn from them, by personal observation and

of Auvergne, he perceived so little the tendency of the general movement that he wrote to Washington, in May 1789, that "France would arrive by *little and little*, and *without any great convulsion*, at a representative constitution, and consequent diminution of the royal authority." Yet in three months after this was written the monarchy was overthrown, and in three years more Lafayette himself was obliged to fly from France, with a price set on his head, and only escaped the guillotine by imprisonment in an Austrian dungeon.—*Mémoires, Correspondance, et Manuscrits de Lafayette*, 6 vols. Paris, 1838, vols. 1, 2; and *Biographie des Contemporains, Supplément*, vol. lxxix. 349–356 (LAFAYETTE).

* Stanislaus, Count de Clermont Tonnerre, was born in 1747. His father, the Marquis de Clermont Tonnerre, had served with distinction in the armies of Louis XV., and the son also was bred to the profession of arms. But although he rose in the service to the rank of colonel, his disposition always strongly attracted him to political speculations, and, before the Revolution broke out, his liberal tendency had become well known. When the States-General were elected, he was the first deputy named for his order, and it was as one of the representatives of the noblesse of Paris. From the very first he formed one of the minority headed by the Duke of Orleans, who contended that they should unite at once with the Tiers Etat; and he acquired, in consequence, great popularity, which was augmented by a pamphlet which he early published during the continuance of the contest, recommending the same step. He was massacred by the people during the revolt of the 10th August, with so many other of their earliest and firmest supporters among the nobility.—See *Biographie Universelle*, ix. 90, 92 (CLERMONT TONNERRE).

experienced suffering. He sincerely believed it possible to construct a constitutional monarchy out of a corrupted noblesse, an irreligious middle class, and an ignorant people. His powers of application were immense: the "Résumé des Cahiers," which he prepared by order of the Assembly, in order to extract from that immense mass of instructions something like a uniform and consistent system, affords a decisive proof both of his perseverance and capacity for generalisation. In the earlier stages of the Revolution, he supported all the usurpations of the popular party, and was thus implicated in many measures of manifest illegality, which ultimately proved fatal to freedom in France; but he did

* Trophine Gerard, Count of Lally Tollen- dal, was born at Paris on 5th March 1751. He was son of the brave and unfortunate General Lally, who defended Pondicherry with so much gallantry against the English, and subsequently was condemned with such atrocious injustice and cruelty by the parliament of Paris. He had been educated during youth at the college of Harcourt, in entire ignorance of his birth, in consequence of the long-protracted proceedings against his father; and it was when the approach of his execution excited general interest and commiseration, that he learned for the first time that he was his son. He instantly flew to the place of execution, "to bid him," as he has himself told us, "an eternal adieu; to let him hear the voice of a son amidst the cries of his executioners, and embrace him on the scaffold when he was about to perish." But his filial piety was in vain; the hour of the horrid act had been accelerated, and young Lally arrived in time only to see his father's blood streaming over the scaffold. Overwhelmed with horror, he sunk in a swoon on the ground, and was carried back insensible to the college. So terrible a stroke, of necessity and as a matter of duty, inspired him with a profound hatred at the institutions of which his father had been the innocent victim. He adopted with devout resolution his father's testament, which bequeathed to him the duty of righting his memory; and exerted himself with such vigour and perseverance to procure a revision of his sentence that, under the equitable government of the just Louis XVI., it was at length accomplished, though not without the most strenuous and disgraceful resistance on the part of the parliament of Paris, headed by d'Épéménail. Voltaire took throughout a warm interest in this great act of justice, and he wrote from his deathbed in 1778, at Paris, to young Lally, on learning of his first success, in these terms: "On the bed of death I revive on hearing this event. I embrace M. de Lally with all

so, like so many others at that period, in good faith, and without the alloy of selfish interest; and on many occasions, when the atrocities of the people had commenced, and the opposite leaders became the victims of their violence, he exerted his great powers of eloquence, too often without effect, in the cause of humanity.

34. LALLY TOLLENDAL* belonged to the same school; but he was more inclined to favour the monarchy than Clermont Tonnerre. He belonged to the order of nobles, both by birth and inclination; but the atrocious injustice of which his father, Count Lally, so distinguished in Eastern history, had been the victim under Louis XV. [chap. II., § 85, note], necessarily, and as a mat-

my heart. I see the king is the defender of justice. I die content." It is hard to say whether these lines redound more to the honour of Voltaire, of Lally, or of Louis. Though an innovator in opinion and on principle, he was a royalist in habit and by inclination, and entertained deep gratitude to Louis for his efficacious interposition, which alone extricated his father's memory from the obloquy which had been cast upon it by the parliament of Paris. Young Lally was bred to the army; but the idea which wholly preoccupied him of vindicating his father's character, both developed his talents, added to his information, and gave firmness to his character. Like Clermont Tonnerre, he was one of the minority who voted for the union of orders, and subsequently took a lead on the liberal side in the first proceedings of the Assembly; but he easily saw whither general fervour and popular fury were impelling his party; his love of justice was soon shocked by the excesses committed; and, so early as the 20th and 23d July, he was found at the tribune vainly endeavouring to arrest the atrocities, in preparing which he had been no inconsiderable actor. On the last occasion he ventured to attack Mirabeau himself, saying, looking sternly at that redoubted leader, "One may have talent, great ideas, and be a tyrant." Along with Mounier, he laboured for the formation of a constitution similar to that of England for his country; but, like all the early and rational friends of freedom in France, he was swept away by the torrent of democratic ambition; and, after the 6th of October 1789, finding all his efforts in vain, he resigned his situation as deputy, and retired to Switzerland. Subsequently he was thrown into prison on the 10th August 1792, escaped by almost a miracle the massacres of September, and at length found a refuge and asylum in England. The rest of his life was devoted to combating the principles of the Revolution. — *Biographie Universelle*, lxi. 513, 517, *Supplement* (LALLY TOLLENDAL).

ter of filial duty, threw him into the arms of the popular party. He sincerely desired the continuance of the royal authority; but he desired it shorn of its despotic character, and, above all, with the ministers of the crown deprived of those despotic powers which they had hitherto possessed, and sometimes exercised with such iniquity. A constitution on the model of England was the object of his desires; and he saw no difficulty in accomplishing it, by the simple division of the States-General into two chambers—the nobility and clergy forming the upper house. Ardent, active, and enthusiastic, he had inherited all his father's warmth of character; but to that he added a patient industry, a habit of application, which rendered him the able coadjutor of Clermont Tonnerre in the herculean labour of forming the "Résumé of

the Cahiers." Alexander and Charles LAMETH* embraced the same principles, and were actuated by the same motives; but in their case, ingratitude for signal benefits from the king and queen gave an ungenerous character to their measures, and exposed them to vehement and general obloquy from the nobles, to which class they belonged by birth. All their efforts, after the power of the crown had been overthrown by a usurpation in which they bore a part, were ineffectual to stem the flood of democracy, which soon streamed over and swept away the whole bulwarks alike of order and freedom in the state.

35. Born with fiercer passions, endowed with brighter talents, impelled to good or evil by more impetuous dispositions, BARNAVE† was a more prominent character in the early history of the Revolution. He was a young advo-

* Charles, Count of Lameth, was born on 5th October 1757, and, like his brother Alexander, who was three years younger, owed his education and first advancement in life to the kindness of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. He was a captain in the army when he was sent to America with Rochambeau, and imbibed his first liberal ideas from his service in that country. On his return to Paris he was cordially received by the court, and became in an especial manner the object of favour and protection to the queen, who procured for him in marriage Mademoiselle Perotti, daughter of a rich Bordeaux merchant, with whom he acquired a considerable fortune. He was thus bound, as well as his brother Alexander, who was in like manner promoted beyond all precedent by the court, by all the ties of gratitude to the royal cause: nevertheless they became from the very first among its most determined and envenomed opponents. Charles was appointed deputy of Artois to the States-General in 1789; Alexander obtained a seat in the same assembly as deputy for the noblesse of Peronne. Both brothers evinced from the first a determined hostility to the royal cause, which, to say the least of it, was, considering their numerous obligations both to the king and queen, ungrateful in the extreme. It appeared when the celebrated *Libre Rouge*, or record of the secret expenses of the court, was published, that he and his brother had cost the king, for their education alone, 60,000 francs (£2500). Charles was arrested after the 10th August, like all the other early friends of liberty in the aristocracy, and owed his life to Danton's intercession, but on condition of instantly leaving France. Alexander Lameth, equally with his brother, was violent and ungrateful to his royal benefactors; he was one of the

forty-seven nobles who, with the Duke of Orleans, joined the Tiers Etat. He was in the army, and has admitted, in his history of the Constituent Assembly, that he was privy to the insurrection of the troops on the 14th July, which overturned the throne. Subsequently he took an active part in the most hasty and destructive acts of the Constituent Assembly, and was rewarded for all his sacrifices of honour and duty on the altar of the Revolution, by being obliged to fly from his country, and, like Lafayette, found refuge from his former associates in an Austrian dungeon.—*Biographie Universelle*, lxi. 95-108 (CHARLES and ALEXANDER LAMETH).

† Antoine Barnave was born at Grenoble in 1761. He was the son of a Protestant, and himself belonged to that persuasion, so that he imbibed from infancy those democratic opinions by which that sect in France were at that period generally distinguished. His father was an attorney, and he himself was bred to the bar; where, having attained some distinction before the courts of Grenoble, he was chosen representative for that town to the States-General. At first, he showed himself a warm partisan of the Revolution; and his elquence, impetuosity, and imagination speedily acquired for him a brilliant reputation. Subsequently, however, he perceived the fatal tendency of the innovations which were going forward, and strove to moderate them. From that moment his reputation was at an end. It will appear in the sequel what an important part he played in the interesting episode of the journey from Varennes, and how the line of conduct which he subsequently adopted brought him before the revolutionary tribunal, by whom he was condemned and executed on the 29th October 1793.—*Biog. Univ.*, iii. 390, 391 (BARNAVE).

cate in Dauphiné, who already had made himself conspicuous in the troubles of Grenoble, and on that account he was elected member for the Tiers Etat of Vizille. His figure was thin and little, his voice weak, and his physical qualities such as little qualified him to bear a leading part in the stormy scenes of the National Assembly. But within that frail and unprepossessing frame he concealed a powerful mind, an ardent spirit, a candid and generous heart. His rapid thought, quick discernment, and ready elocution, rendered him peculiarly powerful in debate; and being enthusiastic on the popular side, he would, but for the towering strength of Mirabeau, have acquired the lead on that side in the Assembly. On many occasions he stood forth second only to him, in these stormy discussions. Profoundly imbued with hatred of the aristocracy, he brought to the popular cause the ardent passions of the south of France; and the vehemence of his temper made him utter some expressions,* in palliation of the early excesses of the popular party, which have affixed a lasting stigma on his name. But in cooler moments the candour of his disposition prevailed over these unworthy passions; the clearness of his intellect at length opened his eyes to the fatal effects, upon the cause alike of order and of freedom, of the course which he was pursuing; his heart was touched by the dignity with which the queen, on the journey from Varennes, bore the reverses of fortune; and his last efforts in public life were devoted to

the vain endeavour to erect a barrier against that very democratic power which at first he made such strenuous efforts to establish.

36. These were the leading characters in the Constituent Assembly: for TALLEYRAND,† who took an important, though not a conspicuous part in their proceedings, was a man who subsequently rose to greatness, and whose portrait will more fitly be drawn in a future volume, when the extraordinary mutations of his fortune, and the unparalleled adroitness with which he regulated his career, have been unfolded. It would have been well for France, however, if the Assembly had contained only such men as these, who were endowed with enlarged minds, and held, in general, philanthropic views; and all of whom, even including Mirabeau, became ere long alive to the peril of the career on which they had adventured, and made strenuous though unsuccessful efforts to arrest the march of the Revolution. But, in addition to these, there were two clubs already established in Paris, which, although they had not attained the celebrity of those of the Jacobins and Cordeliers, which exercised so terrible a sway on its future fortunes, were yet not without their influence at the time, and are highly important as illustrating the secret views of the parties which were already formed in the States-General.

37. The first of these was a club which held its meetings at Montrouge, near Paris, and embraced all the confirmed conspirators. Its leading char-

* "Was, then, the blood which has been shed so very pure?"

† Charles Maurice de Perigord, afterwards Prince of Talleyrand, was born at Paris in 1754. He was nephew of the Archbishop of Rheims, and was early destined for the church, in which his inimitable penetration and skill in the management of affairs soon gave him a degree of importance, especially in matters of business. In 1789 his talents in these respects were so well known that he was named agent-general of the clergy; and in 1789, when the Revolution broke out, he was already Bishop of Autun. So well were his abilities known at this early period, that Mirabeau, in his secret correspondence with the court of Berlin, remarked him as one of the most acute and powerful men of his age. He was appointed deputy for the clergy of his diocese to the States-General in 1789; and

though not possessed of any oratorical talents, and seldom appearing at the tribune, he ere long acquired a great degree of celebrity; was a member of all the important committees, of which he soon acquired the direction, and thus came to exercise a powerful influence on the progress of the Revolution. His character will come to be more appropriately drawn in the close of this work, when the latter stages of his eventful career are detailed, with the immense sway which he exercised at the fall of Napoleon. He was the only distinguished member of the Constituent Assembly, on the popular side, who escaped exile or death at the hands of the democratic faction; and he did so only in consequence of the good sense which led him to withdraw to America during the worst days of the Revolution, when he was denounced by the Convention.—Chap. LXXXIX. § 84; *Biog. des Contemp.* xx. 440, 443.

acters were Mirabeau, Sièyes, the Count Latouche, the Count de Sillery, and the Chevalier Laclos. The three last were avowed and well-known parasites of the Orleans family, and had taken an active part in those infamous orgies which had given the Palais Royal and Folie de Chartres so deplorable a reputation. Laclos said with truth, that he had been for his friends "*la liaison la plus dangereuse*." * The plan of these conspirators, who had formed the settled design of overturning the throne, was to supplant the reigning dynasty by the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family—to get the duke created, first, lieutenant-general, and then sovereign of the kingdom. But as they were possessed of little influence, except in the most depraved circles of the capital, and had no weight whatever with any of the respectable members of society, they felt the necessity of allying themselves to the popular leaders, and using every effort, by the liberal application of money, and still more liberal assertion of democratic opinions, to win over to their side those masses of abandoned men and women with whom every great capital abounds, and who literally overflowed in Paris at the commencement of the Revolution. Mirabeau, to a certain extent, was admitted to their councils; he was flattered by their caresses and seduced by their luxuries, and would have gone all lengths with them if he had seen more vigour, and consequent chance of success, in their chief. The Duke of Orleans, ambitious, but yet weak and irresolute, allowed the conspiracy to proceed without any settled plan to what purpose to apply it, and still less capacity to obtain the mastery of its dark and selfish passions.

38. The other club, which embraced a much greater number, not of more abandoned, but of more sincere and determined characters, was the Club Breton. It had its meetings in Paris, and embraced all the decided democrats both in and out of the Assembly. The name of the club was taken from a number of ardent deputies from Brittany,

* Alluding to his well-known production, "*Les Liaisons Dangereuses*."

who first formed it, and at once brought into its bosom those fierce passions which had been drawn forth, and extreme designs which had been matured, during the civil conflict which had so lately distracted that province, [chap. III. §113]. Barnave, Rabaut St Etienne, the Abbé Grégoire, and many others, who made a figure in the first stages of the Constituent Assembly, were members of it; but it embraced others who rose to celebrity only in its later stages, particularly ROBESPIERRE, PETION, Buzot, Lanjuinais, and a large part of the Jacobins, who ultimately acquired such irresistible power in the Revolution. Their intentions were to establish an entire democracy, and, in the prosecution of that object, overturn the throne, the altar, and the whole institutions of the country. The Constituent Assembly was not ripe for their designs; the remains of monarchical attachment yet lingered in the bosoms of the majority of its members; they were prepared to overthrow almost everything else, but sincerely believed this might be effected without shaking the throne. Hence these extreme characters acquired no great influence in the first Assembly, but they were all-powerful in the last. This club, however, was regarded as a valuable focus of union by all the determined republicans: the early excesses of the Revolution were, for the most part, matured in its committees; and little is known of its designs, because all its members were bound by a solemn oath to divulge none of its proceedings. Sièyes, who was at first a member, early divined their dangerous intentions. "I will return there no more," said he to Mirabeau: "their politics are those of the cavern; their expedients consist in crimes."

39. Immense was the addition made to the excitement in the capital, by the protracted contest between the nobles and commons as to the verification of their orders separately or in common. Suspense in this, as in most other cases, added to passion. It was felt by all that this was the vital question of the Revolution; that if this cardinal point were once gained, there would no longer remain any obstacle whatever to the

establishment of a new constitution on a thoroughly democratic basis. The journals incessantly dwelt on the incalculable blessings which would flow from such a consummation: they extolled Necker to the skies; he was the first of men, the saviour of France, the destroyer of feudal tyranny, the Avatar of the human race. The arts lent their aid to the general illusion; and in a multitude of engravings, rapidly published and eagerly bought up, he was represented like Samson, throwing down, by his single arm, the vast fabric of Gothic oppression.* It may be conceived how the mind of this well-meaning and conscientious, but vain, and in this respect weak man—living as he did on the breath of popularity, and worshipping with fervent adoration public opinion as the unerring guide of the statesman—reeled under the intoxication of this universal adoration. It rendered him wholly unequal to the crisis, and aggravated the dreadful fault he had originally committed, in leaving the question of voting by order or by head undecided by the king. For he was too much influenced by the thirst for popularity to attempt anything likely to check it, and yet too sensible of the impending danger to venture upon that bold course which, by putting him at once at the head of the movement, might possibly have given him its direction.

40. The aristocratic class, however, as the contest between the orders rolled on, and week after week elapsed without any adjustment having been effected, became daily more sensible of the dan-

* The author is in possession of a collection of these engravings, which is one of the most curious records of the Revolution. They indicate a degree of fervour in the public mind which would be deemed incredible, if not established by such authoritative contemporary evidence. So rapid, however, were the mutations of popularity in the progress of the convulsion, that all the industry of the artists could not produce original designs to keep pace with them; and the device they fell upon was to reproduce the old plates with a *new face* inserted in the principal figure. In this way they soon decapitated Necker, and substituted the hideous visage of Marat on his shoulders; and on the old body of Lafayette there appeared first the head of Dumourier, and afterwards that of Napoleon.

ger in which they were involved. The king's ministers were in consternation, but wholly at a loss what expedient to adopt to extricate the nation from its embarrassments. Necker, whom the menacing tone and hourly increasing strength of the *Tiers Etat* had at length weaned, at the eleventh hour, from his unbounded confidence in their wisdom, moderation, and virtue, fairly confessed in private to Marmontel that he had no project to suggest. The more influential members of the commons, who dined frequently at his hotel, evinced clearly by their manner that they would no longer submit to him as their leader, and that gratitude for past services was entirely obliterated in their breasts by the ambition for future elevation. It was proposed to the ministers that the king should retire into one of the strong places, and put himself at the head of his troops; but the total want of money, and the certainty that such a step would at once induce national bankruptcy and civil war, was considered as an insurmountable objection. "Do you really," said M. de Montmorin, "conceive the danger to be so imminent as to call for these extreme measures?"—"I believe it is so pressing," replied Marmontel, "that in a month hence I would not answer for the liberty of the king, nor for his head—nor for yours."

41. The prelates sounded the alarm in the strongest terms on this portentous state of things. The torrent of irreligious opinion with which France had lately been deluged, had awakened a general belief amongst the reflecting part of the community that some terrible national catastrophe was at hand. The ex-Jesuit Beau-Regard, when preaching before the court in Lent, on May 20th, appeared to be suddenly seized with a fit of frenzy, like the Pythian goddess when under divine inspiration, and pronounced with an emphatic voice these remarkable words, which subsequent events rendered prophetic:—"Yes! thy temples, O Lord, shall be destroyed; thy worship abolished; thy name blasphemed. But what do I hear, great God!—to the holy strains which beneath sacred roofs arose in thy praise shall succeed pro-

fane and licentious songs; the infamous rites of Venus shall usurp the place of the worship of the Most High! and she herself sit on the throne of the Holy of Holies, to receive the incense of her new adorers." Who could have imagined that this was literally to be accomplished in four years within the cathedral walls of Notre Dame! *

42. It was not surprising that these desponding views were entertained by all persons of a reflecting turn in Paris; for the designs of the conspirators against the throne were fully formed, firmly acted upon, and rapidly approached their accomplishment. They were thus unfolded by Chamfort, Mirabeau's friend and confidant, to Marmontel: "It is useless to talk of repairing and not destroying; extensive ameliorations soon reduce an old edifice to a heap of ruins. It is necessary to destroy the old edifice from top to bottom. Is it any great grievance to think that you are likely to hear no more of titles, or noblesse, or roturiers, or eminences, or greatness, or high or low clergy? Be assured the leaders know what they are about."—"But will the nation," said Marmontel, "agree to all that?"—"The nation!" returned Chamfort: "bah! the nation is a huge flock of sheep, which is intent only on getting good pasture, and which can easily be guided at pleasure by good shepherds and fierce dogs. The old worship, the ancient régime, the manners and prejudices of the last age, only excite pity in the present. The throne and the altar will fall together; we must have a clean sweep for our new institutions. Everything is foreseen and calculated upon. Our main reliance is on the humanity of the king, which is so excessive as to amount to pusillanimity: rely upon it, he will never, even in the last extremity, authorise the shedding of blood. The clergy will oppose no resistance: those of them interested in the old abuses are corrupted by their long continuance; those who are not, pant for their destruction. The high noblesse

contains some energetic characters; but their number is too small, the majority of their body too corrupted to act, too detested to make others do so. The Tiers Etat, on the other hand, numerous, enthusiastic, united, possessing nearly all the available riches of the kingdom, is combined in a vast league, having its ramifications over the whole kingdom, and, directed by leaders of equal courage and ability at Paris, will soon become omnipotent. Many of the commons, we are well aware, will disapprove such vigorous measures, and tremble at anything which threatens to disturb their repose or their enjoyment; but the murmurs of that timid class will come to nothing, and be speedily overwhelmed by the shouts of the multitude, tenfold as numerous, who have everything to gain and nothing to lose by public convulsions. Should they prove sluggish, we have powerful means to rouse them—want, famine, money, rumours of alarm, and the general delusions. Our orators, at five francs a-head, spread through the primary assemblies, will beat Demosthenes himself in producing an effect. We have lately tried our strength in the Faubourg St Antoine: you would hardly believe how little it cost the Duke of Orleans to excite that tumult at Reveil-lon's: Mirabeau always maintains, that with a thousand louis he can any day get up a very pretty sedition."

43. While the political atmosphere was thus daily becoming darker in Paris, and that uncertainty and suspense prevailed which is so powerful an agent in augmenting public effervescence, the States-General remained inactive and paralysed by the continued and obstinate resistance of the Tiers Etat to constituting themselves, unless in concert with the other orders. During the discussion on this important subject, the clergy, who wished to bring about a union of the orders without openly yielding to the commons, sent a deputation, headed by the Archbishop of Aix, to make a pathetic appeal to them on the miseries of the country people; and he concluded by making a proposal that some deputies of the commons should join a conference with a few of

* This remarkable prophecy appears in all the contemporary journals, and may be fully relied on.—PRUDHOMME, *Révolution de Paris*, Mai 23, 1789.

the clergy and nobles, on the best means of assuaging these sufferings. The former, who did not wish to yield anything, and yet knew not how to decline such a proposal without compromising themselves with the people, were at a loss what answer to return, when a young man, unknown to the Assembly, rose and said, "Go and tell your colleagues, that if they are so impatient to assuage the sufferings of the poor, let them come to this hall to unite themselves with their friends; tell them no longer to retard our operations by affected delays—tell them it is vain to employ stratagems like this to induce us to change our firm resolutions. Rather let them, as worthy imitators of their Master, renounce a luxury which consumes the funds of indigence; dismiss those insolent lackeys who attend them; sell their superb equipages, and convert those vile superfluities into alimment for the poor." At this speech, which so clearly expressed the passions of the moment, a confused murmur of applause ran through the assembly; every one asked who was the young deputy who had so happily given vent to the public feeling. His name afterwards made every man in France tremble—it was MAXIMILIEN ROBESPIERRE.

44. At length the commons deemed the public mind sufficiently declared to authorise a departure from the system of passive resistance they had hitherto pursued, and to adopt measures of aggression against the king and the constitution. It was gradually, and with caution, however, that their leaders entered on that adventurous career. The first step was to name commissioners; and they appointed, by a large majority, sixteen commissioners to meet with sixteen of the nobles and clergy taken together, to endeavour to effect a reconciliation with the other orders, and an adjustment of the differences between them. These conferences accordingly took place, and the commissioners on both sides were men of the most distinguished ability; but, as might have been foreseen, they led to no other result but widening the breach between the various orders, and rendering the leaders of each aware that the differ-

ences between them were so serious as to render all hope of an accommodation chimerical. The commissioners of the commons were resolute to admit no proposition which would, by implication even, throw the slightest doubt on the vote by head; those of the nobles and clergy, composed entirely of the dignified portion of the latter, were equally firm to adhere to the invariable practice in former States-General—to verify their powers, and vote in separate chambers; and the nobles, upon a report of their commissioners, passed a resolution, on the motion of M. de Villequier, that their powers should be verified separately. In this debate d'Espréménil strongly opposed the encroachments of the commons. "After having given," said he, "a shining example of *disinterestedness*, it is now our duty to rally round our ancient constitution, and to give one of firmness. I demand that it be resolved, that the deliberations by order, and the power inherent in each order of putting a veto on the resolutions of the others, are fundamental in the monarchy. The nobility will ever profess principles conservative alike of the throne and of liberty." This resolution was carried by a majority of two hundred and two to forty-six—the Duke of Orleans voting and protesting with the minority. It was adopted, although in the course of it a letter was brought to the noblesse from Louis, expressing an earnest wish that the conference should be resumed on the following day at six, in presence of the Keeper of the Seals and commissioners appointed by the king.

45. When the king's letter was received by the commons, they perceived at once the immense advantage which it gave them, and immediately resolved, while still maintaining their principles, to fall, or feign to fall, into the views of the sovereign. "We are in danger," said Mirabeau, "if we adopt the recommendation of the king; we are in danger if we refuse it. Let us steer between these two shoals: let us accede to the king's invitation, but preface the renewed conferences with a dazzling declaration, which may at once defeat intrigue and unmask calumny. The

sovereign has sent us a message full of goodness ; let us vote him an address overflowing with affection, wherein we may consecrate at once our sentiments and our opinions." In pursuance of this advice, they resolved to accede to the king's proposal, and reappointed their commissioners to confer with those of the nobles and clergy, with the addition of those appointed by the crown. Their address concluded with these words—"Sire ! your faithful commons will never forget what they owe to their king : they will never forget the natural alliance of the throne and the people against both branches of the aristocracy, whose powers cannot be established save on the ruins of the royal authority and of the public felicity." But the deputation of the Tiers insisted that they should have no intermediate communication, but be received by the king in person ; and this personal interview was prevented, partly by a difficulty as to whether they should be presented according to ancient etiquette on their knees, and partly by the alarming illness of the Dauphin, whose health, long declining, at length gave way, and he expired, fortunately for himself, in the arms of his inconsolable parents, a few days afterwards. Bailly, with the deputation, was at length admitted on 6th June with the address of the commons ; but it elicited nothing of importance from the king, beyond ordinary expressions of satisfaction at their sympathy. An attempt was afterwards made by the king's ministers to reconcile the parties by the sovereign's pronouncing a decision as umpire, if the commissioners of the orders could not come to a decision ; but this proposal came to nothing, both the nobles and commons agreeing that such a method of settling their differences was derogatory to the dignity of their order.

46. At length the commons, deeming the public sufficiently enthusiastic in their support to warrant the adoption of offensive measures, resolved upon a step calculated to bring matters to a crisis. Sièyes was the orator put forward to submit the proposal. On entering the Assembly he said to his friends, "Let us cut the cable : it is

time to set sail." When he ascended the tribune, he observed, "Since the opening of the States-General the commons have pursued a frank and moderate policy : they have evinced all the regard for the noblesse and clergy which their own duties and position permitted, while the two privileged orders have made them no requital but by hypocrisy and subterfuge. The Assembly cannot remain in a state of inactivity, without betraying its duties and the interests of its constituents. It has become indispensable, therefore, to put a period to our long inaction. It is impossible to form ourselves into a deliberative assembly, until it is settled, in the first instance, who are to compose it. The Assembly cannot be subjected to any other judgment but the collective opinions of its representatives. The noblesse resist all approaches towards an accommodation : by that very act, they confer on the commons the right to examine their powers—for it is enough for one party to reject a conciliatory step to warrant the other to proceed without its concurrence. The Assembly, therefore, has no other course to adopt, but to summon the members of the two privileged orders to meet in the hall of the States-General, to assist and concur in the verification in common of their powers." He then submitted a motion, to the effect that the two other orders were *invited* to concur in the verification of the powers. This motion was carried by a majority of *one*—the numbers being two hundred and forty-seven to two hundred and forty-six : fifty-one declined voting. It is remarkable that the first resolution of importance, both in the French Revolution of 1789 and the English one of 1832, was carried by the same slender majority.*

47. On this resolution being reported to the clergy, they replied : "We have mourned the delay which has taken place in consequence of our anxious desire to conciliate the orders ; and we wait with impatience the termination

* Leave to bring in the Reform Bill on March 1, 1831, was carried by a majority of one; the numbers being 301 to 300.—*Ann. Reg.* 1831.

of the conferences to put ourselves in activity. We will devote ourselves with the most serious attention to the objects which you have submitted to our consideration." The noblesse answered, "The order of the noblesse have received, gentlemen, the proposition of the orders of the Tiers Etat; it will deliberate on it in its chamber, and will have the honour of giving you its answer." Upon this, Malouet proposed in the Tiers Etat an address to the king, which was agreed to, and bore—"The noblesse have now taken their resolution: they have passed an *arrêté*, by which they have reserved to their order to give a simple and decisive answer; and refuse to agree to the plan proposed by your commissioners. The *arrêté* renders all attempts at conciliation impossible. The noblesse not only does not adopt it, inasmuch as it has embraced a resolution of an entirely opposite character; but it repels alike its letter and its spirit, since it pretends to abide by the judgment of its own order when the method proposed embraces all points in dispute, and proceeds on the principle universally recognised, that deputies who are called to a common duty should proceed in common to the examination and sanctioning of their composition." The Tiers Etat waited till five in the afternoon, when a deputation of the noblesse was introduced, who stated—"Gentlemen, the order of the noblesse have begun their deliberations on the proposition of the Tiers Etat: they will continue their deliberations at their next sitting, and will communicate to you the resolution which they may adopt." Bailly, the chairman of the Tiers, answered—"Gentlemen, the commons have waited long for the arrival of the gentlemen of the noblesse; they have still the hope to see them repair to the hall of the Estates." With this answer, the deputation from the noblesse retired, and the commons, having waited till seven o'clock for the arrival of the other orders, began calling the roll of the *whole States-General, including the nobles and clergy*. None of the latter made their appearance to

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answer to their names. The calling ceased at ten o'clock, and the Tiers Etat, after choosing Bailly for their chairman, adjourned for the night.

48. The die was now cast; the first step in the usurpation of the commons had been taken. It was not without being prepared for civil war, and having made up their minds to go all lengths in support of their pretensions, that so decided a measure was adopted. The state of the provinces was to the last degree alarming; and the multitude of famished desperate characters whom the general distress, and almost universal disturbances, had impelled into the capital, had added fearfully to the strength of the agitators. Such had been the severity of the storms in the preceding summer, which had laid waste the crops, that in several provinces the scarcity amounted to actual famine; and real suffering added to the fervour so generally excited, by the prospect of the immediate regeneration of society which it was believed was approaching. Now was seen what a fatal error Necker had committed in leaving the question of voting by order or head undecided, at the very time that his duplication of the Tiers Etat rendered it utterly impossible for the noblesse, with the slightest regard to the preservation of the monarchy, to agree to a union of the orders. Even an express command to the nobles and clergy to unite with the commons would have been less dangerous, for that would only have determined the mode of deliberating and voting; while the course adopted, in addition to that, exhibited an entire paralysis of the royal authority for six weeks, and spread abroad the belief that government was too much alarmed to take any decided step—the most perilous impression which, in a period of agitation, it is possible to diffuse among an excited people.

49. During this suspension of government, the disorders in the provinces, originating for the most part in the severe scarcity which everywhere prevailed, had risen to the highest pitch. The people in almost all the small towns and rural districts rose, took up arms,

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assembled themselves in tumultuous mobs, and violently seized, first provisions, and at length everything of value, which they could carry off from the houses of the more opulent classes of society. In Normandy, Brie, Lorraine, Brittany, Languedoc, and Provence, the brigands appeared at the same time, and, not content with levying contributions of money and provisions, soon proceeded to acts of conflagration and murder. Universal terror attended these excesses: the military, divided in opinion, and irresolute, could not be everywhere, and often refused to act; and if a body of soldiers appeared in any quarter, the bands, perfectly acquainted with the country, disappeared, and resumed their excesses in other districts. At Marseilles, the citizens, driven to desperation, formed a corps of volunteers for the protection of life and property; at Toulon, the troops refused to fire upon the insurgents, and it became necessary to form a burgher guard for the preservation of the public peace. So universal was the alarm in Brittany, that forty thousand men enrolled themselves in that province, professedly for the protection of property, and to support the States-General, but the greater part really with ulterior revolutionary views. Terror and disquietude generally prevailed; and, for the purposes either of attack or defence, bodies of armed men, self-constituted and self-directed, were already on foot, in almost every part of the country, before the taking of the Bastille gave the signal for universal insurrection. Soon the pioneers of revolution, half-famished, ferocious bands, began to appear in formidable groups in the capital, as sea-birds hover round a ship when the clouds gather and the waves rise: their number ere long became so large as to excite equal terror in the holders of property, and hopes in the leaders of the democracy; and the king, justly alarmed for the safety even of his palace, began to draw troops into the vicinity of Paris.

50. Meanwhile, the able leaders of the popular party in the Assembly, carefully watching the signs of the times, and keeping in advance of the

movement, so as to preserve their popularity, and in a certain degree obtain its direction, advanced steadily in their career of usurpation. On the 13th June, when the roll of the nobles and clergy was called as usual, three curés from Poitou, MM. Lécave, Ballard, and Tallet, appeared, and requested admission. "We come," said the last, "at the call of our country, which urges us to establish that concord and harmony between the orders, on which the success of the States-General and the safety of the kingdom depend: may this step be received by all the orders with the same feelings which prompt it; may it be generally imitated; may it secure for us the esteem of all good Frenchmen!" Indescribable were the transports with which these words were received: the applause shook the hall, and was prolonged several minutes without intermission; and at length the members spontaneously rose from their seats, crowded round the adventurous curés, congratulated them on their courage, and promised them their powerful protection. "It is our duty," said they, "to take these intrepid citizens under our safeguard; let us put them beyond the reach of their enemies; let their names be for ever inscribed on our annals, as the first conquerors of prejudice." The effects of this first secession were soon apparent: on the following day six other curés made their appearance, and were received with the like enthusiasm; but by the sage advice of the Abbé Grégoire, one of their number, after answering to their names when the roll was called, they returned to the chamber of the clergy, both to give an account of the reception they had met with, and to strengthen the hands of their party in their own order. The great division of opinion in it was well known: a hundred curés had already held separate meetings, and were resolved to join the *Tiers Etat*; and it was only by the efforts of the Abbé Coster, acting for the Archbishop of Paris, that this great schism was adjourned from day to day.

-51. Encouraged by the prospect of this powerful support, and by the hourly

increasing agitation of the capital, as well as the intelligence of disturbances in the provinces, the *Tiers Etat* made a further and still more decisive step in the career of usurpation. It was no longer a question whether they should, of their own authority, constitute themselves the representatives of the nation: the only doubt was what title they should assume. Sièyes, who again took the lead, proposed that they should style themselves—"The Assembly of the known and verified Representatives of the French Nation." "This," said he, "is the only name which can be assumed in strict accordance with the fact, for we have not lost the hope of seeing united to us the still absent members of the other orders: the moment they appear, whether individually or collectively, our doors will be open to receive them, and we will hasten to concur with them in the great work of the regeneration of France." Loud applause followed these words, and numerous orators were hastening to the tribune to inscribe their names for the support of the motion, when Mirabeau excited universal surprise by demanding to be heard against it.

52. "We are about," said he, "to depart from that circle within which your wisdom has long kept you circumscribed. Time, meanwhile, has rolled on; the pretensions, the usurpations of the two other orders have increased; your wise caution has been taken for weakness—hopes have been entertained that weariness, uneasiness, the public misfortunes, unavoidable in such unheard-of circumstances, would precipitate you into some step either pusillanimous or inconsiderate. Now is the time to reassure every mind—to inspire your adversaries with the restraint, the fear, I had almost said the terror, of respect, by showing, in the very outset of your measures, the foresight of skill joined to the firmness of reason. Every one of you feels, gentlemen, how easy it would now be, by vehement speeches, to impel you to extreme measures; your rights are so evident, your demands so simple, the proceedings of the two other orders so clearly irregular, their principles so contestable, that any parallel

between them and you is out of the question. It is said we must constitute ourselves, and assume a denomination. Unquestionably we must; but let us take care that, in the assumption of a name, we do not give a handle to our enemies, and undo in one day the work of six weeks. 'The States-General,'—all admit such a title would be improper: it supposes three orders, and we are but one. But it is said we may find another name, nearly synonymous, without implying the whole three orders. But the question always recurs, have you the sanction of the king for such an assumption, and can you dispense with it? Can the authority of the monarch slumber an instant? Is it not indispensable that he should concur in your decree? Is it not by that concurrence alone that he is bound by it? And even if we should deny, contrary alike to principle and precedent, that his concurrence is necessary to render obligatory every act of this assembly, will he adhibit to subsequent decrees a sanction, which it is admitted we cannot do without, when they are consequent upon a mode of constitution which he cannot admit?

"Are you sure of the support of your constituents in the step you now meditate? Do not believe the people are interested in the metaphysical discussions which have hitherto occupied us. They are worthy, doubtless, of more consideration than has hitherto been attached to them, for they lie at the bottom of the whole system of national representation; but are the people prepared to see their importance? The people wish relief, for they have no longer the strength to suffer; they would throw off oppression, because they can no longer breathe under the horrible load which crushes them; but they ask only not to be taxed beyond what they can endure, and to be allowed to bear their misery in peace. Doubtless, we have more elevated views, and have formed wishes more suitable to the dignity of freemen; but we must accommodate ourselves to circumstances, and make use of the instruments which are in our hands. It is alone by so doing that you will obtain the support,

by attending to the interest, of your constituents. It is thus alone that you will secure on your side the inestimable support of public opinion. Till that is obtained, it will be easy to divide the people by ephemeral gifts, passing succours, feigned conspiracies, or real dangers. It is no difficult matter to make the multitude sell a constitution for bread.

"Is principle clearly with you? We are all here by the king's convocation, and by it alone. Doubtless you may, and should, seek to obtain a more secure and independent mode of assembling, when you are constituted, and your powers have commenced; but can you make any such change just now? Can you do so before being constituted? Can you do so, even when constituted, of your single authority, without the concurrence of the other orders? What right have you to advance beyond the limits of your title? Does not the legislature imply three orders, though convoked in a single assembly? Do your mandates, your cahiers, authorise you to declare yourselves the assembly of the only representatives recognised and verified? The consequences of such a step are evident—an unchaining of every passion, a coalition of every aristocracy, and *that hideous anarchy which never fails to end in despotism*. You will have pillage and butchery; you will have the fearful horrors of civil war—for the French have never fought for things, but for one individual or another. What do you make of the *veto* of the king, if he should refuse it to your constitution? Will you in your turn refuse it to the king? For myself, gentlemen, I believe the sanction of the king is so indispensable to your constitution, that I would rather live at Constantinople than in France if it did not exist. Yes, I declare I know nothing more terrible than an aristocracy of six hundred men, self-constituted, who will soon become hereditary, and end, like all aristocracies of the world, by swallowing up everything."

53. The debate was prolonged during three days, and continued on the third till past midnight. It was con-

ducted with the utmost violence. "Who are the nobility," cried Siéyes, "that we should have so much consideration for them? They represent a hundred and fifty thousand individuals, we twenty-five millions. If we yield, it is an ignominious betrayal of our trust—it is surrendering twenty-five millions of men to the yoke of a few thousands of the privileged orders." Carried away by the apparent force of this argument, the Assembly, by a majority of 491 to 90, resolved "that they are the representatives of ninety-six hundredths, at the very least, of the nation. Such a mass cannot be rendered inactive by the absence of the representatives of a few bailiwicks, or a particular class of citizens; for the absent, who have been summoned, cannot prevent the present from exercising the plenitude of their rights, especially when the exercise of those rights has become an imperative and pressing public duty. Moreover, since it belongs only to the verified representation to concur in the formation of the national will, and since all the representatives ought to be in that Assembly, they declare further, that *they, and they alone, are entitled to interpret and represent the general will of the nation*; and that there exists not between the throne and this Assembly *any veto, any negative power*. The Assembly declare that the great work of national regeneration should be begun by the deputies present, and that they will pursue it without either obstacle or interruption." Struck by the flagrant nature of this usurpation, which assumed the whole powers of the States-General into one of the orders, and which even denied the king's veto on their resolutions, the minority, though without hope, continued a strenuous opposition. The cries of the opposite parties drowned the voices of the speakers; the wind blew with terrific violence, and shook the windows as if the edifice in which they were sitting was about to fall. But Bailly, the president, remained immovable; and the minority, wearied with a fruitless opposition, retired at one in the morning, leaving the Assembly in the hands of the popular party. It was then

resolved, by a majority of 491 to 90, to assume the title of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY; and intimation was sent to the other orders that they would proceed to constitute themselves, with or without their adherence—which they immediately afterwards did, by that dignified appellation. By the assumption of this title, and passing of the resolution, the *Tiers Etat* openly evinced their determination to erect themselves into a sovereign power, and, like the Long Parliament of Charles I., disregard alike the throne and the nobility. Mirabeau was absent at the vote—so strongly did he foresee the perilous tendency of the measure.

54. On the day following, the Assembly met in presence of above four thousand spectators, who crowded every gallery, passage, and crevice in the hall, and there with great solemnity took an oath,—"We swear and promise to fulfil with zeal and fidelity the duties with which we are charged." Next they passed resolutions to the following effect,—"The National Assembly declares and decrees, that all taxes or imposts levied without its express, formal, and free concurrence, shall instantly cease over the whole kingdom, *on the day on which this Assembly is dissolved*; in the mean time, all imposts and contributions, how illegal soever in their origin, shall continue to be levied until the day of its separation. As soon as it shall, with the concurrence of his majesty, fix the principles of the national regeneration, it will devote itself to the consolidation of the public debt—putting from this moment the whole creditors of the state under the safeguard of the honour and loyalty of the French nation. In fine, the Assembly, now become active, declares that it will without delay proceed to the consideration of the causes which have produced the present scarcity which afflicts the nation, and the investigation of the most efficacious means for its removal; for which purpose a committee shall be instantly appointed." These resolutions, so well calculated to meet the wishes of the great body of the public, were ordered to be printed, and sent into all the provinces.

55. The able leaders of the Revolution knew human nature well when they passed these resolutions. On the one hand, by declaring all imposts of every description illegal from the moment of their own dissolution, they took the most effectual means that could be devised to prevent such an event; for it was evident that, in the present vehemently excited state of the public mind, the breaking up of the Assembly, with such a resolution standing on their journals, would be immediately followed by a general refusal to pay taxes, and consequent cutting off of the royal revenue, over the whole kingdom. On the other hand, the resolutions in favour of public creditors, and for the immediate investigation of the causes of the scarcity, held out the prospect of security to the former of these important bodies, and that of relief to the immense multitudes who were suffering from the latter. No language, accordingly, can describe the enthusiasm which these decisive measures awakened over all France. Tears of joy were shed when the intelligence was received in the provinces. "A single day," it was said, "has destroyed eight hundred years of prejudice and slavery. The nation has recovered its rights, and reason resumed its sway." But the more thoughtful trembled at the consequences of such gigantic steps. "Not only," said they, "are the noblesse and the clergy set aside, usage disregarded, rights abolished, but the authority of the throne itself is undermined. In England, a balance is preserved between the three estates; but here the National Assembly has swallowed up everything."*

56. And now began a system hardly

* Mirabeau, at this crisis, wrote to his friend Major Mauvillon in Prussia: "If, as I cannot anticipate, the king gives his sanction to the new title which we have assumed, it will be evident that the deputies of the *Tiers Etat* have played away the monarchy at a game of hazard. Nothing can be clearer than that we are not ripe. The excessive folly, the fearful disorder of government, have made the Revolution red-hot: it has outstripped both our knowledge and our habits."—MIRABEAU TO MAJOR MAUVILLON, June 19, 1787; *Lettres de Mirabeau à ses amis en Allemagne*, 469.

less ruinous in the end than the flagrant usurpation of the whole powers of the state, which the Tiers Etat had just committed. This was the practice of publishing lists of the deputies who had voted against the popular side, and exposing them to the indignation or vengeance of the people. On the very next day after the decisive vote on the title of the Assembly, the names of the ninety constituting the minority were placarded at the Palais Royal and in the clubs, and the most extravagant falsehoods put forward to increase the excitement which prevailed. The multitude were everywhere told that the minority had voted against any constitution; and to such lengths did the calumnies go, and so completely were the people worked up, that little was wanting to make them burn the houses of the unpopular deputies. Mirabeau, aware of what was going on, took care not to be present at the final division, so that his name did not appear in the obnoxious list; and his friends appeased the people by telling them that he had voted on the right side. The multitude, ever carried away by the exhibition of a courage which they feel themselves incapable of imitating, were intoxicated with admiration of the majority of the Assembly, and vowed vengeance on all sides against the minority of traitors and aristocrats who had dared to oppose them.

57. The aristocratic party were thunderstruck by this measure, but they possessed neither power nor capacity sufficient to counteract its influence. The Marquis de Montesquieu proposed what appeared the only rational course, which was, that, to counterbalance this stretch of power by the commons, the nobles and clergy should address the king to constitute them into an Upper Chamber; but they wanted resolution, or were too blinded by passion to adopt it. It was with difficulty he could bring his speech to a conclusion, so frequent and vehement were the clamours with which he was assailed. In truth, the proposal itself was, in the circumstances of the two Upper Chambers, fraught with difficulty, if not danger. Vengeance on the rebellious commons was

what the more vigorous breathed: the prudent, with reason, dreaded the infusion into their order of the numerous democratic curés in the order of the clergy. The number of the clergy attached to the Revolution was so great that it was doubtful how the majority would stand, if they were united with the noblesse in a single chamber. The Duke of Luxembourg, the Cardinal Rochefoucauld, and the Archbishop of Paris, besought the king to adopt energetic measures, and support their orders against the usurpation of the commons; and the nobility, by a large majority, passed a solemn and most vigorous resolution to that effect, in the form of a protest, which was laid before the king. But it was all in vain. The majority of the nobles indeed were resolute, but the court was vacillating. Decision in action belonged only to the commons, who had the advantage of depending on their own will alone, and they, in consequence, speedily obtained the whole power of the state.*

58. But though the nobles were thus

* The address of the nobles on this occasion stated: "The spirit of innovation threatens the fundamental laws of the constitution. The order of the noblesse have observed the law and former usage; they respectfully solicit the same observance from others. Your majesty has suggested, by your ministers, a plan of conciliation; the order of noblesse have adopted it, with the reservation of the principles with which it is imbued—it has presented its resolution to your majesty, and deposited it in your hands. The deputies of the order of the Tiers Etat conceive that they can concentrate in their own hands the whole powers of the States-General, without awaiting either the concurrence of the other orders or the sanction of your majesty; they have arrogated to themselves the power of converting their decrees into laws—they have ordered them to be printed and sent to all the provinces; they have, by a single decree, destroyed the whole taxes, and revived them for a period fixed by themselves, of their single authority, without the concurrence of the king or the other orders. It is in the hands of your majesty that we deposit our protests, and we have no warmer desire than to concur with you in measures for the general good. If the rights which we maintain were personal to ourselves, we should have less confidence in maintaining them: but the interests we defend are common to your majesty with ourselves; they are the bulwarks of the Tiers Etat themselves—in a word, of the whole French people."—*Protestation de la Noblesse*, Jan. 19, 1789; *Hist. Parl.* ii. 476, 478.

resolute to resist the usurpation of the commons, a very different spectacle was exhibited in the chamber of the clergy. The numerous body of the curés in that assembly, who sympathised, both from interest and inclination, with the commons, made the most strenuous efforts to induce their order to take part with the Tiers Etat. The debate lasted eight days. The Abbé Maury poured forth, in prophetic and eloquent strains, the loudest denunciations of danger and ruin, alike to the throne and the altar, if the usurpations of the commons were not arrested. But all his efforts, and all the influence of the prelates and higher orders of the clergy, were unable to preserve the curés and lower ecclesiastics from being carried away by the torrent of democracy. On the roll being called, one hundred and thirty-seven voted for the motion of the Archbishop of Paris, which was, that they should verify their powers in their own Chamber—one hundred and twenty-nine for the verification in common, and nine for the same measure, but with the restriction that they should dispose of the matter of the powers themselves in the common hall. The dignified clergy, upon this result being announced, clapped their hands, and exclaimed that they had the majority. But their triumph was of short duration. The minority of one hundred and twenty-nine now proposed to the nine dissentients, that they should acquiesce in their proposal of a simple and unqualified verification in common; and upon the latter refusing, they all declared in one voice that they would accept the reservations, and that they now had the majority, which was certainly true, of ONE. On this the Archbishop of Paris, and the whole prelates who had voted with them, declared that the matter had been settled by the previous decision in their favour; and rising from their seats withdrew, without having closed the meeting or adopted any resolution. The majority of one hundred and thirty-eight, however, remained; and, others having come in before the roll was again called, their number was ultimately swelled to a hundred and forty-nine, which was published the same night to

the capital, and received with unbounded transports. Thus was the decisive vote in the clergy, as well as that in the Tiers Etat, carried in favour of the Revolution by a majority of one—an extraordinary coincidence, when it is recollected that the same majority brought in the Reform Bill in Great Britain.

59. Great was the consternation of M. Necker at these decisive events, which so clearly demonstrated that he had lost the control of the movement, and that his power of directing the tempest he had had so large a share in conjuring up was at an end. Such was his vanity, and ignorance of the nature of a popular insurrection, that he flattered himself to the very last with the idea that the commons, out of gratitude to him for the duplication of their numbers, would prove entirely submissive to his will, and that they would willingly acquiesce in any arrangement which he might propose to the king. Unhappily Louis himself, trusting to the popularity of his minister, and desirous of avoiding extremities, entertained the same opinion. In pursuance of this belief, Necker had prepared a plan for adjusting the differences between the orders, the foundation of which was to be, that the orders were to deliberate and vote in common during the present States-General on subjects of taxation and national or public concern, and in their separate orders on those in which their respective interests or privileges were concerned; but the king was positively to announce that he would consent in future to no arrangement in which the legislature was not divided into at least two chambers—pointing thus, not obscurely, to the English constitution as a model. This plan was earnestly pressed by the minister upon the monarch, accompanied with the alarming intimation, which subsequent events proved to be well founded, that in truth no other resource remained, for that the army could not be relied upon if required to act against the States-General.* It

* "Sire, I am afraid they deceive you on the spirit of your army: the correspondence of the provinces makes me believe that it will not act against the States-General. Do not,

argued little for the sagacity or knowledge of mankind which the Swiss minister possessed, that he could have for a moment supposed such a system feasible; or have deluded himself into a belief that an ambitious, reckless majority, formed of the doubled Tiers Etat and the minority of the nobles and clergy, would not, on these national questions of general concern, have speedily succeeded in tearing the monarchy to pieces. But events succeeded each other with such rapidity that his projects could not be matured before decisive steps became necessary; and the resolution of the majority of the clergy, on the evening of the 19th, to join the Tiers Etat, rendered immediate steps indispensable. It was accordingly resolved, in a royal council held on that very evening, to proclaim a royal sitting on the 23d, to announce the king's project for settling the mode of voting; and, in the mean time, to close the hall of the States-General.

60. In pursuance of this resolution, the heralds-at-arms in Versailles, early on the following morning, proclaimed that the king would meet the Estates on the 23d, and on the same day the doors of the hall of the States-General were closed by grenadiers of the guard against the deputies of the commons. This step was certainly unfortunate; it announced hostile intentions without any explanation of what was really intended, and irritated the deputies without subduing

then, bring it near Versailles, as if it was your intention to employ it in a hostile manner against the deputies. The popular party do not, as yet, know against whom the forces which are approaching are directed. Take advantage of the same uncertainty to maintain your authority in public opinion; for if the fatal secret of the insubordination of the troops once becomes known, how will it be possible to restrain the factious spirit? What is now indispensable is, to accede to the reasonable wishes of France; design to resign yourself to the English constitution. Personally you will experience no annoyance from the restraint of the laws, for never will they fetter you so much as your own scruples; and in anticipating the desires of the people, you will have the merit of giving to-day what may, perhaps, be taken from you to-morrow."—NECKER, *Mémoire au Roi*, 8th June 1789; *DE STAEL, Révolution Française*, i. 213, 214. This was really sage advice: would that Necker had never given the king any other!

them. Bailly, the president of the Assembly, went in form to the doors, and finding them closed by orders of the king, he protested against the despotic violence of the crown. Opinions were at first much divided what course to adopt—some proposing that they should instantly adjourn to the palace, and lay their grievances before the sovereign in person; others, that they should move into the capital, and throw themselves on the support of its immense population. At length it was proposed, on the suggestion of Guillotin*—an ominous name, as events turned out—to adjourn to the Tennis-court hall, in the neighbourhood, which was at once agreed to. The following oath, drawn up by Mounier, was immediately tendered to the deputies, and first taken by Bailly himself: "The National Assembly, considering that they have been convoked to fix the constitution of the kingdom, to regenerate the public order, and fix the true principles of the monarchy; that nothing can prevent them from continuing their deliberations, and completing the important work committed to their charge; and that, wherever their members are assembled, there is the National Assembly of France—decree, that all the members now assembled shall instantly take an oath never to separate; and, if dispersed, to reassemble wherever they can, until the constitution of the kingdom, and the regeneration of the public order, are established on a solid basis; and that this oath, taken by all and each singly, shall be confirmed by the signature of every member, in token of their immovable resolution."

61. The court on this occasion committed a capital error, in not making the royalist or constitutional party in the Assembly acquainted with their intentions, and preventing that unanimity which necessarily arose from the appearance of measures of coercion without any knowledge of their object. The consequence was, that the most moderate members, apprehensive of the

* A medical man of some celebrity, who suggested the terrible instrument for execution which has rendered his name imperishable.—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, i. 51.

crown, and alarmed at the apparatus of military force directed against the Assembly, joined the violent democrat, and the oath was taken, with the exception of one courageous deputy, unanimously. This decisive step committed the whole Assembly in a contest with the government; the minds of the deputies were exasperated by the apprehended violence; and the oath formed a secret bond of association among numbers who, but for it, would have been violently opposed to each other. Mirabeau, in particular, whose leaning from the beginning was as much towards the aristocracy as was consistent with a popular leader, openly expressed, at a subsequent period, his dissatisfaction at not having been made acquainted with the real designs of the king. "Was there no one," said he, in the Assembly, "whom they could make acquainted with their designs? It is thus that kings are led to the scaffold!"

62. This step was followed on the 22d by an important accession of strength. On that day the Assembly met in the church of St Louis, as the Tennis Court had been closed by order of the princes to whom it belonged; and they were here joined by a hundred and forty-eight of the clergy, who participated in their feelings, and were resolved to share their dangers. This great reinforcement was headed by the Archbishop of Vienne, the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and the Bishop of Chartres. By this junction, their majority over the other orders became so great that the victory of the commons, if they continued in one assembly, was rendered certain. The spectacle of the union of the clergy with their brethren of the commons excited the most lively transports, and they embraced each other amidst tears of joy. Who could then have foreseen, that in a few weeks the whole ecclesiastical body were to be reduced to beggary by those who now received them as deliverers, and that a clergyman could not appear in the streets without being exposed to the grossest insults! Such is the fate of those who think, by concessions dictated by fear, to arrest the march of a revolution.

63. It is impossible to refuse a tribute of admiration to those intrepid men, who, transported by a zeal for liberty and the love of their country, ventured to take a step fraught with so many dangers, and which, to all appearance, might have brought many to prison or the scaffold. Few situations can be imagined more dignified than that of Bailly, crowning a life of scientific labour with patriotic exertion, surrounded by an admiring Assembly, the idol of the people, the admiration of Europe. But he did wrong on this occasion, for he denied to the king the right of dissolving the States-General, and so put the commons in direct rebellion against the crown. Mounier, who drew up the oath, lived to express his regret for having done so, in exile in a foreign land.* How vain are the hopes of permanent elevation founded on the applause of the multitude! Could the eye of prophecy then have unveiled the future, it would have discovered Bailly, now the idol of the people, shivering on his face in the Champ de Mars, with his arms tied behind his back, and the guillotine suspended over his head, condemned by the Convention, execrated by the multitude, subjected to a cruel and prolonged punishment, to gratify the peculiar hatred and savage revenge of the populace, whom he now incurred these dangers to support.

64. Mirabeau, who was in the secrets both of the Orleanists and republicans, seeing matters coming to such a crisis, made private advances through Malouet, a common friend of both, to Necker, for the purpose of allying himself to the throne. "I am not," said he, "a man to sell myself basely to despotism, and far from wishing to shake the throne. But if steps are not immediately taken to stop the effervescence, there are in our Assembly such a multitude of selfish turbulent spirits, and so many carried away by inconsiderate asperity against the first orders, that I fear the most horrible commotions. Without doubt, MM. Necker and Montmorin have a fixed plan: if that plan is rea-

* MOUNIER, *Causées qui ont empêché les Français de devenir libres*, 96, 97.

sonable, and they communicate it to me, I will defend it to the utmost of my power." Mirabeau was already a person of too much weight to be disregarded, and Necker, in pursuance of this overture, though with great reluctance, agreed to receive him in his cabinet. But their interview came to nothing. "You wish," said Necker, "to govern by policy, and I by morality; we cannot act together." After a brief and dry conversation, they separated in mutual irritation. Shortly after, meeting Malouet, he said, "I will not return there; but they shall hear of me." Immediately he threw himself with eagerness into the arms of the Orleans faction, and became one of the most ardent and dangerous supporters of the Revolution. He frequented all the nocturnal meetings, both at the Palais Royal and the Republican clubs, and proved an inveterate enemy of the court, where he was regarded with equal aversion. The queen alone, strongly impressed with a sense of his talents, still continued to maintain that the only hope for the monarchy was to attach him to their interest. Meanwhile, Mirabeau's establishment underwent a total change: he took a handsome hotel, lived sumptuously; and his brilliant equipages, which drove about the streets, sufficiently proved that, with the direction of the intrigues, he had received the wages of the Orleans family.

65. Meanwhile Louis, now that matters had reached a crisis, was sorely beset by the different parties which agitated the kingdom; and such was the weight of the arguments which they severally adduced in their support, that the strongest intellect might have felt difficulty in coming to a decision among them. Necker besought him to ally himself, frankly and in good faith, to the constitutional party in the Assembly, as the only means of avoiding the most terrible calamities, when the fidelity of the army was more than doubtful. The Cardinal la Rochefoucauld and the Archbishop of Paris, struck with consternation at the scene they had witnessed in the chamber of the clergy, threw themselves at his feet,

and touched the inmost chords of his heart, by beseeching him to protect religion and its ministers, now threatened with destruction, who would involve in their ruin the throne itself. The Parliament, on the motion of d'Espréménil, who was at length thoroughly alarmed, having become fully sensible of the extreme peril of the passions they had awakened, sent a secret deputation to the king, entreating him instantly to dissolve the States-General, and solemnly promising to register whatever edicts he might deem necessary, either for the relief of the finances or the removal of the grievances of the people. The queen, the Count d'Artois, and the Count de Provence, united their efforts to those of that powerful body, and implored Louis, by the obligations he owed to his people, his children, his successors, to interpose his authority, and dissolve an assembly which had already usurped so much, and was evidently advancing by rapid strides to supreme dominion. The whole subject was solemnly and ably debated before the king in a grand council held at Marly on the 21st and 22d, and it was at length resolved to make great concessions on all the material points demanded in the cahiers of the deputies, so as to lay the foundations of a constitutional monarchy; but, at the same time, to annul the usurpations of the Tiers Etat, and maintain the vital point of the separation of the chambers. Necker wisely and generously concurred in this arrangement, though, as will soon appear, some alterations made in the royal speech, which he had drawn up, in matters which he deemed material, led to his remaining absent from the decisive meeting of the Assembly, and this was attended with the most calamitous consequences.

66. At length the famous sitting of the 23d June took place. The king took his seat on the throne, surrounded by his guards, and attended by all the pomp of the monarchy: he was received in sullen silence by the commons, but with loud applause by the majority of the nobles, and the minority of the clergy. His discourse commenced by condemning the conduct of the com-

mons, and lamenting the spirit of faction which had already made such progress among the representatives of the people, and was alike opposed to the interests of the nation and the warmest wishes of his heart. The declarations of the monarch were then read. The first prescribed the form of the meetings of the Estates, and enacted their assemblage by three orders, as essentially linked with the constitution of the state: it regulated the form of their deliberations; annulled the declarations of the 17th June by the Tiers Etat, as contrary to law; reserved to the crown the right of regulating the future meetings of the States-General, and closed their deliberations against the public. The second embraced an exposition of the rights which the monarch conceded to his people, and they contained the whole elements of rational freedom. In particular, he declared the illegality of all taxes not expressly consented to by the States-General, and that they should be imposed only from one session of that body to the other; abolished the pecuniary privileges, and exemption from taxation, of the nobles and clergy; put an end to the *taille* and the impost of *franc-fief*; regulated the expenses of the royal household; provided for the consolidation and security of the public debt; secured the liberty of the press; established the security of property and of titles of honour; reformed the criminal code; took care of the personal freedom of the subject, and provided for the maintenance of the public roads, the equality of contributions, and the establishment of provincial assemblies. On the important question of the union of the orders he gave no express injunctions, but simply "*exhorted* the three Estates, for the public good, *for this session only*, to deliberate in common on matters of public interest, with the exception of those which regard the ancient and constitutional rights of the three orders, the forms of convoking the next States-General, the feudal and seigniorial rights, and the patrimonial rights and honorary titles of the two first orders." With truth could the monarch exclaim, "I may say, without fear of self-deception, that never king did so much for his

people as I have done for mine; but what other could so well deserve it as the people of France?"

67. These important concessions, which, if supported by proper vigour in the government, might have stopped the Revolution, had no effect in allaying the public discontents. The period was past when the language of moderation could be heard; the passions were roused, the populace excited—and when does passion yield to reason, or the multitude pause in the prospect of the acquisition of power! The concluding words of the king had the air, without the reality, of vigour; they took from the grace of the gift without adding to the authority of the giver. "You have heard, gentlemen, the result of my dispositions and views—they are in conformity with my ardent desire for the public good; and if by a fatality, which I am far from anticipating, you shall abandon me in so noble an enterprise, alone I shall work out the good of my people—alone I shall consider myself as their true representative: and knowing your cahiers, knowing the perfect coincidence of the general wish of the nation and my beneficent intentions, I shall feel all the resolution which so rare a confidence ought to inspire; and I shall advance towards my object with all the courage and firmness which such an object deserves. Reflect on this, gentlemen!—none of your projects, none of your dispositions, can have the force of law without my especial approbation. Thus I am the natural guarantee of your respective rights, and all the orders of the state may repose with confidence on my entire impartiality. The slightest distrust on your part would be a great injustice. It is I, gentlemen, who have hitherto striven alone for the good of my people: it is rare, perhaps, that the only ambition of a sovereign is to prevail on his subjects to come to an understanding to accept his beneficent acts. *I command you*, gentlemen, to separate immediately, and to meet here to-morrow, *each order in its own chamber*, to resume your sittings; and I have given directions to the grand-master of the ceremonies to prepare the halls accordingly."

68. At the conclusion of this address, the king rose, and withdrew from the hall. The great majority of the noblesse, the whole bishops, and a considerable part of the inferior clergy, followed in his train; but the whole commons, and the majority of the clergy who had joined them, continued in the great hall. Hesitation and uncertainty prevailed in the body which remained; they were confounded by the magnitude of the concessions made by the sovereign, and knew not what part to adopt. At this crisis Mirabeau rose—"What you have heard, gentlemen, might be sufficient for the safety of the country, if the presents of despotism were not always dangerous. What is the insolent dictatorship to which you are subjected? Is this display of arms, this violation of the national sanctuary, the fitting accompaniment of a boon to the people? Who prescribes these rules? Your mandatory!—he who should receive your commands instead of giving them to you. The liberty of deliberation is destroyed—a military force surrounds the Assembly. Where are the enemies of the nation? Catiline is at your gates. I propose that, proceeding with becoming dignity, you act up to the spirit of your oath, and refuse to separate till you have completed the constitution." Then turning to the master of the ceremonies, who had just entered and reminded them of the king's orders, he exclaimed, "Yes, sir, we know the intentions which have been suggested to the king, and you, who are not his organ towards the States-General, have no right to take back our answer. Nevertheless, to avoid all misunderstanding, I declare, that if you are ordered to make us depart hence you must employ force. Tell your master that we are here by the order of the people, and that we will not be expelled but at the point of the bayonet."—"You are to-day," said Sièyes calmly, "what you were yesterday; let us proceed with our deliberations." On the motion of Camus, they ratified all their proceedings, and declared the persons of the members inviolable.

69. Considered in themselves, these

concessions were the greatest ever made by a king to his subjects, and at any other time they would have excited transports of gratitude. But democratic ambition was thoroughly awakened, and this conciliatory conduct was only adding fuel to the flame. If a government is powerful, whatever it gives is hailed with gratitude as a gift; if it is weak, its concessions are considered as the discharge of a debt, and tend only to rouse the popular party to fresh demands. "What was wanting," said M. Montmorin, one of the ministers, to Mirabeau, "in the concessions of the king?"—"Nothing," replied he, "but that we *should have taken—not he given them.*" Such, in truth, was the feeling which produced the most fatal act of the Assembly—their refusal to close with the proposals of the king. They were resolved to have the credit of everything—to make, not receive a constitution; and, by so doing, they destroyed the freedom of France.

70. On that day the royal authority was annihilated in France. The Assembly had openly bid defiance to the mandates of the throne; and public opinion supported them in the attempt. The initiative of laws, the moral influence arising from the idea of supremacy, had passed from the crown to the people. M. Necker was not present at this memorable meeting; the evening before he had tendered his resignation, as the measures adopted by the court were not such as he thoroughly approved, but the king prevailed on him to continue a little longer in office. He was discovered in Versailles by the crowd, and conducted home amidst the loudest acclamations, across the courtyard of the palace, which he might have avoided by withdrawing a back way. By his conduct he had evinced the sincerity of his intentions, and his disapproval of the measures of the crown; and he was, for a brief space, thenceforward considered as the leader of the popular party.*

* The alterations in the royal speech of 23d June, of which M. Necker complained, were for the most part verbal and unimportant; but in one particular they were material, and he regarded the change as vital. "In the all-important article," says he, "of the union of

71. The effects of this decisive victory were soon apparent. On the following day the Duke of Orleans and forty-six of the nobility joined the Tiers Etat in great state, in the common hall. They were received with transport—but the duke was so strongly moved on leaving the order of his fathers that he fainted on rising from his seat. He was impelled into conspiracy and revolution by his needy and guilty followers, rather than attracted by his inclination or ambition. The days were past when he rode naked from Paris to Versailles for a bet: he and his mistresses had alike become conspirators. Individually he had little faith in the support of the mob. "I could give," said he, "all your public opinion for a crown piece." But he was so surrounded by conspirators that he literally breathed the air of revolution. They went so far as to send his daughter Pamela, the accomplished pupil of Madame Genlis, alone into a crowd on horseback, attended only by a servant in the Orleans livery.* He was so apprehensive of his life that he wore, on this occasion, five or six waistcoats around his person.† Among his followers were to be found the heads of the greatest families, as well as the ablest men of the French nobility—the Duke of Rochefoucauld, the Duke of Liancourt, Count Lally Tollendal, Count Clermont Tonnerre, the two brothers Lameth, and the Marquis Lafayette. They were almost all guillotined, exiled, or ruined during the progress of the Revolution—a

the orders, the king, in the project which he at first had adopted, had enjoined the three orders to deliberate in common on all general affairs—it was the principal object of the *états généraux* to establish that; while in the speech, as finally amended and delivered, he only exhorted them to do this, and concluded by commaniding them in the mean time to separate, and meet in their respective chambers. This left the question where it found it, and perpetuated that contest which it was the object of the royal speech to terminate."—NECKER, *Révolution Française*, i. 246, 248. Thus it was the want of an express command on the three orders to unite on all subjects of general import—that is, on the reconstruction of the monarchy—which made Necker resign.

* *Souvenirs of MADAME LEBRUN*, i. 189, who witnessed that scene.

† FERRIÈRES, *Mémoires*, i. 52.

memorable example of the inability of the higher ranks ultimately to coerce a movement which they themselves put in motion; and of the futility of the idea, so commonly entertained by the inexperienced in public affairs, that no innovations are dangerous if they are headed by the great proprietors in the state.

72. Overwhelmed with the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and desirous above all things of avoiding an immediate collision with the commons, whom it was extremely doubtful, from the growing disaffection of the troops, whether he had any means of coercing, the king saw no resource but in concession. He thus hoped that he would obtain what he above all things desired—the love of his people—and regain from their gratitude what he could no longer compel from their obedience. In truth, such was the fermentation in the capital, and the manner in which the troops were reeling under the varied temptations of money, wine, and women, with which they were plied, that stronger heads than any which now directed the royal councils in France might have yielded to the tumult. The capital, already labouring under severe scarcity, and teeming with the famished and ferocious bands which had poured in from all quarters in quest of subsistence or plunder, was in the most violent state of agitation. Nor was this effervescence confined to any one class—all, from various motives, were equally excited; and no one thought either of rallying round the throne, or attempting the slightest restraint either upon its own delusions or those by which it was surrounded.

73. The young, the ardent, the visionary, believed a second golden age was arriving—that the regeneration of the social body would purify all its sins, extirpate all its sufferings. The selfish and corrupt, a numerous and formidable party, paid little attention to such empty speculations, but fixed their desires on the more substantial objects of plunder, intoxication, and licentiousness. The Palais Royal, recently constructed at an immense expense by the Duke of Orleans, was the focus of their

agitation; in its splendid gardens the groups of the disaffected were assembled; under its gorgeous galleries the democratic coffee-houses were to be found. It was amidst the din of gambling, and the glitter of prostitution, that liberty was nurtured in France; it must be owned it could not have had a cradle more impure. The enlightened, from a principle of patriotism; the capitalists, from anxiety about their fortunes; the people, from the pressure of their necessities, which they expected immediately to find relieved; the shopkeepers, from ambition; the young, from enthusiasm; the old, from apprehension—all were actuated by the most violent emotions. Business was at a stand. Instead of pursuing their usual avocations, multitudes belonging to all ranks filled the streets, anxiously discussing the public events, and crowding round every one who had recently arrived from Versailles. In one depraved class the fever of revolution was peculiarly powerful. The numerous body of courtesans unanimously supported the popular cause, and by the seduction of their charms contributed not a little to the defection of the military, which shortly afterwards took place.*

74. Meanwhile the noblesse, seeing the royal power in a manner annulled, and the excitement in the capital increasing to the very verge of open revolt, made a last effort to raise the throne from the dust. The majority, who had remained in the chamber of the nobles after the secession of the Duke of Orleans and his adherents, sent a deputation, headed by the Duke of Luxembourg, their president, to remonstrate with the king against the union of the orders, which it was known was in contemplation. Their interview, which was committed to paper the same day by the duke, was in the highest degree interesting. "M. de Luxem-

bourg," said the king when he entered, "I expect from your fidelity, and the affection for my person of the order over which you preside, that you will unite with the other orders."—"Sire!" replied the duke, "the order of the noblesse will be always ready to give to your majesty every proof of its devotion to your person, and it has never given a more striking one than on this occasion—for it is not its own cause, but that of your majesty, which it defends." "The cause of the crown!" said Louis with surprise.—"Yes, sire! the cause of the crown. The noblesse has nothing to lose from the union which your majesty desires: a consideration established by ages of glory, and transmitted from generation to generation, immense riches, and the talents and virtues of many of its members, secure for it, in the National Assembly, all the influence which it desires. But is your majesty aware of the consequences which this union may have on the powers of the crown? The noblesse, sire! will obey, if your majesty desires it; but as their president, as the faithful servant of your majesty, I venture to portray to you the consequences of such a step to the royal authority. Your majesty cannot be ignorant what a degree of power public opinion, and the rights of the nation, have awarded to its representatives; it is such, that even the sovereign authority with which you are clothed is mute in its presence. That unlimited power exists in all its plenitude in the States-General, however it may be composed; but the division into three chambers fetters their actions, and preserves your authority. United, they will no longer acknowledge a master; divided, they are your subjects. The deficit in your finances, and the spirit of insubordination which has infected your army, have paralysed, I am aware, the deliberations of your councils; but there still remains your faithful noblesse. It has now the option to go, in obedience to your mandates, to share with the other deputies the legislative power, or to die in defence of the prerogatives of the throne. Its choice is not doubtful; and it demands no recompense—it is

* "It is impossible to describe the shudder throughout the capital at the words—'The king has spoiled all.' I felt myself standing on a volcano. It only required a signal for civil war to burst forth. The provinces are without trade, and almost without bread; and what better can one do than fight when one is dying of hunger?"—*Lettre au Comte d'Artois*, 27th June 1789, p. 41.

its duty. But in dying it will save the independence of the crown, and nullify the operations of the National Assembly, which can never have the stamp of legality when a third of its members shall have been delivered over to the fury of the populace or the dagger of assassins. I implore your majesty to deign to reflect on the considerations I have the honour of submitting to you."

75. "M. de Luxembourg," replied the king firmly, "my mind is made up; I am prepared for all sacrifices; I will not have a single person perish on my account. Tell the order of the nobles, then, that I entreat them to unite themselves to the other orders; if that is not sufficient, as their sovereign I command them. If there is one of its members who conceives himself bound by his mandate, his oath, or his honour, to remain in the chamber, let them tell me; I will go and sit by his side, and die with him if necessary." The Cardinal Rochefoucauld was soon after admitted, with a deputation from the clergy who had remained in the hall of their order, and received a similar answer. Both returned with a letter from the sovereign, absolutely enjoining the union of the orders.* This order was the work of Necker; it was the condition of his remaining in office that the king should issue it.

76. The real motives which induced the king to take this decisive step were more fully and openly stated in his interview with the Cardinal de la

* The king's letter was in these terms:—"My Cousin—Solely intent upon the general good of my kingdom, and, above all, with the desire that the States-General should occupy themselves with the objects which interest the nation, according to the voluntary acceptance of my declaration of the 23d of this month, I entreat my faithful clergy (or noblesse) to reunite themselves without delay to the two other orders, to hasten the accomplishment of my paternal views. Those who are prevented by their instructions from doing so, may abstain from voting until they receive new powers from their constituents. This will be a new mark of attachment on the part of my faithful clergy (or noblesse). I pray God, my Cousin, to keep you in his holy keeping."—*LOUIS to the CARDINAL DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, 27th June 1789; BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, Histoire de la Révolution, i. 246, 247.*

Rochefoucauld, and the Archbishops of Rheims and Aix, who presented the address from the clergy. "My troops," said the king, when the address was read, "are in a state of defection. . . I am obliged to yield to the National Assembly."—"Your troops are in defection!" replied the Archbishop of Aix, in surprise: "since when, and in what place? Is it the Gardes Françaises? Is it the Swiss? Your majesty was not aware of it yesterday. It could not be the work of a day. Were the officers ignorant of the plot? Be assured, sire! your ministers have made you believe this in order to work out the views which made them double the Tiers Etat, and will infallibly lead to the overthrow of the throne." The king, instead of making any answer, requested the archbishops to pass into the adjoining apartment, where they received the same answer from the queen, the Count d'Artois, and the other princes, whose desire for vigorous measures was well known; and the event soon proved that their information as to the disposition of the troops was too well founded.

77. The minority of the clergy, who had remained in the chamber, yielded an immediate and implicit obedience to the mandates of the sovereign. But, notwithstanding the earnest entreaty and express command of Louis, the noblesse were so alive to the imminent hazard of their being lost in the democratic majority of the commons, that a great proportion of them were still resolute to hold out, and maintain, with mournful constancy, that barrier against revolution which the veto that the law still gave to their order seemed to afford. Cazalès, in eloquent terms, and with magnanimous constancy, insisted that the only security for a monarchical government was to be found in the separation of the orders, which must be maintained at all hazards. In the midst of the general agitation, the Marquis de la Queuille read a letter from the Count d'Artois, who entreated the nobles, in the most earnest manner, no longer to defer the union, intimating that, if they did so, they put the life of the king in danger. "The king is

in danger!" exclaimed the Count de St Simon; "let us hasten to the palace, there is our place"—"If the king is in danger," interrupted M. de Cazalès, "our first duty is to save the monarchy; our next, to form a rampart with our bodies for his person." The discussion upon this was beginning anew amidst the most violent agitation; but M. de Luxembourg, rising in the president's chair, exclaimed, "There is no time to deliberate, gentlemen! The king is in danger—who can hesitate a moment where he ought to be?" The generous flame caught every breast. The nobles, believing the life of their sovereign really in peril, rose tumultuously; some laid their hands on their swords, and all hastened in a body, headed by the Duke of Luxembourg, into the hall of the commons.

78. It was four o'clock in the afternoon of the 27th June, when the two orders of the noblesse and clergy, led by their respective presidents, with slow step and downcast looks, advanced up the great hall of the Menus, where the commons were assembled, the clergy on the right, the nobles on the left. A profound silence pervaded the assembly: every one felt the decisive moment of the Revolution had arrived. "Gentlemen," said the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, "we have been led here by our love and respect for the king, our wishes for the country, and our zeal for the public good." "Gentlemen," said M. de Luxembourg, "the order of the noblesse has determined this morning to join you in this national hall, to give to the king marks of its respect, to the nation of its devotion." "Gentlemen," answered M. Bailly, the president of the Tiers Etat, "the felicity of this day, which unites the three orders, is such, that the agitation consequent on it almost deprives me of the power of utterance—but that very agitation is my best answer. Already we possess the order of the clergy; now the order of the noblesse unites itself to us. This day will be celebrated in our annals: it renders the family complete; it for ever closes the divisions which have so profoundly afflicted us; it ful-

fills the desires of the king; and now the National Assembly, or rather the States-General, will occupy themselves without distraction or intermission in the great work of national regeneration and the public weal." Universal joy was diffused over Versailles by the announcement of the long-wished-for union of the orders; the Assembly was adjourned to the 3d July, to afford leisure for the general congratulation; immense crowds hastened to the palace, and, loudly calling for the king, the queen, and the dauphin, made the air resound with acclamations, when they appeared at the balcony. Without any order, Versailles was illuminated that night; for three days the rejoicings were continued at Paris, and the people universally indulged in the most sanguine anticipations. "*The Revolution is finished!*" said they: "*it is the work of the philosophers, and will not have cost a drop of blood.*"

79. Rapid as was the march of events in the Assembly, it was outstripped at the same period by that of extraneous agitation. Already, indeed, it had become apparent that the direction of the Revolution had escaped from the hands, not only of the king, but even of the Assembly, which had usurped the supreme power. The MILITARY, thus early in its progress, took upon them to act for themselves, and, forgetting their duty and their oaths, to fraternise with the insurgent people. The regiment of the Gardes Françaises, three thousand six hundred strong, in the highest state of discipline and equipment, had for some time given alarming symptoms of disaffection. Their colonel had ordered them, in consequence, to be confined to their barracks, when three hundred of them broke out of their bounds, and repaired instantly to the Palais Royal. They were received with enthusiasm, and liberally plied with money by the Orleans party; and to such a height did the transports rise that, how incredible soever it may appear, as is proved by the testimony of numerous witnesses above all suspicion, women of family and distinction openly embraced the soldiers as they walked in the gardens with their mistresses. After these disorders had

continued for some time, eleven of the ringleaders in the mutiny were seized, and thrown into the Abbaye prison; a mob of six thousand men immediately assembled, forced the gates of the prison, and brought them back in triumph to the Palais Royal. The king, upon the petition of the Assembly, pardoned the prisoners, and on the following day they were walking in triumph through the streets of Paris.

80. These alarming events rendered it evident that some decisive step had become indispensable to prop up the declining authority of the throne. The noblesse recovered from their stupor; even the king became convinced that vigorous measures were called for, to arrest the progress of the Revolution. For some time after their union with the commons, the nobles still met at a different house, and were preparing a protest against the ambition of the National Assembly, which subsequent events rendered nugatory; but the daily diminution of their numbers proved how hopeless, in public estimation, their cause had become. In this extremity the king, as a last resource, threw himself upon the military. The old Marshal de Broglie was appointed general of the royal army, and all the troops on whom most reliance could be placed were collected in the neighbourhood of Versailles; as many foreign regiments as possible were brought up; and by the first week of July thirty thousand men and a hundred pieces of cannon were assembled between Versailles and Paris. "Marshal," said the king, when he first received him, "you are come to assist a king without money, without forces; for I cannot disguise from you that the spirit of revolt has made great progress in my armies. My last hope is in your honour and fidelity. You will fulfil the dearest wishes of my heart if you can succeed, without violence or effusion of blood, in frustrating the designs of those who menace the throne—designs which would ere long bring misery on my people." The marshal, ignorant of the changes of the times, became answerable for the safety of the capital, and immediately established

a numerous staff, whose insolence and consequential airs only contributed to increase the public discontents.

81. The successive arrival of these troops, especially of the German and Swiss regiments, in the neighbourhood of Paris, excited the utmost indignation in the capital, and entirely dispelled the fond illusions which had prevailed as to the bloodless character of the Revolution which had now decidedly begun. The troops which had mutinied came by hundreds into the Palais Royal, instigated by the Marquis of Valadi, one of their old officers, where they were liberally supplied with wine, ices, money, tickets for the theatres, and women, by the agents of the Duke of Orleans. Won by such unwonted liberalities, the soldiers unanimously shouted "*Vive le Tiers Etat!*" The crowds rent the air with their acclamations at the decisive evidences thus afforded, that the forces brought up to support the monarchy had added to the number of its enemies. The Gardes Françaises for a week past had been in a state of open revolt; all the efforts of the officers to make the men return to their duty had proved unavailing. Almost universally the non-commissioned officers took part with the privates, being entirely alienated from the existing government by the powerful stimulants applied to them by the agents of the Revolution, and the impolitic confining of commissions to persons of aristocratic birth. But the foreign regiments in the king's service, consisting wholly of Germans and Swiss, were known to be perfectly steady; and the citizens, surrounded by armed men—some disposed to aid, others to resist them—beheld, with mingled feelings of exultation and dismay, the long trains of artillery and cavalry which traversed the streets, or took their stations in such a manner as to command all the approaches to Versailles. Marat incessantly stimulated the people in his seditious journal: the whole disturbances, he said, were got up by the ministers and aristocrats, to furnish a pretext for introducing and employing the military: their object was to dissolve the

National Assembly—to excite revolt, and extinguish it in blood. Calm tranquil resolution, restrained within the bounds of order, could alone defeat their nefarious projects.*

82. Meanwhile the reins of power were daily more perceptibly slipping from the hands of those who yet held them. Terror of an approaching convulsion, added to the severity already extreme over the whole kingdom, rendered the supplies of grain deficient to an alarming degree in Paris. The bakers' shops were surrounded from morning till night by clamorous crowds demanding bread, and who no sooner were relieved than others equally importunate succeeded. Such was the scarcity, now amounting almost to famine, that part of the bread thus served out was unwholesome, and produced violent internal pains in some persons who took it. This gave rise to new clamours: it was the aristocrats who were adulterating the bread—not content with the pangs of hunger, they were actually poisoning the people. Barnave, Pétion, Buzot, and Robespierre, at the club Breton, exerted themselves to the utmost to fan these discontents, and stimulate to the highest pitch the already excited passions of the multitude. The assembly of electors had met daily at the Hotel de Ville, since the 4th July, to deliberate concerning the measures to be adopted, and already began to organise that power which, under the name of the Municipality of Paris, soon became so formidable. Numberless pamphlets issued daily from the press, teeming with violent suggestions; and the crowds at the Palais Royal, feign-

ing already to exercise sovereign authority, passed decrees, banishing the leading aristocrats to the distance of one hundred leagues from Paris. The Count d'Artois, the Princes of Condé and Conti, the Duke de Bourbon, the Abbé Maury, Madame Polignac, M. d'Espréménil, and all the leading characters in opposition to the Revolution, were denounced in this manner, and their names placarded in all the streets of the capital.

83. In this extremity, the chief minister of the king exhibited only that quality of all others the most fatal in presence of danger—indecision. Necker was still in office, and took his place regularly at the council-table; but his power was nearly extinct, from the revolt of the commons, and the calamitous consequences of the measures he had so strenuously advocated. Every one saw that he had lost the command of the movement, that his influence with the popular leaders was at an end; and that even the Assembly, which his counsels had elevated to such fearful preponderance, was likely itself to become the sport of fiercer and more impetuous passions among the people. Firmer hands, a more intrepid heart, were looked for to hold the rudder when the vessel was drifting on the breakers. The war party in the council, without actually displacing Necker, virtually supplanted him in the direction of affairs. The troops arrived without his orders, and were destined, he knew not to what purpose. In truth, he was at a loss what to propose, and his only resource was to do nothing—the usual expedient in difficulty of temporising characters, and the inevitable result, in the end, of following popular opinion. If he adopted or agreed to vigorous measures, his popularity was gone, and would in a few weeks be shivered to atoms. The king could as little see his way through the overwhelming difficulties with which he was surrounded, and which the defection of the troops had so fearfully aggravated. He could only cling to the hope that the presence and strength of the military would overawe the turbulent in the city, and a returning sense of their duty restrain the demagogues in the Assembly. If not, he proposed,

* "O my fellow citizens! watch the conduct of ministers as a guide for yours. Their object is the dissolution of our National Assembly, their only medium civil war. The ministers, the aristocrats, fan sedition! Well! Take care not to abandon yourselves to sedition, and you will disconcert their perfidious manœuvres. They surround you with a formidable array of soldiers and of bayonets! Fathom their inflammatory projects. It is not to restrain you, it is to excite you to revolt by irritating your minds, that they flourish these murderous implements. Be peaceable, tranquil, submissive to order; let them fill up the cup; the day of justice and vengeance will arrive."—MARAT, *Avis au Peuple*, July 1, 1789.

as a last resource, to concede the whole fundamental laws of a free constitution, agreeably to the cahiers of the deputies, and, having made the best provision he could for the finances, dissolve the Assembly. But he was determined, in no circumstances whatever to make the military act against the people; and in truth the temper of many of them, as the event proved, was such that it would have been impossible, for they would not have done so.

84. But though the intentions of the king were thus moderate and pacific, he was in a manner overridden in his own council by the more decided leaders, whom the imminence of the danger had raised up to a preponderating influence. The Count d'Artois, the Polignacs, M. de Breteuil, and nearly all the courtiers, were of this party; and their language was as menacing as their real measures were inefficient, and their means of action feeble. The young officers openly spoke of throwing the deputies out of the windows, and dissolving the Assembly by force. "They have made fools of us hitherto," said they; "but this time we have sharpened our swords." Patrols and sentinels were stationed in every direction round Versailles; the communications were often intercepted by hussars; a camp for twenty thousand men was traced out between that palace and Paris; the foreign regiments were daily arriving, to the manifest augmentation of the mutinous spirit of the guards. The powers of the old Marshal de Broglie were very extensive, embracing even the direction of the household troops; and he had offered "to disperse, with fifty thousand men, all that rabble of famished wolves who hoped to devour the high noblesse. A single discharge of musketry will be enough to revive the monarchical power, instead of the republican influence which has overshadowed it." But in the midst of this military confidence, the essential measures necessary to justify it were neglected. No reviews took place by the king or the royal family, to confirm the spirit of such of the troops as still preserved their allegiance; no commanding stations were seized or strengthened, and

the military positions of the capital were totally neglected. Nor were any precautions taken to preserve the soldiers from the contagion of the city, from whence wine and money were sent in profusion to the camp—and crowds of courtesans, who embraced the soldiers, saying, "Comrades, belong to us, and you shall want nothing."

85. Meanwhile the Assembly, for the first week after the union of the orders, were occupied with the details of protests lodged by individual members of the clergy and nobles, regarding their remaining, or not remaining, in the united States-General. But the growing accumulation of the troops, and rumours which began to spread of Necker's influence in the council being on the decline, roused them again to decided measures. The great reliance of the leaders of the movement was on the well-known humanity of the king, and the influence of the Swiss minister, who, they were aware, would never endanger his popularity by decided measures. But the prospect of his fall, and the presence of the military, warned them of the necessity of resuming the offensive. Mirabeau again stood forth on this occasion, and never did he sway with more power the energies of that fierce democracy. On the 8th July he introduced a motion, which was received with enthusiastic applause, to the effect that a petition should be presented to the king, praying him to remove the troops, and raise an urban guard in Paris and Versailles, for the preservation of public order. The petition, read and adopted next day, is a model of condensed eloquence, and invaluable as a record of public feeling, and of the address of the leaders of the Revolution at this time.*

86. "The movements of your own heart, Sire! are the only safety of Frenchmen. When troops arrive on all sides, and camps are formed around us—when the capital is invested—we ask with astonishment, 'Has the king come to distrust his people? What

* It was not written by Mirabeau, but by Dumont, to whose auxiliary labours he was throughout so much indebted.—DUMONT. *Souvenirs de Mirabeau*, 106, 107.

do these military preparations mean? Where are the enemies of the king and of the state who are to be subjugated? Where are the rebels, the conspirators, whom it is necessary to reduce?' A unanimous voice answers in the capital and in the provinces, 'We cherish our king; we bless heaven for the gift it has bestowed upon us in his love.' Sire! the conscientious feelings of your majesty can have been misled only by deceitful representations regarding the public good. If those who have given these counsels to our king would now stand forth and avow their motives, this moment would behold the most complete triumph of truth. The throne has nothing to fear but from the bad counsels of those who surround it, and who are incapable of appreciating the motives of the most virtuous of kings. How can they have succeeded in making you doubt the love of your subjects? What have you done to alienate them? Have you shed their blood? Have you shown yourself cruel, implacable towards them? Have you abused justice? Do the people impute to you any of their misfortunes? Are they weary of your yoke, or tired of the sceptre of the Bourbons? No, sire! calumny itself has never ventured to advance anything so monstrous: it seeks a more plausible ground to conceal its machinations.*

"We should deceive you, sire! if we did not add, forced by circumstances, that this empire of love is the only one which it is now possible to exercise in France. France will never permit the best of kings to be misled, and withdrawn from the course which he himself has traced out. You have been called on with us to fix the constitution, to effect the regeneration of the kingdom. The National Assembly has solemnly declared to you that your wishes shall be accomplished; that your promises shall not be vain; that difficulties, snares, terrors, shall neither intimidate its march nor shake its resolution. 'Where, then, is the danger of bringing up the troops?' our enemies

will perhaps say: 'What mean these complaints, when the Assembly is incapable of discouragement?' Sire! the danger is pressing, it is universal—it is beyond all the calculations of human prudence.

"The danger is for the people in the provinces: once alarmed for their liberties, where is the rein that will restrain them? Distance will magnify everything, exaggerate every disquiet, envenom every feeling.—The danger is for the capital. With what eye will the people, in the midst of want, tormented with anxiety, behold a numerous body of soldiers absorb the scanty remains of subsistence? The presence of the troops will produce a universal excitement; and the first act of violence committed under the pretext of keeping the peace will lead to a horrible succession of misfortunes. The danger is for the troops themselves: French soldiers, close to the centre of discussion, sharing in the passions as in the interests of the people, may forget that an engagement has made them soldiers, to recollect that nature has made them men. The danger, sire! menaces the labours which are our first duty, and which cannot obtain a full success, a real permanence, save so long as the people shall regard them as entirely free. There is, moreover, a contagion in passionate emotions: we are but men; distrust of ourselves, fear of appearing weak, may transport us beyond our end: we shall be besieged with violent, unmeasured counsels; and calm reason, tranquil wisdom, do not deliver their oracles in the midst of tumult, of disorder, and of faction. The danger, sire! is more terrible still, and judge of its extent by the alarms which bring us before you. Great revolutions have sprung from causes less considerable; more than one enterprise, fatal alike to nations and kings, has been announced in a manner less sinister and less formidable. Believe not those who speak lightly of the nation, and who represent it only in their own colours: sometimes insolent, rebellious, seditious; at others, submissive, docile, crouching. Always ready to obey you, sire! because you command in the name of the

* It was a monarch thus painted by their ablest leaders that the Revolutionists afterwards dethroned and executed!

laws, our fidelity itself sometimes orders resistance, and we shall always glory in the reproaches which our firmness attracts. We beseech you, sire! send back the troops; dismiss to the frontiers that artillery intended to protect them; dismiss, above all, those strangers, whom we pay, not to disturb, but to defend our hearths. Your majesty has no need of them: a monarch adored by twenty-five millions of Frenchmen can derive no additional support from a few thousand foreigners!"

87. The deputation, consisting of four-and-twenty members of the Assembly, was introduced to the king on the succeeding evening, and he made the following answer: "No one can be ignorant of the scandalous scenes which have taken place, and been renewed at Paris, under my eyes and those of the States-General. It is necessary that I should make use of the means which are in my power to maintain public order in the capital and its environs; it is one of my first duties to watch over the public tranquillity. These are the motives which have induced me to assemble the troops around Paris: you may assure the assembly of the States-General that they have no other object but to maintain the public peace, and preserve that freedom which should ever characterise your deliberations. None but the evil-disposed could seek to mislead my people as to the intentions I had in view in bringing them together. I have constantly aimed at the happiness of my people, and always had reason to be satisfied with their fidelity. If, however, the unavoidable presence of the troops in the environs of Paris gives you any umbrage, I will, at the desire of the States-General, transfer the Assembly to Noyon or Soissons, and repair in person to Compiègne, to maintain the communication between the Assembly and myself."

88. This well-advised answer satisfied all the reasonable men, but it excited loud murmurs among the majority of the Assembly. "The king," said the Count de Crillon, "has given us his royal word that the advance of the troops has been dictated solely by the

necessity of providing for his own safety and that of the capital, and that he has no intention of overawing the deliberations of the Assembly. We are bound to believe the word of his majesty. The word of an honourable man is a sufficient guarantee—it should dispel all our alarms. Let us then remain with the king, and declare that in doing so we yield alike to our love and his virtues."—"The word of the king," replied Mirabeau, "is a sufficient security for his own intentions, but none at all for those of a minister who has more than once violated his oath. Is any of us ignorant that it is want of foresight, blind confidence in others, which has brought us to our present predicament, and which should open our eyes if we would not continue for ever slaves? The answer of the king is in effect a refusal. We asked the removal of the troops from ourselves, we did not ask the removal of ourselves from the troops. The presence of the troops near the capital threatens public tranquillity, and may produce the greatest dangers. Those dangers would not be diminished, but, on the contrary, greatly augmented, by the removal of the Assembly. Let us then continue to insist upon the removal of the troops as the only means of safety." The discussion dropped after these observations—the subject was too delicate to be further probed; but they sufficiently revealed the spirit of the Assembly. They had no real fears of the soldiers, with whose mutinous spirit they were well acquainted, still less of any intention of being removed from Paris even to a place of the most perfect safety; they had need of its enthusiasm, its riots, its wine, and its women. What they wanted was to deliver over the king defenceless to its violence and intimidation. And on the same day, to augment the already formidable popularity of the Duke of Orleans, a pretended offer of that prince to the Committee of Subsistence in the Assembly of 300,000 francs (£12,000) was hawked about the streets—a total fabrication, but which answered the purpose of increasing the general excitement, and procuring shouts from his hired

retainers in praise of his generosity and virtues.

89. The first signal for the revolt which overturned the throne, was given at eleven on the evening of the 11th July, by the issuing of a mob from the quarters of New France and Little Poland, who attacked and burned the barrier of the *chaussée d'Antin*. The object of this was to let in the smugglers and desperate characters from the environs; and it was to have been immediately followed by the burning, on the same day, of the *Palais Bourbon*, which was the signal agreed on for a general insurrection, during the confusion of which the Duke of Orleans was to have been proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom.* But before these designs could be carried into complete effect, intelligence arrived in Paris of an event which, as it indicated the adoption of vigorous measures by the court, added immensely to the general effervescence. The king, seeing that matters had now come to such a pass that resistance was necessary to prevent an immediate revolt, at length resolved on the dismissal of M. Necker, and embraced the views of the Count d'Artois, M. de Breteuil, the queen, and others, who urged vigorous measures. The chief ministers were changed: M. de Breteuil as prime minister, and the Marshal de Broglie as minister at war, were placed at the head of affairs; the saloons at Versailles were filled with generals and aides-de-camp, and everything indicated the adoption of hostile resolutions.† Louis, preserving his calmness and moderation in the midst

of the general tumult, refused to order Necker's arrest, as some proposed,‡ but sent him a letter, in which he expressed his regret at his dismissal, his regard for his character, and declared that he was overruled by necessity. Necker's conduct on this occasion was worthy of the elevated principles by which, notwithstanding his fatal errors of judgment, his conduct had been regulated. He received the king's letter at dinner, and, without testifying any emotion on reading it, said, as if nothing had occurred, to M. de la Luzerne, the minister of marine, who brought it, that he would meet him in the evening at the council, and continued to converse, with perfect self-possession, with the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and other gentlemen present. After sitting the usual time at table, he rose, and without communicating with any person in his family—not even with his daughter, Madame de Stael—retired for the night to his country-house at Saint Ouen, from whence he set out next morning for Brussels, accompanied by Madame Necker, to whom he revealed for the first time, when in the carriage, that he had ceased to be a minister of the crown. It may safely be affirmed that Necker was greater in his fall than he had ever been in his elevation.

90. The news of Necker's dismissal was not known at Paris on the 11th, when the revolt broke out; on the contrary, Dr Guillotin arrived there from Versailles at nine at night, with the intelligence that the Swiss minister was more than ever confirmed in the confidence of the king, and that Lafay-

* See the depositions of M. Guilhem, Dufraisne, Duchey, and Tallhardat de la Maison-Neuve; "Procédure du Châtelet sur les attentats des 5 et 6 Octobre" (120 and 126 witnesses); and BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, *Histoire de la Révolution*, i. 298; and LABAUME, iii. 174.

† "I went to find the Marshal de Broglie at Versailles. The marshal, adopting the tone of a general of an army, disposed everything as if he were in front of an enemy. I represented to him that the position was altogether different; that it was not in question to attain the proposed end by force of arms; that it was necessary to take care not to push matters to extremity with spirits so excited that they could hardly longer brook the rein. The marshal received my representations badly:

I insisted; he got angry. The marshal had converted the château of Versailles into a camp. He had placed a regiment in the orangery; he affected an alarm for the safety of the king and the royal family, as much out of place as it was dangerous. His antechamber was filled with orderlies from all the regiments, and aides-de-camp ready to put foot in stirrup. There were bureaux, and clerks occupied in writing; a list of general officers to be employed was given; an order of battle was planned. Such preparations could not do otherwise than increase the uneasiness of the National Assembly."—BERRYER, *Mém.* ii. 371.

‡ "'No,' said the king: 'he has promised to me to retire quietly; I answer for his submission, and he will obey the order that I shall send to him.'"—LABAUME, iii. 175.

ette had just presented a declaration on the rights of man. But on the following morning, at nine o'clock, accounts were received of the change of ministry and of Necker's departure; and soon afterwards placards were put up about the streets bearing the old title, "De par le Roi," in which the Parisians were invited to remain at home, and not to be alarmed at the presence of the troops, who had become necessary to defeat the designs of the brigands. At the same time a considerable movement of military was observed; infantry and cavalry, with a few pieces of artillery, entered the town; and aides-de-camp and officers were seen riding about in all directions. Indescribable was the sensation which these events occasioned. Paris was thrown into the utmost consternation. Fury immediately succeeded to alarm; the theatres were closed; the Palais Royal resounded with the cry "To arms!" and a leader destined to future distinction, Camille Desmoulins, armed with pistols, gave the signal for insurrection by breaking a branch off a tree in the gardens, which he placed in his hat. The whole foliage was instantly stripped off the trees, and the crowds decorated themselves with the symbols of revolt. "Citizens," said Camille Desmoulins, "the moment for action is arrived; the dismissal of M. Necker is the signal for a St Bartholomew of the patriots: a hundred barrels of powder are placed under the Assembly to blow the deputies into the air; a hundred guns on Montmartre and Belleville are already pointed on Paris: furnaces for red-hot shot are preparing in the Bastille: men, women, and children will be massacred—none spared: this very evening the Swiss and German battalions will issue from the Champ de Mars to slaughter us; one resource alone is left, which is to fly to arms." The crowd tumultuously adopted this proposal, and, decorated with green boughs, marched through the streets, bearing in triumph the busts of M. Necker and the Duke of Orleans. They were charged by the regiment of Royal Allemand, which was put to flight by showers of stones; but the dragoons

of Prince Lambesc having come up, the mob retreated, and dispersed through the gardens of the Tuileries. In the tumult, the busts were destroyed, a French soldier killed, and an old man wounded by Prince Lambesc—this was the first blood shed in the Revolution. From the lead which he took on this occasion, Camille Desmoulins acquired the name of the "First Apostle of Liberty." Associated with Danton, he long enjoyed the gales of popular favour. He died on the scaffold, the victim of the very faction he had so great a share in creating.

91. This tumult was shortly followed by another of a still more important character, from the decisive evidence which it afforded of the defection of the army. The Prince Lambesc had placed a squadron of dragoons in front of the barracks of the French guards, to overawe that disaffected regiment. When intelligence of the rout in the gardens in the Tuileries arrived, the troops broke down the iron rails in front of their barracks, and opened a volley upon the horse, which obliged them to retire: they pursued them to the gardens of the Tuileries, and posted themselves in order of battle in front of the populace, and between them and the royal troops. The soldiers in the Champ de Mars received orders to advance and dislodge them; they were received by a discharge of musketry, and were so much restrained by the orders not to shed blood that they did not venture to return the fire. The monarchy was lost: the household troops had revolted; and the remainder of the army was not permitted to act against the people. Encouraged by this impunity, the Gardes Françaises now openly joined the insurgents; twelve hundred of them repaired to the Palais Royal, with their arms, but without their officers, and there, fraternising with the people, and plied with wine, gave themselves up to the universal transports. Soon they returned with a numerous band of the mob to the Place Louis XV., in order to clear it entirely of the foreign troops; but Baron Besenval, who commanded them, seeing the contagion of defection rapidly

gaining their ranks, had previously withdrawn them to the Champ de Mars. The field was now clear; all resistance had ceased for the night on the part of the royal forces; and bands of the insurgents traversed the town in all directions, exclaiming, "To arms! to arms!" Meanwhile a storm arose in the heavens; the thunder rolled above even the cries of the multitude; and frequent discharges of firearms from the brigands added to the general consternation.

92. Indefatigable were the efforts made by the satellites of the Duke of Orleans, and leaders of the Revolution, to inflame the public mind, and turn to the best account this prodigious ebullition of popular fury. There was no end to the fabrications which they made, the avidity with which they were listened to, or the credulity with which they were believed. At one time the cry was, "They will burn Paris—they will decimate its inhabitants." At another, "Lorraine is sold to the Emperor Joseph for money to crush the Revolution—the troops on the Champ de Mars are about to massacre the people." No words can adequately paint the mingled fury and enthusiasm which these reports and announcements, rapidly succeeding each other, produced in the public mind. In vain the urban guard and police of the capital ran into every street, and joined every group, to assure them that there was no cause for apprehension, that no hostile designs were contemplated. None listened to what they said. Numbers lay down and put their ears on the ground, to catch the first sound of the approaching cannon. All business was at a stand. The courts of law were shut. Almost all the shops were closed. Crowds thronged every street. Unbearable anxiety filled every bosom. Real alarms, as night approached, were joined to these imaginary terrors. The hired brigands, encouraged by the impunity with which their excesses on the preceding evening had been committed, issued from the faubourgs, and burned the barriers of Saint Antoine, Saint Marceau, and Saint Jacques. The flames spread a prodigious light over all that quarter of the heavens, and produced a general belief

that the conflagration of the city by the foreign troops had already commenced. Meanwhile, the destruction of the barriers being completed, ferocious bands of smugglers from the adjacent country broke in, joined the tumultuous crowds of the suburbs, and, with loud shouts and waving torches, proceeded to the attack of the remaining barriers of the city.

93. These alarming appearances had no effect whatever in inducing the military authorities to take any effectual steps for warding off the danger. Accustomed to see Paris ruled without difficulty by a small body of police and an inconsiderable civic guard, they persisted in regarding the disturbances as mere local outrages which were attended with no public danger. No military posts around Paris were occupied; not a gun was mounted on Montmartre or Belleville; the garrison of eighty men in the Bastille was not even reinforced; and this slender detachment, though abundantly supplied with ammunition, was almost destitute of provisions. M. Besenval, who commanded the military around Paris, had no force within its walls under his orders. Twenty-five thousand men occupied St Denis, Courbevoie, Charenton, Sèvres, and all the villages round to the Champ de Mars; but none were drawn nearer to the capital, which was left at the mercy of ferocious brigands and a maddened people.

94. The Revolutionists acted very differently in their preparations. At three on the morning of the 13th, a hideous mob, armed with clubs, sticks, and pikes, surrounded the convent Saint Lazare, demanding bread. The trembling inmates speedily emptied their stores, and the mob, become furious when the distribution ceased, broke into the building, pillaged it from top to bottom, and were only prevented from burning it by the arrival of a company of the guards. Rapidly they proceeded to the Garde Meuble, containing a considerable store of arms, and many relics of inestimable value belonging to the crown: the gates were forced open, and the whole weapons seized and distributed among the people. The lance

of Dunois, the sword of Henry IV., became the prey of the lowest of the populace, and were carried off in triumph. At the same time, the great prison of La Force was besieged, the gates forced, and the whole prisoners set at liberty, who instantly proceeded to the Conciergerie, where five hundred of the most abandoned felons, all in a state of mutiny, were making strenuous efforts for their liberation. A few only of them, however, were selected by the popular liberators. These bands, thus reinforced, forthwith began to traverse the streets, vociferating loudly, and calling on all true Frenchmen to join the arms of freedom. Such was the tumult, so loud did the clamour soon become, that hardly was the dismal clang of the tocsin audible from sixty churches, which, on the signal of a standard hoisted from the Hotel de Ville, all began to ring at once. No sooner, however, were these sounds of alarm heard above the din, than the whole citizens flew into the streets; in the twinkling of an eye, posts were established, gunsmiths' shops pillaged, chaussées unpaved, waggons overturned, barricades erected, and every preparation made for a vigorous defence. "Arms! arms!" was the universal cry.

95. Meanwhile the leaders of the Revolution were taking measures, with unexampled energy, to organise and turn to the best account this extraordinary effervescence. The Hotel de Ville, where a permanent committee of the electors had been established since the 4th July, presented a central point of direction—the sixty electoral halls for the like number of districts, so many rallying-points where their orders might be received, and communicated to the obedient citizens. Night and day these points of rendezvous were thronged by crowds loudly demanding arms; and the electors soon assumed and received the supreme direction of affairs. A permanent committee, which sat without intermission at the Hotel de Ville, rapidly acquired the entire government of the insurrection, and decreed the immediate raising of a voluntary force in Paris of forty-eight thousand men. Each of the electoral districts was to fur-

nish a battalion eight hundred strong: four battalions formed a legion, which took its name from the districts from which they were drawn. The committee named the officers of the Etat-major; but the nomination of the officers of battalions was left to the privates. Government was neither consulted, nor had it the slightest share, in the appointment or organisation of this formidable force. It of course fell into the hands of the most ardent and least scrupulous of the popular party.* It was at first named the Parisian Militia; and M. de la Salle d'Offremont, director of the arsenal, a well-known liberal, was invited to take the command. The device chosen was the red and blue ribbon, the colours of the city, and white, to mark the intimate union which should subsist between it and the army. These colours were immediately adopted by the National Assembly, and became the well-known standard of the Revolution. Such was the origin of the MUNICIPALITY OF PARIS, THE NATIONAL GUARD, AND THE TRICOLOR FLAG, the three most powerful springs of the Revolution, and of the last of which Lafayette nearly predicted the actual destiny, when he said it would make the tour of the globe.

96. Unbounded was the enthusiasm which the formation of this voluntary force occasioned in men of all ranks and ages. From the aged veteran who could hardly march, to the youthful stripling who with difficulty bore the weight of arms, all pressed to the various rallying-points to offer their services. It was not merely the democratic and the revolutionary who came forward; the most respectable citizens were the first to tender their services; a sense of common danger, the dread of impending calamities, united every one. Government appeared to have abdicated its functions; the law was in abeyance; the constituted authorities had disappeared; society seemed resolved into its pristine elements; and self-preservation, not less than patriotic duty, called

* "He submitted the selection of the centuries to the legions: by their vote the most turbulent were chosen; and, instead of the soldiers being subject to the will of their generals, these were exposed to military violence."—TACITUS, *Hist.* iii. 49.

on all to take common measures alike for their own and for the general protection. Money and arms, however, were wanting; but such was the general enthusiasm that this deficiency was not long experienced. The treasure of the Hotel de Ville, amounting to three millions of francs (£120,000), presented an immediate resource, which was instantly rendered available. Orders for the manufacture of muskets were given to all the gunsmiths; their whole disposable arms instantly purchased. Every anvil rang with the making of pikes, of which it was calculated fifty thousand would be ready in thirty-six hours. Scythes were affixed to the end of poles, rails beat out into swords, lead melted down into balls, and daggers or hatchets affixed to sticks. Never, in modern Europe, had such sudden and energetic efforts been made to arm the multitude.

97. But these methods were not suited to the exigencies of the moment, and could not at once produce a sufficient supply of arms for the vast population, numbering at least a hundred thousand men, who besieged the different electoral halls to receive them. The great arsenal of the Invalides presented an immediate resource, and the known disposition of the troops stationed in the Champ de Mars, in its neighbourhood, rendered it all but certain that they would make no resistance to the arms it contained being seized. Instantly the cry arose, "*Allons aux Invalides!*" a prodigious crowd rolled in that direction, headed by the Procureur du Roi, Ethys de Corny, who, by order of the central committee at the Hotel de Ville, issued from its halls to put himself at its head, and speedily the insurgents surrounded the Hotel des Invalides. M. de Sombreuil, its governor, an old man of eighty years of age, seeing the multitude headed by so high a functionary and several persons of respectability, and being well aware that the invalids and gunners in his establishment would oppose no sort of resistance to the people, advanced at the head of his staff, caused the gates to be opened, and permitted the leaders of the insurgents to enter. They asked for arms to put into the hands of the people, and insisted

for leave to search the building for that purpose. Sombreuil, destitute of the means of resistance, replied that he was not at liberty to comply with such a demand, but that he had sent a courier to Versailles for instructions, and the answer would determine his conduct. But the impatience of the people could brook no delay. While the conference was yet going on, a furious multitude of above forty thousand insisted on being instantly led to the assault, and, in almost frantic impatience, had already begun, with hideous yells, to descend into the ditches, and escalate the parapets. Ten thousand men were encamped in the Champ de Mars, in the close vicinity, under Baron Besenval; but that officer, intimidated by the cold reception he had received after his spirited suppression of the revolt at Reveillon's, and his orders not to fire on the people in this instance, did not venture to act; and the invalids in the garrison of the Invalides refused to point their guns on the people,* and even threatened to hang the governor if he persisted in his resistance. The regiment of Chateauxvieux, though raised in Switzerland, declared it would never fire on the people; and many others, it was well known, shared the same determination. Placed thus between a timorous court and an insurgent soldiery, Besenval could not hazard any decisive step, and left the Invalides to its fate.† In this extremity, Sombreuil conceived he had no alternative but to submit: the gates were opened, and instantly a prodigious crowd rushed in, and got possession of the whole arsenal in the building. Twenty pieces of cannon, and eight-and-twenty thousand muskets and bayonets, disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, and a large part of the Parisian populace speedily

* "So far from opposing the assault, the soldiers of the Hotel des Invalides favoured it, and the governor, against whom those men had no complaint to make, narrowly escaped being hung from the grating."—BESENVAL, ii. 366.

† "The Swiss regiment of Chateauxvieux, encamped in the Champ de Mars, declared that it would never fire upon the people. Its refusal evidently shook Besenval, and left Paris free, and prepared to advance upon the Bastille."—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 270.

found themselves armed in the best manner.

98. This great success was immediately improved by the insurgents. Pickets were placed at all the important posts around Paris, which intercepted the communication with Versailles, and got possession of the whole avenues to the capital. A large body, armed with fifteen guns, took post opposite the camp in the Champ de Mars; but it soon appeared, from the conduct of the troops, that the insurgents had more to hope than to fear from their operations. On one of the intercepted couriers from Versailles was found an order addressed to de Launay, the governor of the BASTILLE, enjoining him to hold out to the last extremity. This order was immediately carried to the Hotel de Ville; and it was determined to proceed to the attack of that fortress before a duplicate of the instructions could be received by its governor. The strength of this celebrated fortress—which had been built in the fourteenth century between Paris and the Faubourg St Antoine, for the purpose of coercing both—its deep ditches, massy walls, huge drawbridges, and lofty towers, armed with fifteen pieces of heavy artillery, seemed to defy an assault from an undisciplined multitude, however generally armed and strongly excited. But the accession of the Gardes Françaises, three thousand five hundred strong, to the insurgent ranks, and the guns taken at the Invalides, promised them the inestimable advantages of experienced discipline and a siege equipage. It was known that though the fortress was amply supplied with ammunition, it was almost destitute of provisions; the garrison consisted only of eighty-two Invalids and thirty-two Swiss;* and the facility with which the great arsenal

of the Invalides had been captured and sacked, encouraged the belief that the humanity of the king would never permit its guns to be turned upon the people.

99. A few musket-shots were discharged during the night of the 13th at the sentinels who mounted guard on the Bastille, but without doing any injury, or provoking any act of hostility on the part of the garrison. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 14th, a crowd collected round its gates, and attempted to force their way in, while several shots were fired at the sentinels. De Launay upon this directed a discharge of musketry, which, without injuring any one, dispersed the crowd, and at the same time ordered some of the great guns to be pointed down the Rue St Antoine, the principal theatre of the assemblage. The sound of this fusillade, and the intelligence that the cannon of the Bastille were directed on Paris, speedily spread like lightning, and drew larger crowds to the spot, who alleged that they had been sent, some by the sections, some by the districts, to avert the threatened calamity. De Launay, anxious to avoid extremities, admitted M. Belon, the deputy from the Hotel de Ville, and Thuriot de la Rozière, the deputy from the Quarter of St Catherine; and at their entreaty agreed to draw the guns pointed towards the capital within their embrasures, and informed them that they were not loaded. At the same time some slight measures of defence were taken: several waggon-loads of balls and iron missiles were brought up and placed on the ramparts, to defend the approaches to the bridge. While these preparations were going on within the fortress, the crowd outside rapidly increased; the Faubourg St Antoine emptied its immense population; every avenue leading to the Bastille was soon filled with a prodigious multitude; and to those who, from the summit of its towers, beheld the sea of heads, the spectacle was so appalling that de Launay, taking Thuriot by the arm, said, turning pale, "Ah, sir! you abuse a sacred name to betray me."

* "Eighty-two invalids, of whom two were gunners of the company of Monsigni, and thirty-two Swiss of the regiment of Sals-Sarnade, commanded by M. Louis de Flue, lieutenant of grenadiers, composed the garrison. Such was his force on the 14th of July; but the preparations for war had caused him to forget provisions for food. These consisted of two bags of flour and a little rice. He had no water beyond what came from canals fed by an exterior basin—a scanty resource, liable to be cut off."—*Monteur*, July 20, 1789, p. 90.

100. The old castle of the Bastille

was surrounded by eight lofty round towers, the walls of which were six feet in thickness, and they were joined to each other by a wall still more massy, being no less than nine feet across. Its entry was at the extremity of the Rue St Antoine: above the principal gate was a considerable magazine of arms, but they had all been removed to the Invalides shortly before, with the exception of six hundred muskets, which had been withdrawn into the interior of the building. Within the exterior walls was, as in all other castles of considerable extent, an interior court, in which were the barracks of the troops and stables of the governor; access could be obtained to this court both by the principal gate, fronting the Rue St Antoine, and by another entrance on the side of the arsenal, which was, in the same manner as the first, defended by a drawbridge over the ditch, which entirely surrounded the edifice. Within this outer, was another inner court, separated from the first by a dry ditch, traversed by a drawbridge, defended by a strong guardhouse, intended as the last refuge of the besieged if the outer house was carried, and in it was the governor's house. After passing through this interior court, access was obtained by an iron gate to the great court, within the donjon, which was a hundred feet long by seventy broad, surrounded by the state prison, flanked by lofty towers, and in which the captives were allowed to take the air. The exterior ditch was usually dry except in wet weather, or when the Seine, with which it communicated, was high; but as the outer wall of the donjon was thirty-six feet in height, and exposed to a flanking fire from the towers, which were forty-six feet in elevation, the place was considered impregnable, except by regular approaches—and so it was, if it had been regularly garrisoned and provisioned.

101. Belon and Thuriot, being satisfied that no offensive measures were intended by the governor, withdrew, and endeavoured to persuade the crowd that their alarm was groundless. But the capture of the fortress had been resolved on, and the multitude, every in-

stant increasing, surged round the walls. While the whole attention of the garrison was fixed on the principal gate, two old soldiers, named Louis Tournay and Aubin Bonnemère, mounting on the roof of a house which rested on the ramparts, contrived to reach the top of the parapet, and descended into the court where the governor's house stood, which they found deserted—as the garrison, with the exception of the guard at the outer gate, had all been withdrawn into the keep. Seizing a hatchet, which they found lying in the court, these brave men succeeded in cutting the chains of a little drawbridge, which admitted foot-passengers from the outside, and thus gave an entry to several of the insurgents, who speedily cut the chains of the principal bridge, which fell with a terrible crash. Instantly the crowd rushed in; the governor's house was immediately inundated; and pillage had already commenced, when de Launay ordered a fire of musketry from the top of the walls of the donjon into the court, which was filled with people, and the ditches. Several of the assailants fell; the court was cleared in an instant; but the combat continued round the drawbridge, and a sharp fire of musketry was kept up on both sides. Still the governor declined to fire the great guns on the top of the castle, which, loaded with grape, and discharged down on the dense crowd in front of the fortress, would have occasioned a frightful loss of human life, but must speedily have driven back the assailants.

102. Matters were in this state when a battalion of the Gardes Françaises arrived, with part of the guns taken that morning from the Invalides. This powerful reinforcement, and, still more, the skill which they communicated to the assault, had a decisive effect. Their first care was to station a large part of their number on the roofs and at the windows of the adjoining houses, who kept up a heavy and well-sustained fire on the ramparts; while, at the same time, the guns began to batter the exterior walls. Meanwhile the crowd, who had broken into the outer court, returned, under cover of the fire of the cannon, and set fire to the governor's

house, which was speedily in flames. Furious at the resistance they experienced, the mob seized hold of a young and beautiful girl, daughter of an officer in the garrison named Monsigni, whom they had found in the governor's house, and mistook for his child. Exclaiming that she should be burned alive if the place was not instantly surrendered, they stretched her on a bundle of straw, to which they were just applying the torches, when the dreadful spectacle caught the eye of her father, who was on the top of one of the towers. Uttering the most piercing cries, he descended and rushed into the court, when he fell, pierced by two balls; and the flames were just reaching Mademoiselle Monsigni, when the brave Aubin Bonnemère, coming forward, succeeded in undeceiving the mob as to who she was, and conducting her to a place of safety.

103. After the conflict had continued in this manner for above three hours, without the guns of the fortress being once fired, the besieged repelling the attack with musketry only, a deputation from the Hotel de Ville, preceded by a flag of truce, and headed by Ethys de Corny, who had succeeded in getting possession of the Invalides, arrived at the principal gate of the Bastille. They were admitted into the first court; but de Launay, perceiving that the pillage of his house and the conflagration of the buildings around it continued, and that the attack on the inner drawbridge went on with undiminished vigour, ordered the fire of musketry to be renewed, which, without injuring any person, drove the deputation back out of the court.* At the same time one of the great guns, the only one which was fired during the assault, was discharged from the top of the tower down the Rue Saint Antoine, but did very little damage. Two other depu-

tations afterwards arrived, but they returned to the Hotel de Ville without even entering the fortress, alleging they could not do so for the fire of the garrison. Meanwhile de Launay was sorely beset—the French Invalids, swayed by seeing the uniforms of the Gardes Françaises among the assailants, vehemently urging him to surrender; the Swiss, who, though only thirty in number, had alone been hearty in the cause, with the heroic constancy of their nation insisting that he should hold out. Finding the outer gate carried, he withdrew the garrison into the inner court or keep of the castle, hoping he would be able to hold out till the Baron de Besenval, who commanded the troops in the Champ de Mars, should send forces to his succour, as he had promised. But Besenval had himself received no orders from the Duke de Broglie that day, though three successive couriers had been sent soliciting them: his previous orders were, not to fire on the people. The disposition of his troops was more than doubtful; and he had found that acting with energy at Reveillon's only brought him into obloquy with the court. In these circumstances, after remaining for some hours a prey to the most cruel irresolution, he took the determination of retiring with his whole troops—which he did, first to Sèvres, and before night to Versailles.

104. Deserted thus in his last extremity by the external aid on which he had calculated, with a garrison of eighty wavering French, and only thirty Swiss on whom he could rely, in the midst of fifty thousand insurgents and two thousand French Guards, the brave de Launay took the only resolution which a high sense of military honour permitted—he resolved to perish rather than submit. Taking a lighted match from

* "You see," said de Launay to his soldiers, "this deputation is not from the town: it is a white flag of which the people have got possession, and with which they seek to surprise us. If they had been really deputies, they would never have hesitated, after the promises you made them, to have come forward to make us acquainted with the intentions of the Hotel de Ville."—*Deux Amis*, ii. 322, 323. The letter which they bore was in these terms, to which de Launay could never have acceded:

—"The permanent committee of the Parisian militia, considering that there should not be in Paris any military force which is not under the control of the town, charges the deputies, whom it sends to M. le Marquis de Launay, commandant of the Bastille, to inquire of him whether he is willing to admit into the place the troops of the Parisian militia, to keep guard jointly with his troops, who are to be at the disposal of the civic authorities. DE FLESSELLES, Prévôt des Marchands."—*Ibid.* ii. 326.

one of the gunners on the ramparts, he rushed towards the magazine, which contained two hundred and fifty barrels of powder, with the design of blowing the whole fortress into the air; but he was seized and forcibly withheld by the soldiers. With piteous entreaties he besought these men to give him one barrel of powder; but they sternly repelled him with the bayonet at his breast. "Let us then," said he, "at least, reascend the towers; and since we must die, let us die with arms in our hands, bury ourselves under the ruins of the Bastille, and render our death fatal to our implacable enemies." But the French soldiers, crowding round him, all declared that they would no longer fight against their fellow-citizens, and that they insisted on a capitulation. "Well then," said de Launay at last, "beat a parley, hoist a white flag, and see if you can obtain a promise that you shall not be massacred." Upon this M. de Flue, a Swiss ensign, wrote on a piece of paper these words: "We have twenty thousand barrels of powder; we will blow up the Bastille and all the adjacent quarter of Paris if you do not agree to a capitulation, and guarantee our lives." With some difficulty one of the insurgents, named Maillaird, who will again appear in the bloodiest days of the Revolution, got possession of this writing, which was pushed on the end of a pike over the drawbridge, and being brought to Elie and Hullin, officers of the Gardes Françaises, who commanded the assailants, they exclaimed—"On the honour of French soldiers, no injury shall be done to you." Upon this assurance, de Launay lowered the drawbridge leading to the inner tower, and the infuriated multitude instantly rushed in.

105. A bloody and treacherous revenge dishonoured the first triumph of the Revolution. The garrison had capitulated on a solemn guarantee of their lives: a decisive success, which gave them the entire command of Paris, had been gained, with the loss of only fifty killed and seventy-three wounded: everything called for and enjoined humanity in the moment of victory. The feeble garrison, on the faith of the capi-

tulation, laid down their arms in the inner court in two ranks; the officers of the Gardes Françaises, who had really gained the success, in token of the treaty, shook the officers of the garrison by the hand. But nothing could restrain the bloodthirsty passions of the people. Infuriated by the sight of their comrades slain or wounded by the fire of musketry which had issued from the walls, they surrounded the prisoners, overwhelmed them with maledictions and indignities, and demanded, with loud yells, that they should be instantly put to death. The Gardes Françaises, who exerted themselves to the utmost to restrain their fury, were unable to save the officers from destruction. Béquart himself, who had held the arm of de Launay when he attempted to blow up the fortress, and thus saved all their lives, was seized with frantic cries, his right-hand cut off, and he himself, with another grenadier named Asselin, hanged on a lamp-post near the gate. Many of the Invalids and Swiss were despatched on the spot. In a few minutes the whole rooms of the Bastille were ransacked and pillaged, the furniture thrown out of the windows and burnt.

106. De Launay and Major de Losme, the second in command, were conducted by Hullin and Elie to the Place de Grève. "Is this the capitulation you promised us?" said the former, as the mob seized him, in spite of the herculean strength of Hullin, who strove to protect them, and observe the capitulation, which he bore aloft on the point of his sword. Despite all his efforts, these two unfortunate men were captured by the populace on the steps of the Hotel de Ville. De Launay was instantly hanged upon the lamp-post; his head cut off, and borne about with Béquart's hand aloft on pikes, amidst shouts of triumph. De Losme was the next victim. In vain the Marquis de Belpport, who, during five years, had experienced his kindness when a prisoner in the Bastille, ran after the crowd, exclaiming, "Hold, for God's sake! you are going to massacre the best of men—during five years he was my father in the Bastille." "Young man," said the generous de Losme, "retire—you will



The Death of M. De Flesselles.

destroy yourself without saving me." But the Marquis de Belpoit was not to be outdone in this noble strife; and still following the crowd, exclaiming, "I will defend him to the last drop of my blood," he wrested a musket from one of the mob, with which, with almost frantic courage, he strove to deliver his benefactor. It was all in vain. Surrounded by multitudes, shot through the neck, and pierced with bayonets, he fell senseless on the steps of the Hotel de Ville; while de Losme was murdered near the Arcade St Jean, and his head put on a pike, which was paraded amidst fearful yells through the streets. Miray and Persan, officers of the Invalids who had defended the Bastille, were in like manner murdered, the one in the Rue des Tournelles, and the other at the Port-au-Blé, and their mangled remains, yet streaming with blood, borne in triumph through every quarter of the city. M. de Flesselles, the provost of the merchants, soon after perished. He had for some days been obnoxious to the mob, who suspected him of not being cordial in the cause of the insurrection, though he had joined in it, and was chairman of the committee in the Hotel de Ville. Finding himself surrounded by distrust and apprehension after the Bastille was taken, he rose calmly and said, "I see I am suspected by my fellow-citizens; let us go to the Palais Royal, and there I will justify myself." He rose accordingly, and was proceeding thither, surrounded by a furious multitude, when a young goldsmith shot him from behind through the head, exclaiming, "Traitor, you shall go no farther!" Flesselles fell

* To extenuate this atrocity, it was maintained by the Republicans, that there had been found in the pocket of de Launay a note from M. de Flesselles, in which he said, "I amuse the Parisians with cockades and promises: hold out till the evening, and you will be reinforced." This is now proved to be a falsehood. The pretended letter was never produced, though the above alleged extract was inserted in the *Monteur*; and Bailly himself "admitted to me," says Bertrand de Molleville, "when he quitted the mayoralty, that he had never seen that letter, and that it would be impossible to produce any one who had."—*Monteur*, 27th July 1789; and BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, *Histoire de la Révolution*, i. 342.

† Those who have visited Paris will require no explanation of this cry (*à la lanterne!*) so

dead, and the murder excited neither pity nor indignation among the crowd.*

107. In the midst of such hideous cruelty, it is consolatory to have one redeeming trait to recount, which proves that, in some breasts at least, the generous feelings were not wholly extinct, and which effaces part of the disgrace which must forever attach to the French Guards, for the treacherous part they took in the revolt that overturned the throne. When the privates of the Invalids and Swiss, who had capitulated in the Bastille, were brought to the Hotel de Ville, the populace loudly demanded their blood, and insisted they should instantly be strung up in the streets to the lamps.† Such was the fury of the mob, that there seemed not a chance of their escape; and preparations were already making for carrying the popular mandate into execution, when the French Guards, roused to better feelings by the prospect of destruction to their ancient comrades in arms, clustered around them, and asked, as the only recompense to themselves for the share they had taken in the capture of the Bastille, that pardon should be extended to the prisoners. Passing from one extreme to another, the multitude were strongly moved by the appeal. "*Grace! grace!*" resounded on all sides; and M. Marqué, sergeant of grenadiers in the Gardes Françaises, taking advantage of the enthusiasm, marched off twenty-two Invalids and eleven Swiss, surrounded by a detachment of the Guards, who succeeded in conveying them in safety to the barracks, and rescuing them from the dreadful fate which threatened them.

common in the Revolution, or the ready means thus afforded of despatching at once any number of persons who happened to be obnoxious to the populace. To those who have not, it is right to observe, that the lamps of Paris then, as in general now, were not, as in most other towns, affixed to the top of iron pillars placed on the sides of the pavement, but suspended directly over the middle of the street by cords, which were let down, for the purpose of the lamps being lighted, from pulleys affixed to the houses on either side; so that nothing was easier than to lower the lamp till some unhappy wretch had it directly above his head, and then attaching a cord to it, and fastening it round his neck, hoist him up and hang him in a few seconds over the heads of the multitude, who commanded and applauded the execution.—*Personal Observation.*

At the same time, M. de Montbarrey, formerly minister of the marine, who had been torn from his fainting wife, was brought in, almost suffocated by the throng pressing round him and clamouring for his head; while twenty bayonets were held to the breast of M. de la Salle, a popular leader, who was striving to protect him. At length, by a prodigious exertion of strength, M. de la Salle extricated himself, and tore M. de Montbarrey from the gripe of his blood-thirsty assassins; the multitude, admiring his prowess, applauded loudly, and both escaped.

108. Seven prisoners only were found in the Bastille when it fell into the hands of the insurgents—to such a degree had the mild government of Louis XVI. thinned that gloomy abode of the victims of former tyranny. They were all imprisoned on charges of forgery, chiefly for falsifying letters of exchange; none were implicated in political offences. When they heard the frightful din within the fortress, they never doubted that their last hour was come—an impression which was not diminished when, after repeated strokes of the sledge-hammer, the ponderous gates rolled back on their hinges, and a vehemently excited armed multitude broke in. It may be conceived, then, what was their astonishment when, on being brought out, they beheld de Launay's head on the top of a pike, with the inscription, "Traitor to the people!" Everything in the prison was ransacked; and among the remnants of the olden time which were brought to light were many relics of feudal barbarity, sufficient to rouse to the highest pitch a less excitable people than the French. Arms of an old and now disused kind, frightful instruments of torture, the names and purposes of which had passed into oblivion, were dragged into light from its gloomy vaults and exhibited to the multitude. Among the rest was an iron corslet, which extended over every part of the body, and precluded the possibility of moving a single limb. Stone seats and couches were found, worn with the number who had lain upon them. But no skeletons were discovered—no persons chained to walls; and

the appearance of the instruments of torture sufficiently proved that, for a very long period, they had ceased to be applied to their horrid destination. The fortress was, by order of the National Assembly, soon after razed to the ground.

109. The night which followed this decisive success was one of extraordinary excitement in Paris. Though their victory was complete, and the troops had all been withdrawn from the neighbourhood of the capital, and grouped round Versailles and the adjoining villages, yet the agitation was still extreme. Many houses were illuminated, but less from triumph than a dread of being left in the dark. Few eyes were closed, even after the wearisome labours of the three preceding days: the women watched in their houses; the men were congregated in the streets, on the quays, and in the squares. A nocturnal attack was generally expected; men could not conceive that a military monarchy would so soon abandon the contest. The frequent march of the armed city-guard and the Gardes Françaises, with their cannons and caissons, to the different points thought to be menaced, increased the general alarm.* All night the mournful clang of the tocsin was heard, interrupted by the cry, incessantly repeated in the streets, "Don't go to bed—keep your lamps burning." The most fearful reports were circulated—that the foreign troops were to issue out of the cellars and sewers, and massacre the inhabitants—that a second St Bartholomew was in preparation. The people barricaded the streets, tore up the pavement, carried stones to the tops of the houses, and established guards in the principal quarters. But nothing occurred to justify the alarm, and the anxiety of a sleepless night only added

* These Mars incites, and those Minerva fires.
Fale Flight around, and dreadful Terror reign,
And Discord raging bathes the purple plain;
Discord! dire sister of the slaughtering power,
Small at her birth, but rising every hour.
While scarce the skies her horrid head can bound,
She stalks on earth and shakes the world around.

Pope's *Homer's Iliad*, Book iv.

to the intense feelings which agitated the populace. Meanwhile, the energy displayed at the Hotel de Ville continued unabated; and such was the astonishing activity of Moreau de Saint Méry, who had been chosen to supply the place of Flesselles, the former president, that, without rising from his chair, he despatched before morning above three thousand orders.

110. While these terrible scenes were passing at Paris, the government at Versailles was very imperfectly informed of what was going forward; and its policy underwent, in the course of the insurrection, a complete alteration. Mised by the confidence of the old officers by whom it was surrounded, and urged on by the vehemence of a gallant but inconsiderate noblesse, the court at first entertained the idea of restoring tranquillity to the capital by military force; and as the people were in a state of open insurrection, that was doubtless the course which duty, equally with policy, enjoined, if the troops could have been depended on. This measure, if successful, was to have been followed by the dissolution of the Assembly in a *lit de justice*, and the publication of forty thousand copies of the royal declaration of 23d July; and as that body had openly usurped the whole powers of government, and supplanted the king in his royal prerogative, there can be no doubt such a step would have been perfectly justifiable. Still the insurmountable and well-known aversion of the king to the shedding of blood controlled all the measures of the army, and would probably have paralysed any vigorous movement; for there seems no doubt that he never would have permitted them to fire, except in resisting the aggression of the insurgents.

111. But the alarming accounts received on the 12th, of the defection of the troops, and especially of the open adherence of the Gardes Françaises to the side of the insurgents, induced the king, on the morning of the 13th, to abandon the idea of using force, to which he had always felt the strongest aversion; and he accordingly wrote to the Count d'Artois, at eleven o'clock

on the forenoon of that day, to the effect that he had given up all idea of coercion, and ordered the troops to withdraw from Paris.* It was in consequence of this total change of measures in the most critical period of the revolt, that the troops occupied on the 14th no posts in Paris—that they remained passive spectators of the pillage of the Invalides, and retired from the Champ de Mars, during the attack on the Bastille, to Sévres and Versailles. Situated as the king was, there can be no doubt that this was the only prudent course that remained to him; for the defection of part of the troops, and the hesitation of all, had in truth deprived him of the only means of enforcing his orders. But such a change of policy, in the middle of an insurrection, even when constrained by external and irresistible events, was one of the most fatal circumstances that could have occurred; for it at once revealed, and perhaps magnified, the weakness of the throne, and by depriving it of the prestige of military power, converted an urban tumult into a national revolution. "Ipse inutili cunctatione agendi tempora consultando consumpsit; mox utrumque consilium aspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deterrimum est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis nec providit." †

112. During these events the Assembly was in the most violent state of

* "Versailles, 13th July, 11 A.M.—I yielded, my dear brother, to your entreaties, and to the solicitations of several faithful subjects; but I have made useful reflections. To resist at this moment would be to risk losing the monarchy—ruining us all. I have retracted the orders I had given: my troops will quit Paris; I will try gentler means. Speak to me no more of a stroke of authority, of a great act of power; I think it more prudent to temporise—to yield to the storm, and await the effects of time, the awakening of the well-disposed, and the love of Frenchmen for their king.—(Signed) Louis." This letter, written at the most critical point of his agitated life, expresses the whole policy of Louis.—*Correspondance Inédite de Louis XVI.* i. 131; and *Histoire Parlementaire de la France*, ii. 101.

† "He himself wasted the time for action in useless deliberation; and then, rejecting the counsels of both sides, sought a middle course—the worst possible policy in perilous circumstances, as he neither foresaw nor dared enough."—TACITUS, *Hist.*, iii. 40.

agitation. The most alarming reports arrived every half-hour from Paris; the members remained in the hall of meeting in the utmost anxiety; the sound of the cannon was distinctly heard, and they applied their ears to the ground to catch the smallest reverberation. No less than five deputations, during forty-eight hours, waited on the king, who was in as great a perplexity and terror at the effusion of blood as themselves. The addresses they brought were all in the same strain, and clearly revealed the revolutionary spirit of the Assembly. Nothing was said of re-establishing order in Paris; no address was issued against the insurgents in that city; the constant demand was for the king to remove the troops—in other words, surrender himself and the government to the rebels. Great part of the members were in a state of undisguised apprehension. But nothing could daunt the audacious spirit of Mirabeau. "Tell the king," said he to the last deputation which set out, "that the foreign bands by which we are surrounded have yesterday been visited and flattered by the princess and prince, and received from them both presents and caresses. Tell him, that all night, in his palace even, these foreign satellites, amidst the fumes of wine, have never ceased to predict the subjugation of France, and to breathe wishes for the destruction of the Assembly. Tell him that, in his very palace, the courtiers have mingled dancing with their impious songs; and that such was the prelude to the massacre of St Bartholomew." *

* The following was one of these addresses; they were all in the same strain: "12th July 1789.—The National Assembly, profoundly affected by the misfortunes which it had only too well foreseen, has never ceased to demand from his majesty the *complete and unconditional withdrawal* of the extraordinary assembly of troops from the capital and its environs. This very day it has sent two deputations to the king on this subject, with which it has been occupied night and day. It will take the same steps to-morrow; it will, if possible, make them even more pressing. It will not cease to renew them, and to try other means, until it meets the success it has a right to expect, both from the justice of its demands and from the heart of the king, when unbiassed by foreign influences."—BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 12.

113. The sound of the cannon employed at the storming of the Bastille was distinctly heard at Versailles during the afternoon of the 14th; but the couriers despatched by the military commanders in its vicinity were so effectually intercepted by the insurgents that it was only known, and that in a very indistinct way, that the arsenal of the Invalides had been taken and pillaged. The old officers, however, laughed at the idea of the Bastille sharing the same fate, and persisted in representing the tumults as mere local disorders which would soon be appeased. Every effort was made to secure the fidelity of the regiments in the vicinity of the palace: the princesses and ladies of the court walked in the orangery where one of them was stationed, and music and dancing for the last time enlivened that scene of former festivity. But in the night intelligence of the real state of things was received—that the Bastille was taken, Paris in insurrection, the guards in open revolt, the regiments of the line in sullen inactivity. The soldiers knew that an increase of their pay had been recommended in most of the cahiers of the deputies; and thus, by interest as well as inclination, they were disposed to take part with the citizens in the contest which was approaching. The Assembly, which had been constantly sitting for the two preceding days, was violently agitated by the intelligence. It was proposed to send a new deputation to the king, to urge the removal of the troops. "No," said Clermont Tonnerre, "let us leave them this night to take counsel: it is well that kings, like private men, should learn by experience." The Duke de Liancourt took upon himself the painful duty of acquainting the king with the events which had occurred, and proceeded to his chamber in the middle of the night for that purpose. "This is a revolt," said the king after a long silence. "Sire," replied he, "it is a revolution."

114. Finding resistance hopeless, from the general defection of the troops, the king immediately resolved upon submission—a measure which relieved him from the dreadful apprehension of caus-

ing the effusion of blood. On the following morning he repaired, without his guards or any suite, accompanied only by his two brothers, to the Assembly. He was received in profound silence. "Gentlemen," said he, "I am come to consult you on the most important affairs: the frightful disorders of the capital call for immediate attention. It is in these moments of alarm that the chief of the nation comes, without guards, to deliberate with his faithful deputies upon the means of restoring tranquillity. I know that the most unjust reports have been for some time in circulation as to my intentions—that even your personal freedom has been represented as being in danger. I should think my character might be a sufficient guarantee against such calumnies. As my only answer, I now come alone into the midst of you; I declare myself for ever united with the nation; and, relying on the fidelity of the National Assembly, I have given orders to remove the troops from Versailles and Paris, and I invite you to make my dispositions known to the capital." Immense applause followed this popular declaration; the Assembly, by a spontaneous movement, rose from their seats, and reconducted the monarch to the palace. A deputation, with the joyful intelligence, was immediately despatched to Paris, and produced a temporary calm among its excited population. Bailly was named mayor of the city, and Lafayette commander of the armed force. The king had the prudence to sanction these appointments, which in truth he could not prevent, but they originated with the insurrectionary authorities in Paris.

115. On the 17th the king set out from Versailles, with few guards and a slender suite, to visit the capital, upon whose affections his sole reliance was now placed. A large part of the National Assembly accompanied him on foot; the cortège was swelled on the road by an immense concourse of peasants, many of whom were armed with scythes and bludgeons, which gave it a grotesque and revolutionary aspect. The queen parted with him in the most profound grief, under the impression

that she would never see him more. He had received in the morning intelligence of a design to assassinate him on the road, but that made no change on his resolution. The march, obstructed by such strange attendants, lasted seven hours; during which the king underwent every humiliation that a monarch could endure. He was received at the gates by Bailly, at the head of the municipality, who presented to him the keys of the city. "I bring your majesty," said he, "the same keys which were presented to Henry IV. He entered the city as a conqueror; now it is the people who have reconquered their sovereign." Louis advanced to the Hotel de Ville, through the midst of above one hundred thousand armed men, under an arch formed of crossed sabres. His air was composed, but melancholy; his countenance pale, and with an expression of sadness. The whole of the immense crowd bore tricolor cockades, now assumed as the national colours. At the Pont Neuf he passed a formidable park of artillery, but at the touch-hole and mouth of each had been placed a garland of flowers. Few cries of *Vive le Roi* met the ears of the unfortunate monarch—those of *Vive la Nation* were much more numerous; but when he appeared at the window of the Hotel de Ville with the tricolor cockade on his breast, thunders of applause rent the air, and he was reconducted to Versailles amidst the most tumultuous expressions of public attachment.

116. The Orleans conspirators were thus disappointed in the result of the insurrection of 14th July, which they had so large a share in promoting. They had expected that, during the confusion consequent on the revolt of the people and defection of the troops, the king and royal family would have taken to flight, and then the Duke of Orleans was to have been proclaimed lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Mirabeau, Laclos, and Latouche, were the chiefs of this conspiracy; and from their dark councils had issued the orders, as from the coffers of the duke the treasures, which had originally put the revolt in motion. In pursuance of this plan, their adherents in the Assembly had vehe-

mently declaimed against the employment of troops in the suppression of the insurrection, and pressed the king with those repeated addresses, which at length, from his inability to remedy the evils complained of, led to his answering them in a voice so penetrated with grief as to move their hearts.* Mirabeau, in particular, thundered with all the force of his eloquence against the military, and concluded with the words, ominous of the reign of blood—"I demand the head of the Marshal de Broglie." So confident were the conspirators that this situation would be given to the duke without hesitation, that the great object to which their efforts were directed was to determine him to ask it, and to prepare for him the speech which he was to employ on the occasion.† Indeed Mirabeau openly avowed in the National Assembly, on a subsequent occasion, the design of supplanting Louis XVI. by Louis Philippe.‡ But the Duke of Orleans failed at the decisive moment. He went so far, at the instigation of his accomplices, as to go to the king, with the intention of demanding from the prostrate monarch the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but want of courage, or a lingering feeling of loyalty, prevented him from preferring the request; and

* "You wring my heart by the account you give me of the misfortunes of Paris. It is impossible to suppose that the orders given to the troops can be the cause." The emotion with which the king pronounced these words sufficiently showed the grief by which he was penetrated. The deputation was affected, and the Archbishop of Paris described the interview in the way best adapted to dispose the Assembly to listen to the reply of his majesty; but the majority, composed of the men termed deputies, whom fear carried along with the more daring, persisted in declaring this reply insufficient, and no one dared to bring forward or support another opinion."—BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 14.

† "To give him his lesson."—Mirabeau's words on the occasion.—BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, *Histoire de la Révolution*, iii. 14.

‡ "Who disputes with you that France has need of a king, and wishes a king? Louis XVII. will be king like Louis XVI.; and if the nation is persuaded that Louis XVI. is the abettor and accomplice of the excesses which have exhausted its patience, it will summon a Louis XVII."—*Discours de MIRABEAU à l'Assemblée Nationale*, 4th Oct. 1790.—*Moniteur*.

he contented himself with asking leave, if affairs turned out ill, to retire into England. Mirabeau's indignation at this failure knew no bounds, and exhaled in vehement expressions of contempt; and from that day he sought an opportunity to disconnect himself from so irresolute and unprofitable a conspirator. "His cowardice," said he, "has made him lose the greatest advantages; they would have made him lieutenant-general of the kingdom: it rested with himself alone: his throne was made: they had prepared what he was to have said."

117. The throne was irrecoverably overturned by the insurrection of the 14th July. The monarch had attempted, at the eleventh hour, to restrain the encroachments of the Tiers Etat by military force, and he had failed in the attempt. All classes had seen the weakness of the government; the power of opinion, the prestige of force, had passed over to the other side—for it was obvious that it was in it the supreme authority was vested. This is the true date of the destruction of the old French monarchy; the subsequent years of Louis were nothing but a melancholy, painful, and abortive attempt to rule, by following the changes of public opinion when the power of controlling it was gone. It will appear in the sequel what unbounded calamities followed this great change, from which at the time nothing but felicity was anticipated. In the mean time, before advancing further, the all-important question arises, *Who did wrong in this stage of the Revolution?*

118. I. The Tiers Etat did wrong, and committed at once a flagrant moral crime, and an irremediable political fault, by compelling the union of the orders, and usurping the supreme authority in the state. The constitution of France, as of all European monarchies, was founded on the separation of the representatives of numbers from those of property—a separation, not fanciful or accidental, but resting on the nature of things, coeval with civilisation, and one which, in one form or other, has existed in all forms of government which have had any durability, since the

beginning of the world. The duplication of the numbers of the *Tiers Etat* by Necker rendered it still more imperative to uphold this separation; because, as their numbers now equalled those of the two other orders put together, and a large portion of the clergy were known to belong to the levelling party, it was evident that the union of the whole would give numbers an immediate and decisive preponderance over property. This, accordingly, was what instantly happened. Strong in a decided predominance of votes, the majority at once usurped the whole authority in the state, and, by assuming the exclusive right of taxation, in effect centred all power in themselves. This was not less an act of rebellion against the king than of disobedience to the mandates of their constituents—and it inflicted, in the end, as fatal a wound on the cause of freedom they were sent to support as on that of the throne against which it was directed.

119. II. The military did wrong, in violating alike their duty and their oaths, by revolting against the crown, and uniting with the populace in an open insurrection to subvert the royal authority. Generally as this act of treachery was praised at the time—as wicked deeds usually are by those whose interests they advance—it is now apparent that it was it which inflicted the deathblow alike on the happiness of France and the cause of its freedom; because it rendered the march of the Revolution inevitable, and destroyed all chance of arresting the evils which blasted its hopes. It will immediately appear, that within a fortnight of the revolt of the French guards, a series of causes and effects were in motion which necessarily, in their final result, induced the Reign of Terror and the carnage under Napoleon. On the heads of the faithless soldiers who deserted their king on the approach of danger, or under the influence of delusion, rest all the miseries which afterwards afflicted their country. This shameful defection had not even the excuse for it, lame as it would have been, that they meant well in deserting their duty; that their error proceeded from a generous motive.

They were actuated by no real patriotic spirit; they forgot not that they were soldiers to remember they were men. Their loyalty perished in the fumes of intoxication—their oaths were forgotten amidst the embraces of courtesans. Let history hold them up to the eternal execration of mankind.

120. III. The error of the king, in this stage of the Revolution—and it was an error of judgment, and having reference only to time—was, that he selected the wrong moment for making his stand. That it had become indispensable to take strong steps for arresting the encroachments of the *Tiers Etat*; and that an Assembly which had, in defiance alike of its mandates from the people and its duty to the throne, usurped supreme and exclusive authority, required to be dissolved, is perfectly apparent. But Louis took the wrong time for effecting that object: he was too late in attempting it. He first acquiesced in the forced union of the orders, and even, by the power of his prerogative, compelled the unwilling nobles into the union; and then he summoned up the military to dissolve the united Assembly. By so doing, he committed the Crown, in appearance at least, in a contest with the whole *States-General*; and lost the inestimable advantage he would have enjoyed, when resistance became unavoidable, of representing his hostility as directed against one only of its orders, which was striving to overwhelm the others. It is easy to see to what this calamitous delay was owing. It arose from the unbounded confidence of the monarch in the love of his subjects, which made him deem warlike preparations unnecessary till they were too late; and his unconquerable aversion to the shedding of blood, which induced him to postpone to the last moment any measures which might even have a chance of causing blood to be shed. But still the delay deprived him of his last chance of enlisting any considerable portion of the moral influence of the nation on his side; and the error in regard to time was the more inexcusable, that the nobility had clearly pointed out the period when resistance should have

been made—viz., opposing the union of the orders—and bravely offered to throw themselves into the breach to prevent that union. In marking this error of judgment, however, on the part of the king, history must, at the same time, do justice to the motives from which it sprang, and distinguish it from the insatiable ambition which actuated the *Tiers Etat*, and the infamous treachery which disgraced the army.

121. And what has been the final result of this general dereliction of duty by all classes, which at the time was the subject of such unbounded praise, such enthusiastic exultation? Have the people secured liberty to themselves and their children by revolting against the throne? Have the soldiers chained victory to their standards, and preserved their capital inviolate, by deserting their sovereign? Has the fair fabric of general freedom been here, for the first time in the history of mankind, erected on the foundation of treachery and treason? Passing by the immediate consequences of these acts,—drawing a veil over the Reign of Terror and the guillotine of Robespierre, as the first outbreak merely of popular license,—what have been the results which have appeared at such a distance of time as to evince the lasting consequences of these deeds? Have they not been the subjugation of France by foreign armies; the occupation of its capital twice by the forces of the stranger; the failure of all attempts to establish freedom in the land? Has not a constitutional monarchy been found, after repeated attempts, and half a century of striving, bloodshed, and turmoil, impracticable in France? and is not the capital now surrounded with

a circle of fortifications, ready to be mounted with two thousand pieces of cannon, to let fall the tempest of death upon its rebellious inhabitants? Have not twenty bastilles arisen instead, and one upon the very site of the fortress which has been destroyed? * and is not a girdle of steel now put round the neck of the maniac city? Such have been the consequences of the attempt to establish freedom on the basis of treachery and treason.

122. "What," it is often asked, "could the patriots of 1789, the real lovers of freedom in France, have done at the crisis which has now been described? Were the *Tiers Etat* to have submitted to the blasting of all their aspirations by the continued separation of the orders? Were the people to have done nothing to assert their liberties? Were the soldiers to have shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, striving for the first of human blessings?" It may be admitted that human wisdom, shaping its course by the probabilities of experience, would have found it difficult to have determined what course to pursue; and perhaps no possible foresight could have avoided the dangers with which the course was beset. But every man possessed within his own breast an inward monitor, the dictates of which, if duly attended to, would have saved the nation from all the calamities which ensued. ALL CLASSES MIGHT HAVE DONE THEIR DUTY; and if so, the good Providence of God would have rewarded them, even in this world, with peace and freedom and happiness.

123. The king might have done his duty. He might have recollected that in this world the coercion of the bad is not less necessary than the protection

* "To-morrow, the 14th July, fifty-four years will have elapsed since the Parisians subverted the Bastille. On the site it occupied there has been erected since that time, in honour of another revolution, a column surmounted by the genius of liberty; but, melancholy to say, if some citizens should wish to celebrate the glorious anniversary by going and saluting the names inscribed on the column of July, they will see there a third monument of a very different nature, which is rising upon the very spot whence the Bastille threatened Paris. Under the humble name of a guardhouse, a real citadel is at this moment being constructed, on the

axis of the canal, which commands the main street of the Faubourg, the Rue Saint-Antoine, and the line of the Boulevards. That little fort, built of freestone, with battlements, and surrounded with iron palisades, will hold a numerous garrison, isolate the Faubourg, and prove in the hands of an oppressive government a very advantageous substitute for the old Bastille. It will be against Paris an advanced work of the intrenched camp of Vincennes. The men of 1789 must be astonished at the way their sons are treated, and the docility with which they suffer it."—*National de Paris*, July 13, 1843.

of the good; and that the monarch who fails in the first, is often the cause of calamities as great as he who neglects the last. The Tiers Etat might have done their duty. They might have sacrificed their private ambition to their public obligations, and closed with the offer of a beneficent sovereign, who tendered to them, without a struggle, the whole guarantees of real freedom, and a constitution conferring even greater liberty than experience has proved the nation was capable of bearing.* The soldiers might have done their duty. They might have recollected that fidelity to their colours is the first of military duties; that the armed force, in Carnot's words, "is essentially obedient—it acts, but should never deliberate;" and that a revolution brought about by the revolt of troops, though generally

successful in the outset, never fails to be disastrous in the end; because it rests the public weal on the quicksands of Prætorian caprice. The people might have done their duty. They might have recollected that treason is the greatest of crimes, because it leads to the commission of all the others; they might have seen that the strength of public opinion had become such, that its force without violence was irresistible, that the acquisition of freedom was secured without shedding a drop of blood, and that the only danger it ran was from the crimes of its supporters. The simple path of duty would have saved France and Europe from all the crimes and misfortunes which ensued: what led to them all was the selfishness of ambition and the delusions of expedience.

* Mr Jefferson, whose extreme democratic opinions are so well known, was at Paris in June 1789, as ambassador of the United States, and he has left the following valuable account of his view of what the patriots should have done to secure the liberties of their country: "I consider a successful reformation of government in France as insuring a general reformation throughout Europe, and the resurrection to a new life of their people, now ground to dust by the abuses of the governing powers. I was much acquainted with the leading patriots of the Assembly. Being from a country which had successfully passed through a similar reformation, they were disposed to my acquaintance, and had some confidence in me. I urged most strenuously an immediate compromise, to secure what the government was now ready to yield, and trust to future occasions for what might still be wanting. It was well understood that the

king would grant at this time, first, freedom of the person by *habeas corpus*; secondly, freedom of conscience; thirdly, freedom of the press; fourthly, trial by jury; fifthly, a representative legislature; sixthly, annual meetings; seventhly, the origination of laws; eighthly, the exclusive right of taxation and appropriation; and, ninthly, the responsibility of ministers: and with the exercise of these powers, they could obtain in future whatever might be further necessary to improve and preserve their constitution. They thought otherwise, however, and events have proved their lamentable error: for after thirty years of war, foreign and domestic; the loss of millions of lives; the prostration of private happiness and the foreign subjugation of their own country for a time—they have obtained no more, not even that securely."—JEFFERSON'S *Memoirs*, June 1789; and SMYTH'S *Lectures on the French Revolution*, i. 303.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE TAKING OF THE BASTILE TO THE REVOLT AT VERSAILLES.

JULY 14—OCTOBER 6, 1789.

1. NEVER had the government of a great country been overturned with so much facility as that of France was by the insurrection of the 14th July; never had the liberties of a great people been purchased at the expense of so little bloodshed. Hardly any resistance had been made, either by the military or civil authorities; not so many lives had been lost as usually perish in a trifling skirmish in the field: fifty men only had fallen in overturning the monarchy of Clovis. The rapid concessions and beneficent intentions of the king had long postponed a collision; his well-known aversion to the shedding of blood paralysed one of the parties engaged in it when it commenced—his humanity stopped it before the conflict had advanced any length. In truth he had then no alternative. The defection of the troops, the universal delusion and transports of the people, had destroyed all the means of resistance; and the monarch, not less impelled by necessity than urged by inclination, had capitulated on the very first attack. The prediction of the philosophers seemed about to be realised; the Revolution was finished, and it had scarcely cost a drop of blood. All France was in trans-

ports at the auspicious events, which, breaking in one day the chains of a thousand years, had set a whole nation free, without causing the widow or the orphan to weep. Europe sympathised with these sentiments: philosophy everywhere anticipated a bloodless triumph over oppression. Genius was eager to celebrate the advent of the emancipation of the human race.* Yet from this very triumph is to be dated the commencement of the reign of violence: with the fall of the Bastille was closed the last hope of a pacific regeneration of society; with the transference of the sword from the crown to the people, began the series of causes and effects which, in their final results, induced the whole subsequent calamities which befell the kingdom.

2. It was the dissolution of the governing power which brought about these disastrous consequences. Mankind can never exist, even for a day, without a ruling authority. Moral influence is guided entirely by the intellectual strength of a few—physical force by the daring and combinations of one. The most imperious of all necessities to mankind is a government. Individuals can subsist days, and sometimes weeks,

* The effect of this event on the ardent spirits in England may be judged of by the following magnificent lines of Darwin's:—

"Long had the giant form on Gallia's plains
Inglorious slept, unconscious of his chains:
Round his large limbs were wound a thousand rings,

By the weak hands of Confessors and Kings:
O'er his closed eyes a triple veil was bound,
And steely rivets lock'd him to the ground;
While stern Bastille with iron cage enthral'd
His folded limbs and bones in marble walls.
Touch'd by the patriot flame, he rent amazed

The flimsy bonds, and round and round him
gazed:

Starts up from earth above the admiring
throng,

Lifts his colossal form and towers along:
High o'er his foes his hundred arms he rears,
Ploughshares his swords and pruning-hooks
his spears;

Calls to the good and brave in voice that rolls
Like heaven's own thunder round the echoing
poles;

Gives to the winds his banners broad unfurled,
And gathers in the shade the living world."

DARWIN'S *Botanic Garden*.

without food, but no body of men ever could exist an hour without a ruler. Within a short period after the existing government has been overturned, another authority never fails to be installed in its stead; so much the more powerful that it has been cradled in violence—so much the more despotic that it has learned to rule excitement. If the people ever really enjoy the illusion of self-government, it is but for an hour: with the choice of the demagogue who is to rule, or the cabal which is to direct them, their brief authority is at an end; and the new sovereign, under the name of a tribune, a consul, or a committee, enters upon the exercise of irresistible power, at once established on too broad a basis to be shaken down for years.

3. The mildness of the former government, the beneficent intentions and liberal principles of the king, are thus described by M. Bailly, the originator of the "Tennis-court Oath," and the first democratic mayor of Paris:—"Despotism was what never entered into the character of the king; he never had any wish but the happiness of his people—this was the only consideration which could be employed to influence him; and he never could be induced to sanction any act of authority until he was convinced that some good was to be thus obtained, or some evil avoided—some relief to the nation afforded, or some additions to the happiness of all secured. His power was never considered by him, nor did he wish to maintain it, except for the tranquillity and peace of the community. The first cause which produced the regeneration of the country was the character of Louis XVI.: had the king been less good, the ministers more able, we should never have had a Revolution." Such was the sovereign, on the testimony of his opponents, whose reforms were rejected, whose concessions were despised, by the Tiers Etat—whose power was overthrown by the revolt of July. Contrast this with the universal excitement which prevailed after the fall of the Bastille, as drawn by a master hand, who had himself a principal share in bringing about that event.

4. "So many extraordinary changes," said Mirabeau, "have occurred within these few days, that one can hardly believe them real. The capital passing from despotism to liberty—from the extreme of terror to perfect security—a militia of citizens established—the Bastille taken by assault—a conspiracy averted—perverse counsellors dispersed—a powerful faction put to flight—ministers, clandestinely exiled, recalled in triumph—their successors recoiling before the storm—the king, whom they had deceived, restored to confidence, and voluntarily showing himself to his people—all these events, astonishing in themselves, and from their rapidity almost incredible, will produce incalculable effects, which are beyond the reach of human foresight to divine." The consequences of these events did indeed outstrip all human calculation, and proved diametrically opposite to what their authors anticipated. "*Scelera impetu, bona consilia morâ valescere.*"* But four were of such importance that they eclipsed all the others, and are to be regarded as the great corner-stones on which the revolutionary fabric was erected. These were the formation of the municipality of Paris—of the National Guards over all France—the insurrection of the peasants—the and emigration of the noblesse.

5. The overthrow of the royal authority had left Paris without a government, and that too in the most critical period of its history, when the public passions most stood in need of control, and public misery had nearly reached the most alarming height. Such had been the excitement of the three days which had preceded the capture of the Bastille, that it was found impossible to induce the people either to return to their work, or engage in any regular or continuous employment. Though all danger was over, from the defection of the army and submission of the crown, yet, such was the enthusiasm which prevailed, that they did nothing but wander about the streets, wondering at the magnitude and ease of their triumph, and devouring the multitude of

* "Crimes succeeded by haste; good designs by delay."—TACITUS, *Hist.* i. 32.

journals, pamphlets, and addresses, which, in every direction, were extolling it to the skies. The funeral obsequies of those who had fallen in the attack of the Bastille were celebrated with extraordinary pomp, in presence of an immense crowd of spectators. "It is the aristocracy," said the Abbé Fauchet, "which has crucified the Son of God!" This impious speech was received with unbounded applause. Vast crowds continually thronged the ruins of the Bastille, which already, by orders from the Hotel de Ville, was in process of being demolished. The people were never weary of examining the dark vaults and gloomy corridors of that long-dreaded prison: the stone couches, worn by continued lying—the huge rings, to which chains had once been attached—the frightful implements of ancient torture, were surveyed with insatiable avidity. But meanwhile all work was at a stand, and the usual symptoms of division after success were apparent. Already murmurs were heard against the Electoral Assembly at the Hotel de Ville—from some for having done too much, from others for having done too little: provisions were beginning to be scarce; the people, without work, had no money to buy food; and so pressing did the danger become, that within four days after the Bastille had been taken, a provisional committee of sixty persons was appointed by the municipality to superintend the distribution of provisions, organise an urban guard, and establish a police; and to pay considerable sums of money to every workman who could produce a certificate of his having given up his arms and resumed his labour.*

6. But all the efforts of the provisional government at the Hotel de Ville were unavailing: the money indeed was got by the applicants, but it was on false

certificates of the arms having been given up: the people did not resume their labours; and ere a few days had elapsed, the most pressing dangers, as well from anarchy as famine, were experienced. All the efforts of Moreau de St Méry, the new provost of the merchants, and of Bailly, who had been appointed mayor of Paris, proved inadequate to arrest the growing evils. The capital was in such a state of confusion, the disorder arising from so many co-existing authorities was so excessive—the supply of provisions so precarious—the suspension of credit so universal—that the utmost exertions of Bailly and the magistrates were required to prevent the people from dying of famine in the streets. Tailors, shoemakers, bakers, blacksmiths, assembling at the Louvre, the Place Louis XV., and other quarters, deliberated on the public concerns, and set at defiance the Hotel de Ville and the municipality. Night and day Bailly and the Committee of Public Subsistence were engaged in the herculean labour of providing for the wants of the citizens; the usual sources of supply had totally ceased with the public confusion; the farmers no longer brought their grain to market, fearing that it would be seized without payment by the sovereign multitude; and the people, as the first consequence of their triumph, were on the point of perishing of famine. Everything required to be provided for and done by the public authorities: large quantities of grain were bought up by their agents in the country, and conducted into Paris, as if into a besieged city, in great convoys, guarded by regiments of horse. This grain was ground at the public expense, and sold at a reduced rate to the citizens; but such was the misery of the people, that all these measures would not suffice, and

* "The Assembly of Electors decrees—That a provisional committee shall be formed to replace the permanent committee; that it shall be composed of sixty members chosen from the body of the Assembly; and that it shall be divided into four departments:—the first that of distribution, the second of police, the third of ways and means, and the fourth the military committee, of which the officers of the *état-major* of the national guard shall be members. The French guards demand

that in future their officers be selected from the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The Assembly decrees—That workmen be invited to return to their labour, and that, on bringing a certificate from their master or superintendent that they have resumed work, and a district certificate that they have left their arms in the appointed depot, they shall receive a sum of nine francs."—"Extrait de Procès Verbal de la Commune —Paris, July 18, 1789;" *Hist. Pari.* ii. 142.

loud complaints that the citizens were starving incessantly assailed the Assembly. The loss sustained by the municipality within a week after the taking of the Bastille, in thus feeding the people at a reduced rate, amounted to 18,000 francs (£720) a-day : * and yet such was the fury of the populace in consequence of the general want, that great numbers of carts and stores were seized and pillaged by clamorous and starving multitudes. All the efforts of the government could not supply the absence of that perennial fountain of plenty and prosperity, which arises from general security and public confidence.

7. Notwithstanding all the vigour of the public authorities, the distress of Paris, both as regarded the municipality and the citizens, soon became overwhelming. Almost every species of manufacture was at a stand : purchases by the wealthy classes had totally ceased ; and all the numerous artisans who depended on these, in that great mart of luxury and indulgence, were in the utmost straits. The popular magistrates were obliged to dissipate all the corporation funds at their disposal, and contract large debts, in order to provide for the necessities of the people, who had already fallen as a burden on the public funds. Above 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) were expended in this way by the municipality of Paris within a few months ; but even this ample supply afforded only a temporary relief ; and after exhausting their credit, and overwhelming with debt the public revenue, they were obliged to come to the National Assembly with the piteous tale that their resources were exhausted, and that Paris, as the first-fruits of its political regeneration, was on the verge of ruin.† Meanwhile the people, feeling their wants continually increas-

ing, loudly demanded the heads of the monopolisers who kept back the grain : one named Thomassin was seized by them near St Germain, and with difficulty saved from instant death when the rope was round his neck. The Assembly, glad to veil its weakness under the guise of moderation, was constrained, instead of vindicating the law, to limit itself to passing a vote of thanks to the Bishop of Chartres, who, by force of tears and entreaties, rescued the unhappy victim from his murderers when already at the foot of the scaffold.

8. It was sufficiently evident that this state of distress and anarchy could not be permitted to continue ; and as the former authorities were wholly annihilated by the prostration of the crown and the defection of the troops, there was no alternative but to organise an effective government at the Hotel de Ville. But the municipality had no regular or paid force at its command : its strength was based entirely on the support of the multitude, and the co-operation of the great civic militia, which had sprung up as if by enchantment during the late insurrection. Thus the formation of a municipality on a purely democratic basis became a matter of necessity ; and it arose so naturally from the circumstances in which men were placed, after the overthrow of the royal authority, that it excited very little attention. The electors, about three hundred in number, chosen to appoint the deputies to the States-General, who had at first organised the urban force at the Hotel de Ville, were speedily alarmed at the magnitude of the responsibility which was thrown upon them, when they beheld the disorders with which they were surrounded ; and gladly acceded to the proposition of their constituents, that each of the sixty electoral districts of Paris should elect two

* "Flour on the average cost the government 90 francs a sack—making bread 16 sous 4 cents the 4 lb. ; selling it at 14½ sous, the government thus lost 2 sous on every 4 lb.—which, taken relatively with the consumpt of Paris, gives a loss of about 18,000 francs (£720) a-day."—*Mém. de BAILLY*, ii. 96.

† "In July 1789," said M. Bailly, mayor of Paris, "the finances of the city of Paris were yet in good order ; the expenditure

was balanced by the receipts, and she had 1,000,000 francs (£40,000) in the bank. But the expenses she has been constrained to incur, subsequent to the Revolution, amount to 2,500,000 francs (£100,000) in a single year. From these expenses, and the great falling off in the produce of the free gifts, not only a temporary, but a total want of money has taken place."—See BURKE's "*Consid.*," *Works*, v. 451.

deputies, who should form a temporary administration, and who, being the acknowledged representatives of the people, might assume, in conformity with the new principles of government, a legitimate authority. Their number was afterwards raised to a hundred and eighty, and by a final decree, on 28th July, was fixed at three hundred.

9. These three hundred deputies formed the new municipality of Paris: but such was the jealousy which universally prevailed of all power, even when directly delegated by the people, that, in order to control and compel them to bend to the popular will, each electoral district retained its hall of assembly—the same where the first election of the deputies for the States-General had taken place—in which meetings of the whole primary electors were held almost every night to discuss public affairs, and constrain the representatives at the Hotel de Ville to obey the popular voice. These primary meetings speedily became little national assemblies for their own districts: they issued proclamations, passed decrees, raised armed bands, and granted passports; and these acts of power were implicitly obeyed, as the direct and immediate voice of the sovereign people. Thus Paris became tormented with sixty republics, each with a general assembly, where every Frenchman was permitted to speak and to vote; and the general municipality, and armed force at its disposal, the only remaining relic of sovereign power, was nothing but the *executive committee* of the highly excited majority. To those who duly reflect on these things, the subsequent history of the Revolution, and the atrocious part which the municipality of Paris took in all its excesses, will appear no ways a matter for surprise.

10. M. Dumont, the friend of Mirabeau, and framer of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, an eyewitness of these scenes, has left the following graphic picture of these primary assemblies:—"The noise which prevails in these meetings is enough to distract any one who is not accustomed to it. Every speech is followed or interrupted by the loudest and most clamorous applause,

or the most tumultuous expressions of disapprobation. The president of one, finding it impossible to command silence by any other means, has stationed a drummer behind him; and when all is noise, tumult, and confusion, he gives the signal to beat the drum till tranquillity is restored. As nearly a hundred thousand of the upper ranks have emigrated, the number of valets, servants, and labourers out of employment is immense, and they throng all the public assemblies, and are always loudest in approval of extreme measures. Falsehood is the constant and favourite resource of the cabals which prevail here. It is impossible to conceive the impudence with which the most palpable lies are published and propagated among the people. The most positive assertions, the most minute detail of facts, the strongest appearance of probability, are made to accompany the grossest falsehoods. Foulon and Besenval were the victims of pretended letters, of which were seen a thousand copies, but not one original. The convent of Montmartre has been twice beset by twenty or thirty thousand men, who threatened it with destruction for having engrossed the provender of Paris; it was searched, and there was scarcely found provision enough for the inmates of the house. At one moment it is affirmed that the aristocratic conspirators have thrown a great quantity of bread into the Seine; at another, that they have mowed the green corn. The public is overwhelmed with lies and calumnies." Such, on the testimony of an eyewitness, and that eyewitness the author of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man," were the assemblies, and such the arts, by which, from the outset of the Revolution, Paris and France were directed.

11. This terrible organisation of the multitude into primary assemblies, and of municipalities from the deputies whom they elected, was speedily imitated over all France. It was too much in the spirit of the age—it fell in too completely with the passions of the moment—not to be the object of universal adoption. The old magistracies, based in a great degree on the incorpo-

rations, and therefore identified with property, were in a few days everywhere superseded, and never more heard of. The new municipalities formed of the deputies of the primary assemblies—that is, resting on universal suffrage—became universal, and soon engrossed the whole civil authority, as well as the direction of the armed force of the kingdom. Incalculable and irreparable were the effects of this change. Coupled with the simultaneous institution of the National Guard and the defection of the army, it rendered the march of the Revolution inevitable, because it deprived the crown of all power, either by civil or military authority, to restrain or even modify it. The Jacobin clubs which, in imitation of the great parent one in the capital, were speedily established in every town in the kingdom, ere long, by the vehemence of their language and the energy of their proceedings, acquired the direction of these primary assemblies, and through them of the municipalities, and communicated the impulse of popular fervour to the whole constituted authorities. This was the true secret of the future progress of the Revolution.

12. This great innovation did not escape the notice of the National Assembly, and some feeble attempt was made to prevent the civil power in the state from thus slipping from the hands of the legislature; but it came to nothing, and they were glad to veil their weakness under the guise of moderation. "Do you propose," said Mounier, who already began to perceive whither the current was flowing, "that all the towns of France should create municipalities like Paris? That power should be confined to the National Assembly; there is no saying whither such multiplying of states within states, sovereignties within sovereignties, may lead us." "The disorders of Paris," answered Mirabeau, "have all arisen from one cause, that no popular authority exists, and that the primary assemblies were not in harmony with the municipality. The latter had seized the reins of power in the public confusion, without the previous consent of the people. They retained it after they had lost their

popularity, even after the electoral districts had manifested a wish to have a municipality established on the basis of the formal consent of the people. What circumstance can be so fortunate, as that municipalities are now erected on the basis of direct popular election, conducted with all the orders united into one, under the condition of a frequent removal and rotation of functionaries, and that Paris has offered to the other cities of France so admirable a model to imitate? The National Assembly should make no attempt to organise municipalities; they should arise in every instance from the direct will of the people. Look at the Americans; they have done this, and hence the stability of their institutions." "The terrible strokes aimed by the minister," replied Lally Tollendal, "have produced frightful reprisals. We must not deceive ourselves: the people demand vengeance, but we require subordination; else we shall fall from the yoke of ministerial power under that of arbitrary democracy. One may have much talent, great ideas, and be a tyrant. Tiberius thought, and thought profoundly; Louis XI. felt, and felt warmly." But these recriminations determined nothing; and the Assembly contented itself with issuing a proclamation, in which they declared that they alone were invested with the right of directing prosecutions for high treason, but left to the towns the power of choosing municipalities, and arresting suspected persons. Soon after, the new constitution of the municipality of Paris was solemnly sanctioned by a decree of the Assembly, and of course was immediately imitated over all France.

13. What rendered this newly-born power of the municipalities peculiarly formidable, in fact irresistible, was the simultaneous creation of an armed force, under the name of the National Guard, which, in imitation of that instituted in Paris, speedily sprang up in every part of the kingdom. As fast as the news of the taking of the Bastille spread through the provinces, the lower orders, in imitation of the capital, organised themselves into independent bodies, subject to their respective municipa-

lities, and established national guards for their protection. The immediate cause of the formation of this prodigious armament was the propagation through all France of the most alarming reports as to the approaching destruction of the harvest by brigands, who were traversing the country in all directions—a stratagem played with the most complete success by the leaders of the Revolution, in order to place the armed force of the kingdom at their disposal. Three hundred thousand men were by these means speedily enrolled for the support of the popular side; the influence of government, as well as the power of the sword, passed into the hands of the people. The officers in the new regiments were all elected by the privates; the new magistrates were appointed by the mob, and of course taken from the most zealous supporters of the popular demands; their authority alone was respected. The old functionaries, finding their power gone, everywhere became extinct. In less than a fortnight there was no authority in France but what emanated from the people. Arms were in some places wanting for a time; but the zeal of the new municipalities soon supplied this deficiency. The royal arsenals were generally opened by the officers in charge of them, who feared to disobey the orders of the sovereign people; and although a few, like M. de Bouillé at Metz, held out for some time, yet they were ere long constrained, by direct mandates from Louis, to comply.* This force speedily acquired a surprising degree of discipline and efficiency, chiefly from the number

* M. de Bouillé, whose firmness nothing could shake, and who had, by the ascendancy of his character, preserved subordination among his troops, continued for a month after the 14th July to refuse to issue arms to the national guard of Metz, where he commanded, till he received the orders of the king. But on 26th August 1789, the new minister at war, La Tour Dupin, indirectly enjoined it in the following words: "An essential point, of which you feel the importance, is to be very cautious in giving out arms." Bouillé now felt himself bound to issue out arms, which he did, however, as prudently as possible. He was one of the last governors of provinces who withstood the universal demand for arms.—*M. La Tour Dupin to M. de Bouillé*, 26th August 1789; BOUILLÉ, *Mémoires*, 79.

of old soldiers, or non-commissioned officers of the line who obtained commissions in it; and who, in secret ashamed of the desertion of their sovereign, were glad to veil their disgrace under a new uniform and the assumption of the popular colours.

14. Frightful disorders, originating in Paris, and soon spreading over the whole kingdom, signalled the first transference of the supreme power from the crown to the people. Louis, immediately after his submission, sanctioned the appointment of General Lafayette as commander of the national guard at Paris, and recalled M. Necker to the office of prime minister. The messenger overtook the Swiss minister at Bâle, at which place he had arrived on his journey to his native country. His return to Paris was a continued triumph. Everywhere he received the most intoxicating proofs of public gratitude; the newly constituted authorities waited on him to testify their admiration; but his entry to Paris was not only the zenith of his popularity, but also its end. He proceeded to the Hotel de Ville amidst the shouts of two hundred thousand admiring citizens, and from its balcony addressed the people in generous terms, imploring them to crown their glorious victory by a general amnesty. For a moment the generous sentiment prevailed; loud applause followed his words. But he seemed to have a presentiment of his approaching fall; for, on entering his apartment at Versailles, he exclaimed to one of his friends—"Now is the moment that I should die!"

15. A melancholy proof awaited him of the inability even of the most popular minister to coerce the fury of the populace. Long lists of proscription had for a considerable time been fixed at the entrances of the Palais Royal, at the head of which was the name of M. Foulon, an old man above seventy years of age, who had been appointed to the ministry which succeeded Necker, but never entered upon his office. He was seized in the country, and brought into Paris with his hands tied behind his back. What had worked the mob up to a pitch of frenzy against him was a

falsehood propagated, and at once believed, that he had said, "The people were fit for nothing but to eat grass." Anxious to save him from their fury, Lafayette, when he was brought to the Hotel de Ville, proposed to send him to the prison of the Abbaye, in order to gain time to discover his accomplices. He was on the point of succeeding in the humane attempt, when a voice in the crowd exclaimed—"They understand each other: this is all a *ruse*—what need have we of a trial for a wretch condemned thirty years since?" Upon this the vengeance of the people could not wait for the forms of trial and condemnation; they broke into the committee room, where he was undergoing an examination before Lafayette and Bailly, overthrew twelve hundred electors there assembled, and, in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of the magistrates, tore him from their arms, and hanged him. Twice the fatal cord broke, and the agonised wretch fell to the ground in the midst of the multitude; and twice they suspended him again, amidst peals of laughter and shouts of joy. Some of the assassins, more humane than the rest, proposed to despatch him with their swords; but the majority declined that mode of death as too speedy, and kept the unhappy wretch in mortal agony for a quarter of an hour, till a third cord was got. It was with such terrific examples of wickedness that the regeneration of the social body commenced in France.

16. M. Berthier, son-in-law to M. Foulon, soon after shared the same fate. He was arrested at Compiègne, and, after undergoing the utmost outrages on the road, was brought to the Hotel de Ville, where the mob presented to him the head of his relative, still streaming with blood. He averted his eyes, and, as they continued to press it towards his face, bowed to the ghastly remains. Falsehood had here, as in the case of Foulon, rendered justice impossible. He was preceded by a crowd of people, who shouted, "He has robbed the king and France; he has devoured the substance of the people; he has drunk the blood of the widow and the orphan." The efforts of Bailly and La-

fayette were again unsuccessful—he was seized by the mob, and dragged towards the lamp-post; but at the sight of the cord, which they prepared to put about his neck, he was seized with a transport of indignation, and, wresting a musket from one of the National Guard, rushed among his assassins, and fell pierced with innumerable wounds. One of the cannibals fell on his body, plunged his hand into his mangled bosom, and tore out his heart, which he bore about in triumph, almost before it had ceased to beat. The heads of Berthier and Foulon were put on the end of pikes, and paraded, in the midst of an immense crowd, through the streets of Paris.

17. It was from horror at these sanguinary excesses that M. Necker demanded of the assembly of electors at Paris, and obtained, a general amnesty for political offences. His chief object in doing so was to save the life of the Baron de Besenval, second in command under the Marshal Broglie, formerly his political opponent, whom, at the hazard of his own life, he had generously saved from the fury of the people on his road from Bâle, at the distance of a few leagues from Paris. But in taking this humane step, Necker experienced, once again, his inability to rule the Revolution, and felt the weakness of the thread on which the applause of the people is founded. His efforts were nugatory. Mirabeau, in the Assembly, stood forth as the opponent of humanity. The success he met with proved but too clearly that the reign of blood was approaching. On the following day that fearful orator brought the matter under the consideration of the Legislature. "Whence comes it," said he, "that the municipality takes upon itself, under the very eyes of the Assembly, to publish an amnesty for offences? Has the cause of freedom, then, no more perils to encounter? We may pardon M. Necker his generous but indiscreet proceeding, which in any other but him would have been criminal; but let us, with more calmness and equal humanity, establish the public order, not by general amnesties, but by a due separation of the judicial functions from those of the multitude."—"The multitude,"

said Barnave, "may have been right: the main thing we have to think of is the formation of a constitution: we must not be too much alarmed at the storms of freedom. *Was, then, the blood which has been shed so very pure!*" Moved partly by terror, partly by fanaticism, the Assembly reversed the decree of the electors of Paris, and political revenge received ample scope for its development.

18. Nor was it only on persons in an elevated sphere of life that the fury of the unchained multitude was exercised. Every person in any rank who was denounced by their leaders, or was suspected of thwarting their wishes, became the victims of their barbarity. Engravings were distributed, representing crowds composed of citizens, peasants, and women, carrying pikes, on the top of which the heads of the obnoxious persons were placed, with the inscription below each—"It is thus that we avenge traitors." * Worked up by these arts, the people were not slow in taking vengeance on their supposed oppressors. A convoy of grain having come from Poissy, near St Germain, on July 16th, the farmer who led the party, named Sauvage, was seized by the multitude and brought into Paris, guarded by three hundred armed men, accused of being a monopoliser. Quickly the drum went through the town with this announcement—"Citizens! by order of the king and the Tiers Etat! Notice is hereby given, that Sauvage will be hanged at three o'clock." At that hour an immense multitude assembled at the Hotel de Ville; the unhappy wretch, who was entirely innocent, was brought out and instantly hung up to the lamp-post. The rope broke, and he fell to the earth; again he was hoisted up with a fresh cord, and at the same time pierced through with swords and bayonets amidst savage shouts. His head was then cut off, put on the top of a pike, and paraded through the streets, followed by a butcher who had severed an arm, brandishing his bloody knife, while another occasionally opened the lips to make them receive the stream of blood

which flowed down the ghastly cheeks. Not content with these atrocities, the heart and pieces of the body of Berthier were thrown into a goblet of wine, in which they were boiled; and the savages, standing round the caldron, drank the fuming liquor red with blood, with naked arms uplifting their glasses, and chanting a song, the burden of which was death to all aristocrats who should oppose the will of the people.†

19. Confounded by these and similar atrocities, of which they were doomed to be the impotent spectators, Bailly and Lafayette sent in the resignations of their respective offices of mayor of Paris and commander of the National Guard. "What a magistracy is this," cried the former, "which has not power to prevent a crime perpetrated under its very eyes!" "The people," said Lafayette, "have not listened to my advice; and the day on which they broke the promise which they made to me is that on which I feel I ought to resign my office, in which I can no longer be of any use." But it is easier to put a revolutionary torrent in motion than to withdraw from it when in the middle of its course. Earnest entreaties were made to them to resume their ap-

† "The heart of the proscribed traitor (Berthier) was carried along the streets on the point of a cutlass. Well! in a public place who would believe it! Frenchmen, responsible beings, ventured, oh God! to dip fragments of the bleeding flesh in their drink, their hatred greedily feeding on it: this actually took place in a café in the Rue St Honoré, near the Rue Richelieu."—PAUL-HOMME, *Révolutions de Paris*, No. ii. p. 25, 18 to 25 July 1789. The murder of Berthier was immediately owing to the fabrications already alluded to; but it is now known that it was owing to a deeper cause, and implicated more exalted personages. He had transmitted to Louis two secret memoirs, in which he had advised him either to yield and concede at once the whole demands of the Assembly, or to put himself at the head of his army, and arrest several members of the Assembly who were implicated in the Orleans conspiracy. These memoirs were read in presence of Louis de Narbonne, who informed Madame de Staël of their import, and she had the imprudence to make Mirabeau acquainted with them. Hence the virulence of the chiefs of the revolt against this estimable man, the father of eight children, alike distinguished by their virtues and their manners. — MADAME CAMPAN, ii. 62; CONDORCET's *Memoirs*, i. 259.

* Copies of these engravings still exist.—*Histoire Parlementaire*, i. 150.

pointments; fair promises were lavished, that the disorders inseparable from the rise of freedom should not be repeated; and these well-meaning but deluded men, seeing that their withdrawing would probably make matters worse, by removing the only restraints on the popular fury, were obliged, much against their will, to resume their functions.

20. It can hardly be conceived that human cruelty could go beyond these dreadful massacres; but the scenes which followed the fall of the Bastille in the provincial towns, and many of the provinces of France, threw the atrocities of the capital into the shade. The regular soldiers almost everywhere declared for the people; and as this gave the latter the command of the whole arsenals in France, the populace were, in every quarter, speedily armed, and no power existed in the state which could coerce or restrain them. In many provinces the peasants rose in arms, ransacked and burned the chateaus of the landlords, and massacred or expelled the possessors. The horrors of the insurrection of the Jacquerie, in the time of Edward III., were revived on a greater scale, and with circumstances of deeper atrocity. In their blind fury the insurgents did not even spare those seigneurs who were known to be inclined to the popular side, or had done the most to mitigate their sufferings or support their rights. The most cruel tortures were inflicted on the victims who fell into their hands: many had the soles of their feet roasted over a slow fire before being put to death; others had their hair and eyebrows burnt off, while their dwellings were destroyed, after which they were drowned in the nearest fishpond. The Marquis of Barras was cut to pieces before his wife, far advanced in pregnancy, who shortly after died of horror; the roads were covered with young women of rank and beauty flying from death, and leading their aged parents by the hand. It was amidst the cries of agony, and by the light of conflagration, that liberty arose in France.

21. At Caen, and several other towns of Normandy, the massacres of the metropolis were too faithfully imitated.

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M. de Belzunce, an amiable young man of a noble family, major in the regiment of Bourbon, stationed at that town, had endeavoured to preserve his men from the contagion of revolt; and he had so far succeeded as to have attracted the notice of Marat, who in several numbers of his incendiary journal had stigmatised him as an aristocrat who should forthwith be delivered over to popular vengeance. Soon a furious multitude arose and demanded his head: the magistrates, to avoid a civil war, requested him to go to the Hotel de Ville with them, which he at once did, and from thence, for additional security, he was sent under an escort of the national guard, who pledged themselves for his safety, to the citadel; while, to remove all cause of irritation, his regiment was ordered by the commandant of the province to leave the town. No sooner were they gone than the crowd, worked up by a fresh journal of Marat's, in which he was again denounced, broke into the citadel; the national guard, as usual, did nothing to coerce the people, and M. de Belzunce was dragged out and shot in the chief square of the town, in presence of the powerless magistrates. No sooner was he dead than his body was torn in pieces—his head paraded through the streets on a pike, and his entrails hanging on other spears like ribbons. Bits of his flesh were divided among the people; some were eaten by the cannibals,* others put into bottles of spirits to be preserved. These hideous atrocities sank deep into the heart of a young and beautiful woman of rank, with whom, in early life, M. de Belzunce had been acquainted, and who, though belonging to the liberal party, was stinging

* "Beaucoup de citoyens de Caen vouturent avoir un lambeau de sa chair, beaucoup en emportèrent dans leurs poches, d'autres firent précéder la spectacle de sa tête par la vue de ses entrailles attachées au haut d'une pique en guise de rubans. Un homme envoya un morceau de sa chair à un four de boulanger pour être cuite et pour en faire un repas de famille. Une sage-femme alla plus loin: elle n'eut pas de relache qu'elle n'eut obtenu un fragment des parties sexuelles de la victime, qu'elle conserva dans un bocal rempli d'esprit de vin."—FRUDHOMME, *Crimes de la Révolution*, iii. 149.

by none of its vices, and lived to take a signal revenge on the author of his murder: her name was CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

22. Similar atrocities disgraced many other of the large towns in France, especially Strasbourg, Troyes, Nîmes, and Orleans. At St Denis the crowd fell upon M. Chatel, the mayor of the town, cut off his head, and paraded it into Paris: his wife, who witnessed the deed, threw herself into a well and was drowned. On the same day M. Montesson was seized in the Château de Juigné, near Mans, with M. Cureau, his father-in-law, by a furious mob, which broke open the house. First the noses and ears of these unhappy men, and at length their heads, were cut off, and paraded on pikes in presence of the magistrates, who were compelled to be present at this act of popular atrocity. In Strasbourg, a frightful tumult took place; six hundred rioters besieged the Hotel de Ville, pillaged it, and threatened the whole town with conflagration. At Troyes, a mob assembled round the Hotel de Ville, exclaiming that the bread was made of unwholesome flour; and though the mayor, Huez, pronounced a sentence condemning it to be burnt, yet such was the fury of the people that they fell upon him in the Hippodrome: he was knocked down, and instantly a frantic mob of men, women, and children, fell upon him and murdered him on the spot. One woman, seeing that his body yet quivered, plunged her scissors in his eyes, and scooped them out. At Marseilles, the fury of the populace was only suppressed after a vehement contest between the national guard and the insurgents. At Orleans a still greater calamity ensued. There vigorous efforts were made by the troops of the line and police to protect the convoys of provisions coming into the town from pillage, and in the conflict eight men were killed and twelve wounded. Instantly a furious mob of some thousand persons got up and assailed the troops, but they were boldly met: eighty men were killed, and a still greater number wounded; but the insurrection was at once suppressed. If the same fidelity and vigour had been generally exerted

in France, the reign of blood would have been stifled in its cradle.

23. But nothing in these frightful days equalled the atrocities which were committed by the insurgent peasants upon the inmates of the chateaus, which they sacked and burnt in the first transports consequent on the taking of the Bastille. In the space of a few days sixty-seven chateaus in the districts Maconnais and Beaujolais alone were delivered over to the flames, and all the churches containing the tombs of the ancestors of the nobility were destroyed. In Dauphiné, thirty-six shared the same fate, and their whole inhabitants were burnt or massacred. In Burgundy several of the nobles strove to resist, and, by arming their servants and a few faithful retainers, succeeded in inflicting some severe losses on the insurgents; but the latter soon became so numerous that all attempts to withstand them only aggravated the sufferings of the landowners, without averting their fate. A forged proclamation of the king was spread, in which he was made to call on the people to rise and avenge themselves on the oppressors alike of the sovereign and themselves. This at once stimulated revolt and disarmed resistance. A body of six thousand armed brigands traversed the country on both sides of the Saone, burning and destroying chateaus and churches indiscriminately; while French Flanders, Dauphiné, Alsace, and the Lyonnais, were the prey of similar disorders.*

24. Nothing in this hideous catalogue could exceed the cruelty exercised by the peasants in endeavouring to extort from the seigneurs their title-deeds. As

* "It was in the Maconnais and Beaujolais districts that the desolation of the country presented the most frightful aspect. Twenty-two chateaus fell a prey to the flames, or to the rapacity of these 6000 brigands. Seigneurs, proprietors, farmers, pastors, churches, everything, bore the mark of their furious sacrilege. The cultivators of the soil, threatened with incendiarism, trembling lest they should see their houses reduced to ashes, feared to house their crops. This band of miscreants, emboldened by impunity, swelled with fearful rapidity. They went to all the villages, sounded the bells, and compelled the men, with a pistol at their throats, to march along with them."—*Moniteur*, 6 to 7 Aug. 1789, col. 2.

possession of the land for nothing was the real object of the movement, they were impressed with the idea, which often proved well founded, that if they could only discover and destroy these, no one could claim the lands and property, and they would enjoy their farms without disturbance. Incredible were the efforts they made, if they could not find the title-deeds in the chateaus, to torture the landowners and their families into a discovery of where they were. In Normandy, one of the seigneurs was placed on a blazing pile, to make him give up his deeds; he was taken from it, with his two hands burnt to the bone, without disclosing the secret. In Franche-Comté, the axe was raised over the head of Madame de Batteville, to extort from her the same discovery, and a pitchfork held at the throat of the Princess de Listenay. Cruelties of the same sort were exercised on Madame de Tonnerre and many others—often without extracting, even by the dread of instant death, the desired disclosure.*

25. The National Assembly was well aware of the general prevalence of these horrors; its own proceedings and proclamations contain official notice of their extent.† But they did nothing whatever of an efficient character to repress them. They issued, indeed, several proclamations against the disorders, and calling on the people to respect

* "In the first moments of frenzy it was reckoned a crime to belong to the aristocracy, and sex even was no protection from the fury of the multitude. M. de Montesson was shot at Mans after being forced to witness the slaughter of his father-in-law. M. de Barras was cut in pieces before the eyes of his wife, then pregnant. In Normandy, a seigneur suffering from paralysis was abandoned on a pile of burning wood, whence he was removed with scorched hands. In Franche-Comté, Mad. de Batteville was compelled, with an axe held over her head, to give up her titles; the Princess de Listenay was similarly constrained, with a pitchfork at her throat, and her two daughters swooning at her feet. Madame de Tonnerre and M. L'Allemand suffered the same fate. The Chevalier d'Ambly, dragged naked on a dunghill, beheld dancing around him the demons who had torn out his hair and eyebrows. M. d'Ormenan and Madame de Monteran were kept for three hours with a pistol at their throats, vainly imploring death as a favour; and as they would not consent to surrender their titles, they were

property; but they made no inquiries as to their authors—they instituted no prosecutions, punished no offenders. They even declined to interfere, though violently affected, when M. Berthier flew to Versailles to implore their protection for M. Foulon, his father-in-law, and adjured Lally Tollendal, by the love he had borne to the memory of his parent, to save his father, now tottering on the edge of the tomb. Though they had now, by their direction of the national guard, the control of the whole armed force of France, they gave no orders tending to discharge the first duty of government—that of protecting life and property. Thus their proclamations remained a dead letter; and the people easily saw that they were not sincere in their professed desire to terminate the devastations, by the constant apologies which Mirabeau, Robespierre, Sièyes, and the other popular orators, made for these excesses, as the natural and inevitable result of centuries of previous oppression. The real motives of their conduct are thus revealed by Dumont: "Indeed they were so far committed in a contest with the crown and the aristocracy, that, instead of repressing, they rejoiced in secret at atrocities which seemed necessary to complete the intimidation of their adversaries. They felt that they had put themselves in a situation where they must either fear the noblesse, or be

dragged from their carriages and tossed into a pool."—*Montieur*, 3 to 4 Aug. 1789, p. 138, col. i.

† In their report on the disorders on 3d August 1789, the Assembly stated: "Letters and memorials received from all the provinces have proved, that property of every kind is everywhere the prey of the most atrocious plunders; that through the country the houses are burned, the convents destroyed, and farms given up to pillage; imposts, seigniorial rights, all are annihilated; the laws are without force, the magistrates without authority, and justice is now but a phantom which it is vain to seek in the courts of law."—*Memorial of 3d August 1789*.

"The people have armed themselves with weapons of all sorts; attacked the neighbouring chateaus; knowing no restraint when they think their fury merited, they have abandoned, and continue to abandon, themselves to the most frightful excesses; they have burned and sacked the repositories of the seigneurs, and compelled them to renounce their rights; they have destroyed chateaus and burned abbays."—*Hist. Parl. de la France*, ii. 162.

feared by them. Thus, for decency's sake, they blamed openly and applauded privately; they conferred praises on the constituted authorities, and in secret gave encouragement to license. The usual consequence of violent usurpation is, to compel men to plunge deeper into the stream of revolution, and commit the greater crimes, to save themselves from the consequences of the lesser which they have already perpetrated."

26. It soon appeared what objects the revolutionists had in view in perpetrating or screening and palliating these excesses. They led at once to the general EMIGRATION OF THE NOBLESSE—the cause of evils unnumbered to their country and to themselves, and which powerfully contributed to stamp its peculiar and fatal character on the French Revolution. The first emigration of the Royalist leaders began on the day when the king, having resolved on submission, repaired to Paris. The Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, the Prince of Conti, the Marshal de Broglie, M. de Breteuil, and the whole obnoxious members of the ministry, seeing their plans of resistance overturned, and the army generally in revolt, set off secretly from Versailles, and arrived safe at Brussels. With profound affliction the queen bade adieu to her faithful friend Madame de Polignac, with the sad presentiment, which was too fatally realised, that she should never see her more. The Prince of Bourbon and the Duke d'Enghien soon followed. Monsieur, afterwards Louis XVIII., who inclined to liberal opinions, and was not exposed to the same danger, remained for some time longer with the king, but was at length likewise constrained to leave the country. The Duke de Luxembourg, though a moderate adherent of the new opinions, and the Marshal de Carrier, the friend of Necker, retired, the one into England, the other to Germany. M. d'Espréménil, the former idol of the people, M. de Cazalès, and the Abbé Maury, also withdrew; but they were arrested in Picardy, and brought back to the Assembly, who placed them under the shield of its inviolability.

27. Although, however, the emigration of these leaders of the Royalist party was a very disastrous thing for France, by abandoning the sovereign without either counsels or support in the midst of a rebellious people, yet the great mass of the noblesse had not as yet left the country. It was the insurrection of the peasants, the burning of the chateaus, and the frightful cruelties exercised on the nobles in so many of the provinces of France, which rendered emigration general. It is not surprising that, when the landed proprietors saw such numbers of country-houses sacked and burnt, and their unhappy inmates murdered or burnt alive, without any attempt being made by the National Assembly, the army, the national guard, or the constituted authorities, either to defend them or to punish their assassins, they should have given up the cause for lost—and deemed that, as in a shipwreck at sea, the only hope that remained was to quit the vessel, and make, destitute of everything, for the nearest shore. But however natural or unavoidable it might be, in the first moments of alarm at these infamous cruelties, yet was the emigration of the noblesse, and, still more, their continued residence abroad when the disorders had in a great degree subsided, a great fault, a most calamitous circumstance. It left the king destitute alike of moral and physical support, and deprived the nation of all leaders who could have taken advantage of the reaction in favour of order which ensued ere long, when the woeful consequences of democratic government had been practically experienced.

28. The fatal effect of this universal discouragement and general emigration of the noblesse was speedily felt in the measures of the Assembly; and it soon appeared that if the people require an executive to retain them in their duty, the legislature stands not less in need of its protection to prevent it from being impelled to the destruction of the national institutions. The dissolution of the royal authority was ere long followed by an unexampled proceeding on the part of the National Assembly. On the night of the 4th August, amidst

general consternation at the accounts received from the provinces on the preceding day, the Viscount de Noailles gave the signal for innovation, by proposing that the burden of taxes should fall equally on all classes; that the feudal rights should be declared liable to redemption, and personal servitude be simply abolished. The Duke d'Aiguillon, in an eloquent speech, seconded the proposal. This, though a great concession, founded alike in justice and expedience, was far from satisfying the popular party. A painful picture of the oppression of feudal rights was drawn, and the generosity of the nobles piqued to consent to their voluntary surrender. All parties began, contrary to all expectation, to vie with each other in proposing the abolition of abuses; the contagion became universal; in a few hours the whole feudal rights were abandoned. The Duke de Châtelet proposed that the right of buying up tithes should be allowed, and that they should be commuted into a payment in money; the Bishop of Nancy, the general redemption of ecclesiastical property; the Bishop of Chartres, the suppression of the exclusive right of the chase. The more important rights of feudal jurisdiction in matters of crime, of the disposal of offices for gain, of pecuniary immunities, of inequality of taxes, of plurality of benefices, of casual emolument to the clergy, of annats to the court of Rome, were successively abandoned: finally, the incorporations and separate states sacrificed their privileges; the Bretons, the Burgundians, the Languedocians, renounced the rights which had withstood the assaults of Richelieu and Louvois. All the monuments of freedom which the patriotism of former times had erected were swept away, and the liberty established in its stead was founded on an imaginary and untried basis.

29. On this occasion the most remarkable speech was that made by the Duke d'Aiguillon, which gives a picture of the views that dictated these immense and sudden concessions, and shows how large a share the horrors of which the country was at that moment the theatre had in producing them. "There is no

one," said he, "who must not groan over the scenes of horror which France at this moment exhibits. The effervescence of the people, who have conquered freedom when guilty ministers sought to ravish it from them, has now become an obstacle to freedom, at a time when the views of government are again in harmony with the wishes of the nation. It is not merely the brigands who, with arms in their hands, wish to enrich themselves in the midst of the public calamities; in many provinces the entire mass of the peasantry have formed themselves into a league to destroy the chateaus, ravage the lands, and, above all, get possession of the charter-chests where the feudal titles are deposited. They seek to shake off a yoke which for centuries has weighed upon them; and we must admit that, though that insurrection is culpable, (what violent aggression is not so!) yet it finds much excuse in the vexations which have produced it. The proprietors of fiefs, or of seigniorial rights, it is true, have seldom themselves perpetrated the injustice of which their vassals complain, but their stewards and agents have done so; and the unhappy labourer, subjected to the barbarous yoke of the feudal laws which still subsist in France, groans under the constraint of which he is the victim. These rights, it must be admitted, are property, and all property is sacred; but they are burdensome to the people, and all are agreed as to the continual vexations which they produce. In this enlightened age, when a sound philosophy has resumed its empire—at this fortunate moment, when, united for the public good, and free from all personal interest, we are called upon to labour for the regeneration of the state—it appears to me that, before proceeding to the construction of a constitution, so ardently desired by the nation, we should prove to all the citizens that our wish is even to anticipate their desires, and to establish, as quickly as possible, that equality of rights which should ever prevail among men, and can alone secure their liberty. I doubt not that the proprietors of fiefs, the lords of estates, will be the first to agree to the renun-

ciation of their rights on reasonable indemnity. They have already renounced their pecuniary exemptions; we cannot expect them to renounce gratuitously their feudal rights—but we may expect them to consent to the purchase of their seigniorial rights by their vassals, at a price to be fixed on a moderate scale by the Assembly."

30. Such was the enthusiasm produced by these words, and by the graphic descriptions of feudal oppression which followed from succeeding orators, that the Assembly, who were in the excited state of an evening meeting, went on abandoning and voting away one right after another, till there seemed no end to their extravagance. "Every one," says an eyewitness (Dumont), "hastened forward to lay a sacrifice on the altar of the country, by denuding himself or some one else. There was not a moment left for reflection; a sort of sentimental contagion carried away every heart. That renunciation of all privileges—that sacrifice of all rights burdensome to the people—those multiplied abandonments—had an air of magnanimity which made their consequences be entirely overlooked." To such a height did the enthusiasm arise, that the Archbishop of Paris deserved no small credit for having dexterously contrived to terminate the sitting by the proposal that a *Te Deum* should be sung in the chapel of the king, in presence of his majesty and the Assembly, which was received with universal acclamation. The archbishop concluded with a proposal that the king should receive the title of "Father of his people, Restorer of the Liberty of France;" and the sitting terminated at four in the morning amid unanimous acclamations, which lasted a quarter of an hour.

31. Indescribable were the transports which this memorable sitting awakened in Paris, and throughout all France. "In a single night," said the *Moniteur*, "the whole fabric of feudal power has fallen to the ground, and the glorious edifice of general liberty emerged in its stead." It has been truly said, that this night changed the political condition of France. It delivered the land from feudal domination, the per-

son from feudal dependence—secured the property of the poor from the rapacity of the rich—the fruits of industry from the extortion of idleness. By suppressing private jurisdictions, it paved the way for public justice; by terminating the purchase of offices, it, in appearance at least, seemed to lead to purity in the discharge of their duties. The career of industry, the stimulus of ambition, was thenceforward open to all the people; and the odious distinctions of noble and *roturier*, patrician and base-born, the relics of Gothic conquest, were for ever destroyed. Had these changes been introduced with caution, or had they gradually grown out of the altered condition of society, there can be no doubt that they would have been highly beneficial; but coming, as they did, suddenly and unexpectedly upon the kingdom, they produced the most disastrous consequences, and contributed, more than any other circumstance, to spread abroad that settled contempt for antiquity, and total disregard of private right, which distinguished the subsequent periods of the French Revolution.

32. The whole ideas of men were subverted, when rights established for centuries, privileges maintained by successive generations, and institutions held the most sacred, were at once abandoned. Nothing could be regarded as stable in society after such a shock; the chimeras of every enthusiast, the dream of every visionary, seemed equally deserving of attention with the sober conclusions of reason and observation, when all that former ages had done was swept away in the very commencement of improvement. All that the eye had rested on as most stable, all that the mind had been accustomed to regard as most lasting, disappeared before the first breath of innovation. "Nullo tribunorum centurionumve adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator; et precipuum pessimorum incitamentum, quod boni credebant."* The consequences of such a

* "Without any incitement from the tribunes or leaders, every one indulged in his own vagaries; and that greatest of excitements to the bad, the grief of the good, took place."—Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 38.

step could not be other than fatal. It opened the door to every species of extravagance, furnished a precedent for every subsequent spoliation, and led immediately to that intense excitement, amid which the most audacious and the least reasonable are sure of obtaining an ascendancy. The event, accordingly, proved the justice of these principles. "The decrees of the 4th August," says Dumont, "so far from putting, as was expected, a stop to the robbery and violence that was going on, served only to make the people acquainted with their own strength, and to inspire them with a conviction that all their outrages against the nobility would pass with impunity. *Nothing done through fear succeeds in its object.* Those whom you hope to disarm by concessions, are only led by them to still bolder attempts, and more extravagant demands."

33. The consequences of this invasion of private right were soon apparent. Three days after, the popular leaders maintained that it was not the power of redeeming, but the *abolition* of tithes, which had been voted; and that all that the clergy had a right to was a decent provision for their members. The church found an able but unexpected advocate in the Abbé Sièyes. "If it is yet possible," said he, "to awaken in your minds the love of justice, I would ask, not if it is expedient, but if it is just, to despoil the church? The tithe, whatever it may be in future, does not at present belong to you. If it is suppressed in the hand of the creditor, does it follow from this that it is extinguished also in that of the debtor, and become your property? You yourselves have declared the tithe redeemable; by so doing you have recognised its legal existence, and cannot now suppress it. The tithe does not belong to the owner of the soil. He has neither purchased it, nor acquired it by inheritance. If you extinguish the tithes, you confer a gratuitous and uncalled-for present on the landed proprietor, who does nothing; while you ruin the true proprietor, who instructs the people in return for that share of its fruits. You would be free, and you know not how to be just."

34. Mirabeau supported the abolition

of the tithes. He argued: "The burden of supporting the public worship should be borne equally by all; the state alone was the judge whether it should fall exclusively on the landed proprietors, or be made good by a general contribution of the citizens; it robs no one if it makes such a distribution of the burden as it deems most expedient; and the oppressive weight of this impost on the small proprietors loudly called for its imposition on the state in general. For this purpose the clergy should be paid by salaries. It is time, in the midst of a revolution which has brought forth such generous sentiments, that we should abjure the haughty pride which makes us disdain the word salary. I know but three ways of living in society: *you must be either a beggar, a robber, or a stipendiary.* The proprietor is nothing but the first of stipendiaries. What we call property is nothing but a right to rent—that is, a certain payment out of the land. The landowners are the stewards, the agents of the social body." The clergy had the generosity to intrust their interests to the equity of the Assembly; the only return they met with was the suppression of tithes, under the condition that the states should fitly provide for religion and its ministers—an obligation which was solemnly committed to the French nation, but which was afterwards shamefully violated, and in fact became perfectly illusory. Thus the first fruit which the clergy derived from their junction with the Tiers Etat was the annihilation of their property, and the reduction of themselves to beggary. In this there was nothing surprising; gratitude is unknown in public assemblies. When men vote away the property of others, they can expect no mercy for their own; when the foundations of society are torn up, the first to be sacrificed are the leaders of the movement, or the most defenceless of its supporters.

35. The clergy acted on this occasion with a noble disinterestedness worthy of their mission. The first in rank, the chief in station, the richest in possessions, were the foremost to make the sacrifice of worldly goods on the altar of their country. The Archbishop of

Aix first signed an unqualified renunciation of his benefices; many of the richest bishops in France immediately followed his example. During more than an hour the signature of these renunciations continued, amidst a transport of applause from the Assembly and the galleries. When the sacrifice had terminated, Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, rose and said, in a voice penetrated with emotion: "We surrender the ecclesiastical tithes into the hands of a just and generous nation. Let the gospel be preached: let the Divine worship be celebrated with decency and dignity; let the churches be provided with virtuous and zealous pastors; let the poor be succoured—these are the objects to which we devote our tithes; these are the ends of our ministry and our cares." "Such," said the Cardinal de Rochefoucauld, "is the wish of all the clergy; and they put their trust in the magnanimity of the nation." With such dignified and elevated sentiments did the church fall in France.

36. Louis perceived in the clearest manner, amidst this chaos of selfishness in some, enthusiasm in others, and delusion in all, whither the current was

tending; and, in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Arles, he has left the clearest evidence, both of the sagacity of his perception and the strength of his understanding.* But meanwhile the revolutionary party, seeing their advantage, pursued their aggressions with unabated vigour; and the noblesse and clergy, panic-struck and disunited, and overwhelmed by a decided majority in the Assembly, were unable to oppose any effective resistance. In the evening sitting of the 11th August, the subject of the feudal rights, the game-laws, and the tithes, was resumed; and, after a warm debate, a decree was passed in such terms as abolished the first, partly on condition of an indemnity, partly without it; the second without any indemnity; and the third absolutely without compensation in the case of secular or ecclesiastical bodies, and on the promise of an indemnity in that of the parochial clergy. This indemnity was never given. At the same time, all privileges of incorporations, boroughs, and provinces, were abolished, and all Frenchmen declared eligible alike to all offices, civil and military, in the kingdom.† This decree was sanctioned

* "I am pleased with this noble and generous conduct on the part of the two first orders in the state; they have made great sacrifices for the general reconciliation, for their country, for their king. The sacrifice is beautiful, but I can only admire it. *I shall never consent to despoil my clergy and my noblesse.* I shall not sanction decrees which despoil them; the French people might then accuse me of injustice or of weakness. Archbishop, you submit to the decrees of Providence: I believe that I am doing so in not abandoning myself to this enthusiasm, which has got possession of all classes, but which only passes through my mind. I shall do everything that appertains to me, to protect my clergy and my noblesse. If force compelled me to sanction, then I would yield; but there would then be neither monarchy nor monarch in France. The times are difficult. I know that, archbishop; and it is here we require aid from heaven. Let us implore it. We will be heard.—Louis. Aug. 12, 1789."—What a picture does this letter exhibit of the wisdom and foresight of the monarch at this crisis, when all heads were reeling; and how bitterly does it augment our regret at the unpatriotic and pusillanimous emigration of the noblesse, which left such a sovereign unarmed and helpless in the midst of his enemies!—See *Correspondance Inédite de Louis XVI.* i. 140; *Hist. Part.* ii. 248.

† "1st. The National Assembly puts an end to the feudal system. It decrees that, in regard to dues and rights, feudal as well as personal, those resting upon mortmain, real or personal, or on individual obligation and its representatives, are abolished without indemnity; all the others are declared redeemable, and the price and mode of redemption will be fixed by the National Assembly.

"2d. The exclusive right of the chase and open warrens is in like manner abolished, and every proprietor has the right to destroy, or cause to be destroyed, every kind of game in his own property.

"3d. Tithes of all kinds, and the prices substituted for them, under whatever name known and collected, possessed by the *regular and secular bodies, by beneficiaries*, and all manner of bequeathed property held by the order of Malta, and other orders religious and military, except those which may have been surrendered to the laity by agreement, *are abolished*; it being borne in mind, to provide in another way for the expenses of Divine worship, the support of the parochial clergy, the relief of the poor, the repairing and reconstruction of churches, and all other establishments which naturally belong to this department."—*Histoire Parlementaire de la Révolution*, ii. 259, 263; *Décret*, 11 Aug. 1789.

with great solemnity by the king on the 15th August.

37. Those innovators in the Assembly who had joined with the popular party from a belief that in doing so lay their only chance of preserving the wreck of their property, now perceived, with bitter regret, the infatuation of the course they had pursued, and the hopelessness of any expectation that, by yielding to revolutionary demands, they would satisfy the people. The Bishop of Chartres, one of the popular bishops who had supported the union of orders, the vote by head, and the new constitution, was at this time visited by Dumont, when he was dismissing his domestics, selling his effects, and leaving his house to discharge his debts. With tears in his eyes, the benevolent prelate deplored the infatuation which had led him to embrace the cause of the *Tiers Etat*, which violated in its prosperity all the engagements contracted in its adversity. The Abbé Sièyes, who had taken so decided a part in the early usurpations of the Assembly, was hissed and coughed down when he strove to resist this iniquitous confiscation. Next day he gave vent to his spleen to Mirabeau, who answered, "My dear abbé, you have loosed the bull; do you expect he is not to make use of his horns?"

38. This first and great precedent of iniquity, the confiscation of the property of the church, was brought about by the selfish apathy, or secret wishes, of the great majority of the laity. All classes felt that the financial difficulties of the state were nearly insurmountable, and all anticipated a sensible relief from any measure, how violent soever, which might lead to their extrication. It was the universal belief that this embarrassment was the main cause of the public difficulties, and the secret hope that the property of the church would at once put an end to it, which was the real cause of this general and iniquitous coalition. All imagined that some interest must be sacrificed, and the church was pitched upon as at once the most wealthy and defenceless body in the state. But, like all other measures of spoliation, this great invasion of private

right rapidly and fatally recoiled on the heads of those who engaged in it. The ecclesiastical estates, it was soon found, in the hands of the revolutionary agents, encumbered as they were with the debts of the clergy, yielded no profit, but were rather a burden to the state. To render them available, the contraction of debt on their security became necessary; the temptation of relieving the public necessities by such a step was irresistible to a public and irresponsible body, holding estates to the value of nearly two hundred millions sterling in their hands. Extraordinary as it may appear, it is a well-authenticated fact, that the expenses of managing the church property cost the nation at first £2,000,000 a-year more than it yielded, besides in a few years augmenting the public debt by £7,000,000. The reason was this: in the confusion consequent on so great an act of spoliation, no account of ecclesiastical domains could be obtained; and the leaders who had sanctioned so prodigious a robbery found it impossible, after its commission, to restrain the peculation of their inferior agents. Hence ere long, as will appear in the sequel, arose the system of *Assignats*, which speedily quadrupled the strength of the republican government, rendered irretrievable the march of the Revolution, and involved all classes in such inextricable difficulties as rapidly brought home to every interest in the state the spoliation which they had begun by inflicting on the weakest.

39. The abolition of the exclusive right of shooting and hunting was made the pretext for the most destructive disorders throughout all France. An immense crowd of artisans and mechanics issued from the towns, and, joining the rural population, spread themselves over the fields in search of game. The greatest violence was speedily committed by the armed and uncontrollable multitude. No sort of regard was paid to the clause in the decree of the Assembly, that the right of the chase was given to each man on his own ground only. It was universally considered as conferring a general right to shoot over any ground whatever. Enclosures were struck down, woods

destroyed, houses broken open, robbery perpetrated, under pretence of exercising the newly regained rights of man. Meanwhile, the burning of the chateaus, and the plunder of the landed proprietors, continued without intermission; while the Assembly, instead of attempting to check these disorders, issued a proclamation, in which they affected to consider them as the work of aristocrats, who were desirous of bringing odium upon the Revolution. One of the most singular effects of the spirit of faction is the absurdities which it causes to be embraced by its votaries, and their extraordinary credulity in regard to everything which seems calculated to advance the interests of their party. The people of Versailles already insulted and pelted the nobles and clergy at the gate of the Assembly, whom they stigmatised as *Aristocrats*—an epithet which afterwards became the prelude to certain destruction. It may readily be imagined what an effect this name had in influencing the minds of men, already sufficiently inflamed from other causes. "Epithets and nicknames," said Napoleon, "should never be despised: it is by such means that mankind are governed."

40. But in the midst of these mingled transports and disorders, Paris was in the most deplorable state of distress, and the finances of the kingdom, from the general cessation in the payment of taxes, were rapidly approaching a state of complete insolvency. Even the columns of the *Moniteur** openly announced that the municipality was bankrupt, and the people starving. Nor was the public exchequer in a more flourishing condition. M. Necker, on 7th August, drew the following dreadful picture of the state of the kingdom and of the finances: "You are all

* "I have spoken of the capital, of the despair of its inhabitants. The publication of this truth may be dangerous, and is unnecessary. Prudence demands silence: and your penetration will readily perceive the mass of evil which a suspension of payments is bringing on Paris at this moment. What is weighed against, or what can be weighed against, this first necessity, this first duty of coming to the rescue of expiring public credit and property?"—*Discours de M. DE LALLY TOULLENDAT*, Aug. 7, 1789; *Moniteur*, p. 155.

aware that property has been violated in the provinces; that bands of incendiaries have ravaged the houses; that the forms of justice are disregarded, and replaced by violence and lists of proscription. Terror and alarm have spread universally, even where the bands of depredators have not penetrated; licentiousness is unrestrained, law powerless, the tribunals idle; desolation covers a part of France, terror the whole; commerce and industry are suspended, and even the asylums of religion afford no longer a refuge to the innocent. Indigence or misfortune has not produced these evils. The season has been propitious, and at this time of the year should furnish employment to all. The beneficence of the king has been shown in every possible way; the rich have never shared so large a portion of their wealth with the poor. No, gentlemen! It is the total subversion of the police, and of all regular authority, which has occasioned these evils. The royal revenues have been in great part absorbed in the purchase of grain to feed the people. The payment of imposts and taxes of every sort has almost entirely ceased. The deficiency in the exchequer is enormous. So vast has this evil become that every one can judge of it—it is notorious to all the world. Let us then all unite to save the state, for matters have come to such a pass that nothing but the immediate and firm union of all men of property can preserve us from the most dreadful convulsions."

41. It was not surprising that even the popular leader of the Tiers Etat made such a mournful exposition of the state of the nation, for matters had in reality reached such a height in Paris, and over all France, that they amounted almost to total anarchy. Every body of men in the capital instantly entered on the exercise of their new and intoxicating rights; and the electors invariably assumed the government of their representatives. One hundred and eighty delegates, nominated by the districts, usurped a legislative power in the metropolis; but they were in their turn controlled by their constituents, who, without hesitation, annulled their

decrees when not suited to their inclinations—and nothing was agreeable but what flattered their ambition. The idea of ruling by commanding their delegates speedily spread among the multitude, and was too delicious a one not to be everywhere well received. All those who were not legally vested with authority began to meet, and to give themselves importance by discussing public affairs; the soldiers had debates at the Oratoire, the tailors at the Colonade, the hairdressers at the Champs Elysées, the valets at the Louvre. Subsequent ages might smile at such proceedings, if woeful experience had not demonstrated how fatal they are in their consequences, and how rapidly the minds of the lower orders become intoxicated by the enjoyment of powers which they are equally incapable of exercising with discretion, or abandoning without national convulsion.

42. Meanwhile the finances of the kingdom, the embarrassments of which had first occasioned the convocation of the States-General, were daily falling into a worse condition. The lower orders universally imagined that the Revolution was to liberate them from every species of impost; and, amidst the wreck of established authority, and the collision of self-constituted powers, they succeeded for some time in realising their expectations. The collection of the revenue became everywhere difficult, in many places impossible; and the universal distrust which followed a period of general agitation, occasioned a lamentable deficiency in the excise and customs. The public revenue of 1790 was above one-third less than that of 1789; in many places the taxes had almost wholly disappeared; payment of the salt-tax, the most considerable of the indirect imposts, was everywhere refused; and the boasted credit of a revolutionary government was soon found to amount to nothing. Alarmed at a deficiency which he had no means of supplying, M. Necker made a full and candid statement of the finances to the Assembly, and concluded by demanding a loan of 30,000,000 of francs. The falling off in the revenue was above 200,000,000 francs, or £8,000,000 yearly.

The Assembly in vain endeavoured to negotiate such an advance. Terror at the unsettled state of the kingdom, uncertainty with regard to the future, prevented any of the capitalists from coming forward.

43. In the midst of these alarms and anxieties, the Assembly were occupied with their great task, the composition of a succinct statement of rights, which was soon drawn up under the name of the RIGHTS of MAN. This famous composition, which was solemnly adopted by them on the 18th August, amidst much obvious and important truth, contains a most dangerous mixture of error, which, if not duly chastened by the lessons of experience and the observation of history, is calculated to convulse society. It declares the original equality of mankind; that the ends of the social union are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression; that sovereignty resides in the nation, and all power emanates from them; that freedom consists in doing everything which does not injure another; that law is the expression of the general will; that public burdens should be borne by all the members of the state in proportion to their fortunes; that the elective franchise should be extended to all, and that the exercise of natural rights has no other limit but their interference with the rights of others. In these positions, considered abstractly, there is much in which every reasonable mind must acquiesce; but the promulgation of the agreeable but perilous principles of sovereignty residing in the people, of the natural equality of mankind, and of the extension of the elective franchise to every citizen, only proves how ignorant the legislators of that period were of the real character of the human mind, and how little aware of that inherent depravity in human nature, to which so many of themselves ere long became victims.

44. It is a curious and instructive circumstance, illustrative of the tendency of revolutionary excitement to deprive the representatives of the people of anything approaching to freedom of deliberation, that the authors of this celebrated declaration were, at the time

they wrote it, fully aware of the absurdity and peril of many of its parts. Dumont, its principal composer, has justly asked, "Are men all equal? Where is the equality? Is it in virtue, talents, fortune, industry, situation? Are they free by nature? So far from it, they are born in a state of complete dependence on others, from which they are long of being emancipated." Mirabeau himself was so sensible of the absurdity of laying down any code of rights anterior to the formation of the constitution, that he laboured to induce the Assembly to postpone it till that was accomplished; observing, that "any enunciation of right at that time would be but an almanac for a year." But it was too late; the people would admit of no delay; and the deputies, afraid of losing their popularity, published the famous declaration, inwardly execrating the work of their own hands—a step so perilous, that, as its author himself admits, it was like placing a powder-magazine under an edifice, which the first spark of fire would blow into the air.

45. The great question which next occupied the Assembly was the formation of a constitution; and the discussions regarding it kept the public mind in a state of incessant agitation during the whole of August and September. The committee to which it was referred to report on the subject, recommended that it should include the inviolability of the king's person, the permanence of the legislative body, and a single chamber for the legislature. This important question, upon which the future progress of the Revolution hinged, was warmly discussed in the clubs of the capital, and the most vehement threats were held out to those of the Assembly who were suspected of leaning to the aristocratic side. On the one hand it was argued that the very idea of an assembly composed of hereditary legislators was absurd in a free country; that if it united itself to the throne, it became dangerous to freedom—if to the people, subversive of tranquillity; that it would operate as a perpetual bar to improvement, and, by constantly opposing reasonable changes, maintain a continual discord between the higher

and lower orders; and that the only way to prevent these evils was to blend the whole legislature into one body, and temper the energy of popular ambition by the firmness of aristocratic resistance. On the other hand, it was maintained that the constitution of society in all the European states necessarily implied a separate body of nobles and commons; that the turbulent spirit of the one was fully counteracted by the conservative tendency of the other; that a monarchy could not subsist without an upper house to support the throne; that the English constitution afforded decisive evidence of the happy effects of such a separation; that the best consequences had been found to follow the discussion of public matters in separate assemblies, and many fatal resolutions prevented, by allowing time for consideration between their deliberations; and that it was a mere mockery to pretend that these restraints could take place, if the legislature was all contained in one chamber, when the nobles would be immediately outnumbered, and the whole rights of the monarchy might be voted away in a single sitting. Unfortunately for France, these arguments did not prevail, and a single chamber was voted in the Assembly.*

46. The discussions on the constitution first brought prominently forward the laxity of opinion on all subjects connected with religion, by which the great majority of the Assembly were actuated, and their evident anxiety to abolish a national faith altogether, and leave every man to believe or not to believe, to worship or not to worship, as it suited his fancy, his passions, or his convenience. When the article of the constitution relative to public worship came on for discussion, it was proposed to insert this amendment: "As laws cannot reach secret delinquencies, it is religion alone which can coerce them. It is therefore essential and indispensable for the good order of society that religion should be maintained and respected." Mirabeau immediately rose: "Are you disposed, in permitting

* It was carried by a majority of 499 to 89. No less than 122 members remained away, intimidated by the threats of the populace.

worship, to make religion a matter of accident? Every one will choose a religion according to his passions. The Turkish religion will be that of young people; the Jewish that of usurers; all women incline in secret to that of Buddha. We are told man does not bring religion into society. Such a system is very strange. What feelings arise in every bosom on contemplating nature, or raising one's eyes to heaven? What is the first sentiment of any one who in solitude meets his fellow-creature? Is it not to fall on their knees together, and to offer to the Creator their homage? You may forbid a worship which interferes with public decency or morals, but you cannot go farther." "Religion?" said Talleyrand; "yes, but what religion? Do you mean all religions, or any religion? It is very well to say religion and morality are to be respected; but come a little nearer: what religion do you mean? The only way is to let every man choose his own." "A worship," said Rabaud de St Etienne, "is a dogma; a dogma depends on an opinion; an opinion on free-will. You attack freedom if you constrain a man to adopt a worship other than what he inclines to. Error is not a crime; and the state has no concern but with crimes." It was at length unanimously agreed, "that no one should be disquieted for his opinions, provided their manifestation does not disturb the order established by the law."

47. A few days after, the parties in the Assembly definitively took their places, and obtained, from that circumstance, denominations which have survived all the changes of the Revolution. The supporters of the church and the throne ranged themselves on the right hand of the president's chair; the liberals and revolutionists took their place on the left. These places have been kept by the opposite parties ever since that time, inasmuch that the "*Côté gauche*" is still a watchword universally known to denominate the innovating party, and the "*Côté droit*" signifies that body which adheres to conservative and monarchical opinions. The *Côté droit* at first applied to their ad-

versaries the epithet "*Coin du Palais Royal*," from the influence which the clubs of that focus of sedition had over its movements; but this and all other sobriquets were soon merged in the general names of Girondists and Jacobins, who, under the Convention, acquired an immortal celebrity.

48. The proceedings of the Assembly in the formation of this constitution were so precipitate, that, in the eyes of the few reasonable men left in the commonwealth, they prognosticated nothing but ruin to the country. Meditation and thought there passed for nothing; every one seemed only desirous to gratify his own vanity by anticipating the notions of his rivals; everything was done at the sword's point, as in a place taken by assault; every change pressed on at full gallop. No interval was allowed for reflection, no breathing-time given to the passions. After having demolished everything, they resolved to reconstruct the whole social edifice with the same breathless rapidity; and so extravagant was the opinion of the Assembly as to its own powers, that it would willingly have charged itself with the formation of constitutions for all nations. In these monstrous pretensions and ruinous innovations is to be found the remote but certain cause of all the blood and horrors of the Revolution.*

* The particulars of this constitution, which was soon swept away amidst the violence and insanity of subsequent times, are too complicated and prolix to be susceptible of enumeration in general history; but one vital part of the fabric is deserving of especial attention. By a fundamental article, France was divided into 83 departments: the primary assemblies, 8000 in number, which were to be convoked every two years to elect the legislature, consisted of 5,000,000 citizens: in addition to this, there were established 48,000 municipal assemblies, composed of 900,000 citizens: 647 district assemblies, and 83 departmental assemblies, for the management of the local concerns of the provinces. But the most dangerous part of this highly democratic constitution remained behind. Each of the primary assemblies named an elector for every hundred citizens, who constituted 83 assemblies of 600 persons each, making in all 50,000 for the whole kingdom, who remained permanently in possession of their functions for the two years that the legislature sat. These 83 assemblies were invested with powers so considerable that they almost amounted to

49. The question of the veto, or of the royal sanction being required to validate the acts of the legislature, was next brought under discussion, and excited still more violent passions. One would have thought, from the anxiety manifested on the subject, that the whole liberty of France depended on its decision, and that the concession of this right to the throne would be sufficient to restore the ancient régime. The multitude, ever governed by words, imagined that the Assembly, which had done so much, would be left entirely at the mercy of the king if this power were conceded, and that any privilege left to the court would soon become an anti-revolutionary engine. This was the first question since the Revolution in which the people took a vivid interest, and it may easily be conceived how extravagant were their ideas on the subject. They imagined that the veto was a monster which would devour all the powers they had acquired, and deliver them over, bound hand and foot, to the despotism of the throne. Those who supported the veto were instantly stigmatised as inclining to every species of tyranny. Many, without understanding even so much as that, imagined that it was a tax which it was necessary to abolish, or an enemy who should be hanged; and they loudly demanded that he should be suspended on the lamp-post. Others, better informed, asked, "Should the veto be vested in a single individual, or twenty-five millions of men?" The clubs of the Palais Royal took the most violent measures, and incessantly besieged the

Assembly with menacing deputations; efforts were made to array the municipality in insurrection; and the multitude, armed since the 14th of July, began to give symptoms of revolt. Alarmed by such dangerous signs, the ministry recommended concession to the king, and he himself preferred a conditional to an absolute vote. The Assembly, by a majority of two to one,* decreed that the king should have a veto, but that his power to decline sanctioning any legislative measure should not extend beyond two successive legislatures.

50. On this occasion Mirabeau supported the crown, and argued strenuously in favour of the absolute veto. "Let us not," said he, "arm the sovereign against the legislature, by allowing a moment to exist in which he may become its involuntary instrument. The nation will find more real security in laws consented to by its chief, than in the revolution which would follow the loss of his power. When we have placed the crown in the hands of a particular family, it is in the last degree imprudent to awaken their alarms, by subjecting them to a control which they cannot resist; and the apprehensions of the depositary of the whole forces of the monarchy cannot be contemplated without the most serious alarm. I would rather live in Constantinople than in France, if laws could be made without the royal sanction,"—words of striking and prophetic import, which were then ill understood or angrily interpreted, but which were recollected with bitter and unavailing regret when the course of events had proved their truth, and the most vehement of their revilers had perished from their neglect. Mounier and Lally Tollendal on this occasion, though members of the committee appointed to frame the constitution, were the leaders of the party who contended for the division of the chambers, the absolute veto, and the formation of the constitution on the model of that of England. They even contended for it after the king had, by Necker's advice, agreed to yield the point. After the vote was passed, they were so much

* By a majority of 613 to 325.

the establishment of so many separate republics in one great federal union. They nominated, to the exclusion of the king, the whole local authorities, including the bishops and clergy, the judges, both supreme and inferior, the magistrates and functionaries of every description. They constituted, in short, a permanent *political union*, legally established in every department, elected by universal suffrage, and wielding within that department nearly the whole influence and authority of government. The Legislative Assembly, which succeeded the Constituent, was chosen under this constitution, and when the nation had become habituated to the exercise of these powers.—CALONNE, 360, 361, and *Const.* 1789, § 17; *Histoire Parlementaire*, iii. 41, 56.

disconcerted that they withdrew from the committee on the constitution, and shortly after left the Assembly.

51. It is a remarkable fact, singularly illustrative of the rapid progress of revolutionary ideas, when the fever of innovation has once seized upon men's minds, that, in all the instructions of the electors to the deputies, without exception, the absolute veto, as well as personal inviolability, had been conceded to the sovereign. A few weeks of agitation—the revolt of the 14th July—the Tennis-court oath—had overturned all these sober resolutions, and the crown was compelled to recede from a privilege which had been unanimously agreed to by the whole kingdom. The instructions in the cahiers, indeed, were most express against almost all the illegal acts and usurpations of the Assembly. They almost invariably secured to the sovereign all the essential prerogatives of the monarchy. They unanimously prescribed a monarchical government for France; that all laws should require the king's sanction to their validity; that he should have the unrestrained right of making peace or war, and appointing the judges; that private property should be inviolate;* and, by a great majority, that the rights, estates, and privileges of the clergy should be maintained. The new constitution, the abolition of the absolute veto, the spoliation of the church, already violated these instructions in their most essential particulars: yet not a voice was raised in France to protest against these monstrous and unauthorised stretches of power on the part of the popular representatives. So intoxicating is the possession of power to mankind, and so little are they qualified to bear its seduction, even when the measures to which it leads are most opposed to preconceived ideas,

* So strongly was this principle expressed in all the cahiers that the Assembly, by act 17 of the constitution of 5th October 1789, sanctioned it by a special clause in these terms: "Property of every sort being a sacred and inviolable right, no one can be deprived of it but on the ground of public necessity, legally established and evidently requiring it, and on the condition of a full and ample indemnity."—*Const.* 1789, act 17; CALHUN, 215.

or most at variance with settled resolutions.

52. But, in the midst of these projects of political reconstruction, the distress of Paris and of the kingdom was daily increasing, and matters, by the middle of September, had come to such a pass, from the effects of the insurrection of 14th July, that it was already apparent that a second popular outbreak was approaching. The usual effects of a revolution were experienced—an unavoidable and most alarming increase in the public expenditure, accompanied by a corresponding diminution in the income. The exchequer, the city of Paris, all the public bodies, were on the verge of bankruptcy; and while the increasing, and now appalling misery of the working classes, rendered an immediate expenditure of money indispensable, the prevalent confusion had entirely stopped the collection of the revenue, and general insecurity kept the now trembling capitalists aloof from all advances of money by them. Specie had disappeared from circulation; distrust was universal, credit annihilated. The days were past when, on the return of Necker to power, the funds rose thirty per cent in a day; the reality of revolution had dispelled all its illusions. The loan of 30,000,000 francs, voted by the Assembly to assist the government, had proved entirely nugatory, for no one would advance money: a second loan of 80,000,000, at a much higher rate of interest, since attempted, had met with little better success. At the same time, not only were the forced purchases of grain by government, and their sale at a reduced price, unavoidably increasing, but a large body of workmen, thrown out of employment, were maintained at the public expense, for whose support not less than 12,000 francs, or about £500, was daily issued from the treasury in Paris alone. The king and queen had sent the whole of their plate to be melted down at the mint, but this proved an inadequate supply for the public necessities, and assuaged but for a short time the miseries of the poor. Finding these projects ineffectual, the minister had the boldness to propose a contribution of

a fourth of the income of each individual, and did not disguise that there was no other alternative, and that the rejection of the measure would lead to a stoppage of the pay of the army, and of the interest of the public debt.

53. Necker, in this debate, drew a graphic and memorable picture of the state of bankruptcy to which a successful and almost bloodless revolution had, in two months, reduced the finances of so great and flourishing a kingdom. "The finances," said he "are daily falling into a worse condition. Since August last every species of credit has disappeared. During the same time every imaginable difficulty has accumulated round the sinking exchequer. The lessened supply of grain, the necessity of making purchases of food at the royal expense in foreign countries, have gone far to diminish the circulation. Distrust has augmented with fearful rapidity, and political events have carried to the utmost point the contraction of the currency. Money has disappeared; every one is hoarding. For a brief period I indulged the hope that the loan of 30,000,000 francs might succeed; but my expectations were disappointed. I next flattered myself that the second loan, at an advanced rate of interest, would be more successful; but here, too, lenders have come in so slowly that it has become indispensable to have recourse to some extraordinary resources. Alarm is continually increasing; distress is universal; the demands on the treasury increase, its receipts disappear. The discounting office (*Caisse d'Escompte*) is labouring under the utmost difficulties; the distress of the royal treasury is at its height; it has become such that it is no longer possible to conceal it under the veil of mystery. The king prefers making a full disclosure; he and the queen have sent their whole plate to be melted down; the ministers have all followed their example; but it is not an extraordinary supply of 900,000 francs (£36,000), thus obtained, which will relieve the public distress. The pay of the troops, the interest due to the public creditors, the service of the court, will all be stopped, if an immedi-

ate and effectual supply is not obtained for the public exchequer."

54. This project, like all proposals for taxation in a popular body, was coldly received in the National Assembly; and it was strongly insisted by the democratic orators that no contributions were necessary, as the funds of the church, after providing for the whole ecclesiastical establishments and the wants of the colleges and the poor, would yield a clear surplus of 60,000,000 francs (£2,400,000) yearly, which might be applied to the public service. To the surprise of all, however, Mirabeau, in a speech of unequalled power, supported it. "Two centuries of depredation and abuse," said he, "have created the gulf in which the kingdom is in peril of being lost. It must be filled up: take the list of the French proprietors, choose among them those whose fortune is adequate to supply the deficiency; let two thousand be sacrificed to the good of the whole. You recoil at the barbarous proposal; alas! do you not see that if you proclaim a bankruptcy, or, what is the same thing, refuse this impost, you commit an action not less unjust, and still more destructive? Do you believe that the millions of men who will instantly be ruined by such a step, or by its necessary consequences, will allow you to enjoy the fruits of your villany? that, starving for food, they will suffer you to indulge in your detestable enjoyments? Shall we be the first to give to the world the example of an assembled people being wanting in public faith? Shall the first apostles of freedom sully their hands by an action which will surpass in turpitude those of the most corrupt governments? The other day, on occasion of a ridiculous movement in the *Palais Royal*, they exclaimed, 'Catiline is at the gates of Rome, and you deliberate!' With truth may it be said now, Hideous bankruptcy is there; it threatens to consume yourselves, your honours, and your fortunes; and you deliberate!" Carried away by this reasoning, the Assembly voted the supply; but the relief to the treasury was inconsiderable, for the distracted state of the

kingdom prevented the decree from being carried into execution.

55. But while the Assembly was occupied with these discussions, a still more pressing evil began to be felt in the capital. Famine, the natural consequence of the public convulsions—want of employment, the inevitable result of the suspension of credit—pressed severely upon the labouring classes. Mobs became frequent in the streets; the bakers' shops were surrounded by clamorous multitudes demanding food. The most extravagant reports were circulated by the press, and greedily swallowed by the populace, in regard to the causes of the distress. It was the aristocrats who caused the corn to be cut green; they paid the bakers to suspend their labours; they turned aside commerce; they threw the grain into the river; in a word, there was no absurdity or falsehood which was not implicitly believed. The cry soon became universal, that the measures of the court were the cause of the public suffering, and that the only way to provide for the subsistence of the people was to secure the person of the king. An attack upon the palace was openly discussed in the clubs, and recommended by the orators of the Palais Royal; while the agitated state of the public mind, and the number of unemployed artisans who filled the streets, rendered it but too probable that these threats would speedily be carried into execution. Alarmed at these dangers, the court deemed it indispensable to provide for its own security, which hitherto had depended entirely on the fidelity of four hundred of the Gardes du Corps, who remained on guard at the palace. For this purpose, the regiment of Flanders and some squadrons of horse were brought to Versailles. The arrival of these troops renewed the alarm of the people; the king, at the head of fifteen hundred soldiers, was supposed to be ready to fall upon the insurgent capital, containing a hundred thousand armed men. And it was alleged, with more probability, by the better informed, that the design of the court was to retire, with such of the troops as remained faithful, to Metz, where the Marquis de

Bouillé, at the head of his army, was to join them, and there declare the States-General rebellious, and revert to the royal declaration of the 23d June.

56. The Orleans conspirators, with Mirabeau at their head, took immediate advantage of this agitation to attempt bringing to maturity their long-cherished design of supplanting, by the younger, the elder branch of the house of Bourbon. The partisans of this ambitious and wicked, but irresolute prince, had important purposes in view in fomenting this burst of popular fury, and directing it against the royal family at Versailles. Their object was to produce such consternation at the court as would induce the king and all the royal family to follow the example of the Count d'Artois, and leave the kingdom. The moment this took place, they intended to declare the throne vacant, and offer it, with the title of lieutenant-general, to the Duke of Orleans. But the firmness of the king and his brother, afterwards Louis XVIII., who saw through the design, caused the plot to fail; and the multitude, who were to be the instruments in producing the alarm, but could not, of course, be let into the secret, rendered it totally abortive, by insisting, at the close of the tumult, that the king and royal family should be brought to Paris—the event of all others which the Orleans party most ardently desired to avoid. So little anxious were they to conceal their schemes, that Mirabeau spoke openly of them in public, and even warned some of his friends at Versailles not to be alarmed when the storm burst there, for it would roll over their heads.*

57. The ministers of Louis were warned

* On the 24th September Mirabeau said to Blaizot, the librarian of the court, "My friend, I foresee great misfortunes here within ten or twelve days. But let not any honest man, or any of those resembling Blaizot, be alarmed: the storm will not burst upon them;" and about the same time he said, "What signifies, after all, to the public weal a Louis XVI. or a Louis XVII.? Do you wish that this puppet should rule us for ever?" And to Mr. Jefferson, the American minister, he said, "Let none flatter themselves to obtain liberty, without affecting a revolution in the very heart of the salons. The gangrene is there: it must be eradicated at any cost."—PRUDHOMME, *Crimes de la Révolution*, ii. 162.

by their friends in Paris of the designs which were in agitation, and a royal council was in consequence held at the hotel of M. Malouet on the 15th September, in which the project of the Orleans conspirators was disclosed, and it was proposed that, to defeat it, the king should transfer the court to Tours, where they would be beyond the reach of the mobs of Paris, and where they had reason to believe they would be followed by a majority of the Assembly. After much deliberation, it was agreed to recommend this to the king; but Louis could not be brought to agree to it,* although he acquiesced in the necessity of doing something to put the Assembly and himself in a state of safety. But nothing definitive was arranged; and, meanwhile, the Orleans conspirators, to inflame the populace, spread abroad the report of the discovery of a conspiracy for the flight of the king and the overthrow of the Assembly, which speedily appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur* and diffused universal consternation.† At the same time, a letter, imprudently written by the Count d'Estaing, commander of the national guard of Versailles, to the queen, warning her of the danger of such a project, and requesting an audience, which appeared in the same journal, augmented the general alarm.

58. The minds of the populace were in the highest state of excitement from these causes, when an accidental incident fired the train. A public dinner, according to an old custom in the French army, was given upon their arrival, by the Gardes du Corps, to the officers of the regiment of Flanders, and of the urban guard of Versailles. The banquet

was held in the saloon of the opera, while the boxes were filled with illustrious spectators, and all the rank and elegance which still adhered to the court graced the assembly with their presence. The enthusiasm of the moment—the recollections of the spot, formerly the scene of all the splendour of Versailles—the influence of assembled beauty—all conspired to awaken the chivalrous feelings of the military. The health of the king was drunk with enthusiasm, and the wish loudly expressed that the royal family would show themselves to their devoted defenders. The officers of the Swiss and of some other regiments were admitted to the repast; and the king, who had just returned from hunting, yielding to the solicitations of the Duke of Luxembourg, appeared, attended by the queen, the dauphin, and Madame Elizabeth. At this sight the hall resounded with acclamations, and the monarch, unused to the expression of sincere attachment, was melted into tears. After the royal family retired, the musicians of the court struck up the pathetic and well-known air, "Oh, Richard! oh, my king! the world abandons thee!" At these sounds the transports of the moment overcame all restraint; the officers drew their swords and scaled the boxes, where they were received with enthusiasm by the ladies of the court, and decorated with white cockades by fair hands trembling with agitation.

59. Accounts of this banquet were speedily spread through Paris, magnified by credulity, and distorted by malignant ambition. It was universally credited the following morning at the Palais Royal, in the clubs and market-places, that the dragoons had sharpened their sabres, trampled under foot the tricolor cockade, and sworn to exterminate the Assembly and the people of Paris. The influence of the ladies of the court, and the distribution of the white or black cockades, was represented as particularly alarming by those who had employed the seductions of the Palais Royal to corrupt the allegiance of the French Guards. Symptoms of insurrection speedily manifested themselves; the crowds continued

* "It is doubtful," said he, "whether my removal would place me in safety, and it is unquestionable that it would be the signal for a war, causing torrents of blood to flow."—*Note de MALOUE*, Sept. 14, 1789; LABAUME, iii. 475.

† "It was resolved again to besiege Paris and Versailles, to dissolve the Assembly by force of arms, to stir up civil war throughout the empire, to extinguish in flames the constitution, the rights of man, and the very name of country and citizen. The town of Metz was chosen for the scene of the enterprise and the centre of operations."—*Moniteur*, 28th Sept. 1789, p. 261.

to accumulate in the streets in an alarming manner, until at length, on the morning of the 5th, the revolt openly broke out. A young woman seized a drum, and traversed the streets, exclaiming, "Bread! bread!" She was speedily followed by a crowd, chiefly composed of females and boys, which rolled on till it reached the Hotel de Ville. That building was at once broken up, and pillaged of its arms. It was even with difficulty that the infuriated rabble were prevented from setting it on fire. In spite of all opposition, they broke into the belfry and sounded the tocsin, which soon assembled the ardent and formidable bands of the faubourgs. The cry immediately arose, raised by the agents of the Duke of Orleans, "To Versailles!" and a motley multitude of drunken women and tumultuous men, armed and unarmed, set out in that direction. Such was the multitude of females in the crowd, that the French Republican writers do not hesitate to say the triumph of 5th October was owing to the women.* The national guard, which had assembled on the first appearance of disorder, impatiently demanded to follow; and although their commander, Lafayette, exerted his utmost influence to retain them, he was at length compelled to yield, and, at seven o'clock, the whole armed force of Paris set out for Versailles. The Gardes Françaises, who, notwithstanding the medals, fêtes, bribes, and courtesans, they had received as a reward for their treachery, were in secret ashamed of the part they had taken, announced their determination to resume their service at the royal palace. They formed the centre of the national guard, and openly declared their resolution to seize the king, and exterminate the regiment of Flanders and the body-guard, who had dared to insult the national colours. Hints were even openly thrown out that the monarch should be deposed, and the Duke of Orleans nominated lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

60. The minds of the members of the Assembly, and of the inhabitants of

Versailles, though less violently excited, were in an alarming mood. The king had refused his sanction to the Declaration of the Rights of Man; and the Assembly, piqued at any obstacle to their sovereignty, were in sullen hostility. The queen had been heard to express her delight with the banquet of the officers; and the assemblage of troops, joined to some hints dropped by the courtiers, led to a general belief that a movement of the seat of the Assembly, and of the court, to Tours or Metz, was in contemplation. No one, however, anticipated any immediate danger; the king was out on a hunting party, and the queen seated, musing and melancholy, in an arbour in the gardens of Trianon, when the forerunners of the disorderly multitude began to appear in the streets. She instantly rose and left the gardens to go to the palace: she never saw them again. At the first intelligence of the disturbance, the monarch returned with expedition to the town, where the appearance of things exhibited the most hideous features of a revolution. The gates in front of the courtyard of the palace were closed, and the regiment of Flanders, the body-guards, and the national guard of Versailles, drawn up within, facing the multitude; while without, an immense crowd of armed men, national guards, and furious women, uttering seditious cries and clamouring for bread, were assembled. The ferocious looks of the insurgents, their haggard countenances, and uplifted arms, bespoke but too plainly their savage intentions. Nothing had been done to secure the safety of the royal family. Though the Swiss Guards lay at the distance of only a few miles, at Ruel and Courbevoie, no attempt was made to bring them to the scene of danger—a decisive proof that the reports of the warlike designs ascribed by the Orleans conspirators and furious democrats to the court were entirely destitute of foundation. The commander of the national guard of Versailles, the Count d'Estaing, seemed to have lost that daring spirit which he had formerly evinced, and subsequently displayed on the scaffold.

* "Les femmes font le 5 Octobre."—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Revolution*, l. 126; Introduction.

61. The multitude soon broke into the hall of the Assembly; and that august body, for the first time, beheld themselves outraged by the popular passions which they had awakened. For above an hour they were insulted by the insolent rabble, who seated themselves on the benches, menaced some of the deputies with punishment, and commanded silence to others. "Lose no time," they exclaimed, "in satisfying us, or blood will soon begin to flow!" Maillard, the orator of the insurgents, who had taken so active a part in the attack on the Bastille, openly denounced Mounier, Clermont Tonnerre, and other courageous deputies, who had exposed the designs of the Orleans faction. "We have come to Versailles," said he, "to demand bread, and at the same time to punish the insolent body-guard who have dared to insult the national colours. We are good patriots, and have torn all the black and white cockades which we have met on our road. The aristocrats would have us die of famine. This very day they have sent two hundred francs to a miller to bribe him not to grind flour." "Name him! name him!" resounded from all parts of the Assembly; but Maillard was obliged to confess he could not specify a name. A voice in the crowd then called out, "The Archbishop of Paris;" but on all sides the cry arose, that he was incapable of such an atrocity. Still the intimidation of the Assembly was such that they were obliged to give in to all their demands. In the gallery a crowd of fishwomen were assembled, under the guidance of one virago with stentorian lungs, who called to the deputies familiarly by name, and insisted that their favourite Mirabeau should speak. "Speak," said they to one deputy; "Hold your tongue," to another.

62. In the confusion on the outside, an officer of the guard struck with his sabre a Parisian soldier, who immediately discharged his musket at him; a general discharge of firearms from the guards ensued, which produced great consternation, but did little or no execution. The national guard of Versailles, aided by the multitude, followed the body-guards to their barracks, whi-

ther they had been ordered by the king to retire, forced the gates, pillaged the rooms, and wounded some of the men. The court was in consternation, and the horses were already harnessed to the carriages, to convey the royal family from the scene of danger; but the king, who knew the real object of the conspirators, and was with reason apprehensive that, if he fled, the Duke of Orleans would be immediately declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom, resolutely, at whatever hazard, refused to move. The mob soon penetrated into the royal apartments, as the guards were prohibited from offering any resistance, and were received with so much condescension and dignity by the king and queen, who listened attentively, and answered mildly, to all their requests, that they forgot the purpose of their visit, and left the royal presence exclaiming "Vive le Roi!" A heavy rain, which began to fall in the evening, cooled the ardour of the multitude, and before nightfall, the arrival of Lafayette, with the national guard of Paris, restored some degree of order to the environs of the palace.

63. During these tumults the king was distracted by the most cruel incertitude. Mounier, at the head of a deputation from the Assembly, conjured him to vanquish his scruples, and accept simply the articles of the constitution proposed by the Assembly—the queen to act boldly and defend his kingdom. Two carriages, ready harnessed, were kept at the gate of the Orangerie; but the crowd discovered them, and assembled to prevent their departure: the king commanded the Count d'Estaing to disperse the mob at that point; but he declined, alleging that the thing was impossible: the king urged the queen to depart, and take the royal family with her; but she declared that nothing should induce her, in such an extremity, to separate from her husband. "I know," she added, "that they seek my life; but I am the daughter of Maria Theresa, and have learned not to fear death." Nothing could induce Louis to allow the troops in front of the palace to fire on the people. "Come now," said he, "would you have me declare

war on women!" The cries, in consequence, redoubled; the crowd, seeing their impunity, became furious. Assailed by so many subjects of anxiety, the monarch at length resolved upon submission, and Mounier was authorised to announce to the Assembly his unqualified acceptance of the nineteen articles of the constitution already framed, and his adhesion to the Declaration of the Rights of Man. But matters had now arrived at a pass when these concessions could produce no effect. A multitude of drunken women had broken into the hall of the Assembly, lay extended on its benches, and one shameless Amazon occupied the President's chair, and in derision was ringing his bell. The deputies in vain endeavoured to restore order; the debates were incessantly interrupted by cries of "Bread! bread!" and nothing but the authority of Mirabeau could procure silence even for the discussion of measures for providing for the public subsistence. At three in the morning the sitting was broken up, and the hall left in possession of its unruly invaders.

64. Lafayette had an interview with the royal family, and, misled by his usual childish belief in the virtue of mankind, assured them in the strongest terms, in presence of a numerous circle, that he could guarantee the security of the palace. He added, that he was so well convinced of the pacific disposition of his army, and had so much confidence in the preservation of the public tranquillity, that he was resolved to retire to rest. Misled by these assurances, the Assembly dispersed and repaired to their several homes; and the king and queen, overcome with fatigue, withdrew to their apartments. The queen went to bed at two in the morning, and, being utterly exhausted, fell asleep. The external posts were intrusted to the troops commanded by Lafayette; the interior were still in the hands of the body-guard of the king. Unfortunately for his reputation, and for the honour of France, General Lafayette followed the example of the sovereign, and repaired, for the remainder of the night, to the chateau de Noailles, at some distance from

the palace, where he soon after fell asleep.

65. Nothing occurred to interrupt the public tranquillity from three till five in the morning; but the aspect of the populace presaged an approaching storm. Large groups of savage men and intoxicated women assembled round the watchfires in all the streets of Versailles, and relieved the tedium of a rainy night by singing revolutionary songs. In one of these circles their exasperation was such, that, seated on the corpse of one of the body-guard, they devoured the flesh of his horse half-roasted in the flames, while a ring of frantic cannibals danced round the group. Everything announced that they were determined to assuage their thirst for blood by some indiscriminate massacre. The whole leaders of the Orleans party—Mirabeau, Laclos, Sil-lery, Latouche, and d'Aguilar—were in the crowd.* At six o'clock a furious mob surrounded the barracks of the body-guard, broke them open, and pursued the flying inmates to the gates of the palace, where fifteen were seized, and doomed to immediate execution. At the same time another troop of insurgents besieged the avenues to the palace, and finding a gate open, rushed in, and speedily filled the staircases and vestibules of the royal apartments. Two of the body-guard, posted at the head of the stair, made the most heroic resistance, and by their efforts gave time to the queen to escape into the apartments of the king, but they perished in the heroic act. The assassins, by continued efforts, drove the body-guard back into the apartment of the queen, but did not reach it themselves. Meanwhile Marie Antoinette, in passing almost undressed into the apartments of the king, found an inner door barred, but by knocking violently, it was at length opened. The king was absent. Alarmed by the noise, he had repaired, by the principal passage through the *Ceil de Bœuf*, into the queen's apartment, which he found filled with the

* It was said by some of the witnesses at the trial relating to these proceedings, that the Duke of Orleans was there on horseback; but this was never clearly proved.

body-guard; but, soon after, the dauphin and children came in, and the king having returned, the inner doors of the *Œil de Bœuf* were closed, and the antechamber filled with grenadiers, who succeeded in keeping out the mob from that last asylum. But, with that exception, the whole interior of the palace was ransacked by the savage multitude; the splendour of ages was suddenly exposed to the indiscriminate gaze of the lowest of the people.

"Apparet domus intus, et atria longa pate-
cunt:

Apparet Priami et veterum penetralia
regum:

Armatusque vident stantes in limine
primo."*

But for the intrepid defence of the body-guard, and the exertions of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who succeeded in reviving in the French Guards some sparks of their ancient loyalty, the king himself, and the whole royal family, would have fallen a prey to the assassins. They dragged the bodies of two of the body-guard, who had been murdered, below the windows of the king, beheaded them, and carried the bloody heads in triumph upon the point of their pikes through the streets of Versailles.

66. At the first alarm General Lafayette, whose unfortunate absence from the scene of danger had produced such alarming effects, threw himself upon his horse, and hastened to the spot. He made an impassioned harangue to the grenadiers of the guard, and succeeded in prevailing upon them to defend the captives. The fifteen prisoners were thus rescued from impending death; and the king himself having come to the windows and demanded their lives from the multitude, they ultimately escaped. Three others, who had already the halter about their necks, and were on the point of being strangled, were saved by some of the *Gardes Françaises*, who flew to their deliverance, exclaiming, "Let us save the body-guard, as they saved us at Fontenoy."

* "A mighty breach is made: the rooms con-
cealed

Appear, and all the palace is revealed—
The halls of audience and of public state—
And where the lovely queen in secret sate,
Armed soldiers now by trembling maids are
seen."

DRYDEN'S *Vivgil*, book ii.

Amidst the fury of the multitude, and the atrocities of faction, it is pleasing to record that, in moments of extreme danger, the ancient generosity of the French military character frequently manifested itself on both sides during this dreadful contest.

67. The conduct of the queen during these moments of alarm was worthy of the highest admiration; and she then, for the first time, gave proof of that heroic courage which has since given immortality to her name. Notwithstanding the shots which were fired at the windows, she persisted in standing on the balcony, to endeavour to obtain the pardon of the body-guards, who were in peril from the exasperated multitude; and when M. Luzerne strove to place himself between her and the danger, she gently removed him, alleging that that was her post, and that the king could not afford to lose so faithful a servant. Shortly after, the crowd vociferously demanded that she should appear at the window; she came forth, accompanied by her children: twenty thousand voices immediately exclaimed, "Away with the children!" and the queen, sending them in, reappeared alone, in presence of a mob from whom she expected instant death. This generous contempt of personal danger overcame the fury of the populace, and universal shouts of applause testified at once their sense of the reality of the peril which she had braved, and the impression which her courage had made upon the multitude.†

68. The republican leaders of the tumult, seeing themselves foiled in their design of making the king fly, resolved to derive some advantage from their success, by removing him and the royal family to Paris, where they would be entirely subjected to their control. Immediately the cry was raised among the populace, "Let us bring the king to

† "The majestic air of the queen," says an eyewitness, "this proof of courage in ascending to a demand so dangerous, overcame, as by surprise, the savage fury of the people. She was universally applauded. Her spirit rectified the instinct of the wavering multitude; and crimes, conspiracies, and lengthened manoeuvres were required before her enemies could compass her assassination."—*Témoin Oculaire*; WEBER, i. 451.

Paris! it is the only way of securing bread to our children." Lafayette persuaded the monarch, as the only means of appeasing the tumult, to accede to the wishes of the people, and, accompanied by the king and queen, appeared at the balcony of the palace, and gave that assurance to the multitude. Mirabeau and his associates violently opposed this design, as it entirely thwarted the views of the Orleans conspirators; but the incessant clamour of the populace, who deemed their victory complete if they could secure their august captives, overbore all opposition. "My children," said the monarch, "you wish that I should go to Paris: I consent, provided I am not to be separated from my wife and children, and that my guards are to be protected." Loud cries of "Vive le Roi—Vivent les Gardes du Corps," immediately resounded on all sides. The Assembly, informed of his determination, hastily passed a resolution, that it was inseparable from the king, and would accompany him to the capital. Thus the democratic party, as the fruit of their violence, obtained the immense advantage of having both branches of the legislature transferred to a place where their own influence was irresistible.

69. At noon the royal party set out for Paris; a hundred deputies of the Assembly accompanied their carriage. Such was the haste used to urge them on, that, in passing to the carriage, the king and queen were compelled to step in a pool of blood which had collected where the two *gardes-du-corps* had been beheaded.* All the exertions, all the authority of M. Lafayette, were unable to prevent the people from carrying in the front of the procession the two heads of the privates of the body-guard who had been decapitated under the windows of the palace. At Sèvres, a village on the road to Paris, they forced a hairdresser to powder and curl the gory locks of the heads. Jourdan, a monster in human form, afterwards nicknamed *Coupe-tête*, marched first with naked arms, bearing a huge hatchet on

his shoulder, drenched in blood. The remainder of the noble Gardes du Corps, two hundred in number, almost all wounded and still bleeding, in the deepest dejection, followed the carriage; around it were cannon, dragged by the populace, bestrode by frantic women, many armed with swords and pikes. From every side arose shouts of triumph, mingled with revolutionary songs. "Here is the baker, his wife, and the little apprentice!" exclaimed the women in derision at the king, the queen, and the dauphin. These exclamations were intermingled with the cries of "All the bishops to the lamp-post!" which were received with unbounded applause, and demonstrated the general and deadly hostility to religion. Loaves of bread, borne on the point of pikes, everywhere appeared to indicate the plenty which the return of the sovereign was expected to confer upon the capital. The Regiment of Flanders followed, in heart-rending affliction at being obliged to surrender their sovereign to his rebellious subjects. The Gardes Françaises, profoundly ashamed of the associates who had seduced them from their duty, marched in military order in the hideous procession, without ever taking their eyes from the ground. The monarch, after a painful journey of seven hours, during which he was compelled to drink, drop by drop, the bitterest dregs in the cup of humiliation, entered Paris, a captive among his own subjects, and adorning the triumph of his most inveterate enemies. He was conducted to the Hotel de Ville, and thence to the Tuileries, which thenceforward became his palace and his prison.

70. Thus terminated the first era of the revolutionary government; the first period, during which a shadow of independence was left to the legislature. The Revolution of the 14th July had overturned the crown, by depriving it of the whole military force of the kingdom; but the revolt of the 6th October subjugated the legislature as well as the sovereign, by bringing them both captive and defenceless into the capital, where the only armed force was at the disposal of the municipality, elected by

* A fact communicated by General Lafayette to the historian Labaume.—LABAUME, iii. 545, note.

the universal suffrage of the inhabitants. Just five months had elapsed since the meeting of the States-General; and during that time not only the power of the sovereign had been overthrown, but the very structure of society changed. Instead of an absolute government, there was now to be seen a turbulent democracy; instead of an obsequious nobility, a discontented legislature; instead of the pride of ancient, the insolence of newly-acquired power. The right to tithes, the most venerable institution of the Christian church; the feudal privileges, flowing from the first conquest of Gaul by the followers of Clovis; the immunities of corporations, purchased by the blood of infant freedom—all had perished. The principle of universal equality had been recognised; all authority admitted to flow from the people; and the right of insurrection numbered amongst the most sacred of the social duties. The power of the sovereign was destroyed; he had been insulted, and narrowly escaped being murdered in his own palace, and was now a captive, surrounded by perils, in the midst of his capital. Changes greater than those brought about in England from the time of Alfred, were effected in France in less than five months.

71. Experience might well have taught the promoters of the French Revolution, that such excessive precipitation could lead to nothing but disastrous results. Nothing durable in nature is formed except by the slowest degrees; the flowers of the summer are as ephemeral as the warmth which produces them; the oak, the growth of centuries, survives the maturity and the decay of empires. The dominion of Alexander, raised in a few campaigns, was divided within the lifetime of those who witnessed its birth; the Roman empire, formed in a succession of ages, endured a thousand years. It is in vain to suppose that the habits of a nation can be changed, and its character altered, by merely giving it new institutions. We cannot confer on childhood the firmness of maturity by putting on it the dress of manhood. It is no apology for the Constituent

Assembly to say, that they committed no violence themselves; that their measures were in great part adopted from the purest philanthropy; that they were themselves the victims of the faction which disgraced the Revolution. In public men we expect not merely good intentions, but prudent conduct; it is no excuse for those who have done evil, to assert that they did so that good might come of it. "Words," says Lamartine, "put nations in motion, bayonets alone arrest their course." If we pull down with too much haste, we do as much mischief as if we retain with too much obstinacy. The virtuous should always recollect that, if they remove the half, the reckless will speedily destroy the whole.

72. The danger of political changes arises not from their immediate, but their ultimate consequences; not so much from those who originate as those who follow them up. Alterations, once rashly commenced, cannot easily be stopped; the fever of innovation seizes the minds of the energetic part of mankind, and the prudent speedily become unable to stem the torrent. The prospect of gain rouses the ambitious and the reckless; they issue from obscurity to share the spoil, and in the struggle rapidly acquire a fatal ascendancy. They do so, because they are not restrained by the scruples which influence the good, nor fettered by the apprehensions which paralyse the opulent. Having nothing to lose, they are indifferent as to the consequences of their actions; having no principles, they accommodate themselves to those of the most numerous and least worthy of the people. Revolutions are chiefly dangerous, because they bring such characters into public situations; the Constituent Assembly was chiefly blamable, because it pursued a course which roused them in every part of France. It was itself the first to experience the truth of these principles. In its haste to subdue the throne it raised the people, and speedily became subjected to the power it expected to govern.

73. The victory of the 6th October was not less over the legislature than the throne. Brought to Paris without pro-

tection, it was at the mercy of the populace, and not less enthralled than the king. The ultimate consequences did not appear for some years; but the Reign of Terror flowed naturally from the publication of the Rights of Man, and the decimation of the Convention from the rashness of the Constituent Assembly. It soon became apparent that the position of the National Assembly, and the residence of the monarch, during its sitting, in the capital, was a fatal circumstance, of which both had ample cause to repent. Freedom of deliberation was out of the question in such a situation: at first, the deputies were carried away by the applause of the galleries and the contagion of popular feeling; latterly, they were enslaved by the terror of popular violence. All the insurrections which established the Reign of Terror, the captivity of the king, the subjugation of the Assembly, were owing to the perilous vicinity of Paris. If the great work of national reformation is to be successfully carried through, it must be in a remote or secure situation, where the applause and the violence of the multitude are equally removed, and the minds of men are not liable to be swayed by the flattery, or intimidated by the threats, of the people intrusted to their care.

74. Before the era at which we have now arrived, the period had come when it was evident that the popular party had resolved on an entire usurpation of the whole powers of the state, and that determined resistance was the only course which could have arrested their treasonable encroachments. The forcible union of the legislature in a single chamber—the confiscation of the church estates—the formation of a highly democratic constitution, inconsistent with anything like public order, and the refusal of the absolute veto, in defiance of the cahiers from every part of France, were all acts of violence, from which nothing but the establishment of democratic tyranny was to be anticipated. But when, in addition to all this, the king was besieged by a furious mob in his own palace, when his apartments were ransacked, and his consort all but murdered by hired assassins,

the rule of law as well as of authority was at an end; the hour had arrived to conquer or die. By resistance in this extremity, he at least had the chance of rousing the better class of the nation to his and their own defence—but for the fatal emigration of the noblesse, he unquestionably would have done so. When, by their desertion and the treachery of the army, he was compelled to yield to such outrages—to submit to be led a captive amidst savage and drunken mobs to his own palace—he was in effect forced to place his neck beneath the lowest of the populace, and prepare, in the unresisted ascent of guilt, for all the sanguinary excesses which followed.

75. If the army and the Tiers Etat were the parties chiefly in fault in the previous stage of the Revolution, the nobility have most to answer for in this. It was their fatal defection which paralysed the monarch, when he and all his councillors had become sensible, of the insatiable ambition of the commons, and which rendered it impossible to adopt any plan that might extricate the Assembly and himself from their fatal state of dependence on the mobs and armed force of Paris. That they were entirely at the command of the Orleans wealth and the revolutionary leaders, was sufficiently apparent; but Paris was then at least not France, and the elements of strenuous, and perhaps successful, resistance were to be found in the provinces, if the nobility had remained to lead and direct it. In many districts, indeed, the fury of the populace, and the treachery of the soldiers, had deprived the landed proprietors of the possibility of continuing on their estates, and removal to the capital or some considerable town had become a matter of necessity; but this was far from being the case universally; and in at least a half of France, the people in the country were still steady in their loyalty to the throne. It required some courage, doubtless, to remain and face the revolutionary dangers which were arising on all sides; but when does duty not require courage, and where are men entitled to expect it, if not in the descendants of a chivalrous and military

nobility! Recollecting what the peasants of la Vendée and Brittany, the citizens of Lyons and Toulon, subsequently did, it is impossible to admit the excuse for the whole French nobility, that emigration had become a matter of necessity. This widespread and paralyzing defection, therefore, was the great sin of the noblesse after the Revolution had set in, as their obstinate retention of their pecuniary exemptions was their great sin before it commenced.

76. Nor can the peasantry and citizens of France be absolved from a still greater share of blame for the savage ferocity which they evinced from the very outset of the struggle. Never had a revolution been accomplished with so little difficulty; never had power been transferred from the crown to the people with so little bloodshed. With the loss of fifty killed and a hundred wounded, at the attack on the Bastille, the military monarchy had been overthrown. No resistance had anywhere else been

attempted. Everything, therefore, called for humanity and moderation in the use of victory: never had so few deaths, in achieving so great a conquest, required to be avenged. Yet the people generally evinced the most savage and malignant spirit, and assailed their unresisting landlords with a degree of barbarity of which history has preserved few examples. It was no excuse for these hideous atrocities that they were taking vengeance on centuries of oppression, and rising against the chains of feudal slavery. It belongs to God alone, in his inscrutable wisdom, to visit the sins of the fathers upon the children; it is the first principle of human justice to deal with every one according to his individual deserts. The melancholy catalogue of predial and urban crimes which stained the very first stages of the Revolution, proved but too clearly that the French were unfit for liberty, and unworthy of that blessing; for they had not yet laid the corner-stone of the structure in learning to be just.

CHAPTER VI.

FORMATION OF A DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUTION.—FROM THE REVOLT AT VERSAILLES TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.—OCT. 7, 1789—SEPT. 14, 1791.

1. "In every country," says Sallust, "those who have no property envy the good, extol the bad, deride antiquity, support innovation, desire change from the alarming state of their own affairs, live in mobs and tumults, since poverty has nothing to fear from such convulsions. But many causes made the city populace pre-eminent in these respects; for whoever in the provinces were most remarkable for their depravity or self-sufficiency—all who had lost their patrimony, or their place in society—all whom wickedness or disgrace had driven from their homes, found their way to Rome as the common sewer of the Re-

public."* The French Assembly experienced the truth of these principles in a remarkable manner upon the removal of the seat of its deliberations to the metropolis. To the natural de-

* "Semper in civitate," says the historian, "quibus opes nullæ sunt, bonis invident, malos extollunt; vetera odere, nova exoptant, odio suarum rerum mutari omnia student; turba atque seditionibus sine cura aluntur; quoniam egestas facile habetur sine damno. Sed urbana plebes, ea vero, præcepere ierat multis de causis; nam qui ubique probro atque petulantia maxime præstant, item alii per dedecora patrimonii amissia, postremo omnes quos flagitium aut facinus domo expulerat, hi Romam sicuti in sentinam confuxerant."—SALLUST, *Bell. Cat.* § 87.

pravity of a great city, its population added the extraordinary corruption arising from the profligacy and irreligion of preceding reigns. To these were now added the unbounded license and vehement desires which had grown up with the enthusiasm of the time, and the sudden acquisition of supreme power by the multitude. Never were objects of such magnitude offered to the passions of a people so little accustomed to coerce their passions; never was flattery so intoxicating poured into the minds of men so little able to withstand it. The National Assembly, with a fatal precipitance, placed itself without any protection at the mercy of the most corrupt populace in Europe, at the period of its highest excitation. It did not require the gift of prophecy to foretell what would be the result of such a prostration.

2. The removal of the court to Paris produced immediate changes of importance in the contending parties. The Duke of Orleans was the first to decline in influence. General Lafayette exerted himself with vigour and success to show that the duke was the secret author of the disturbances which had so nearly proved fatal to the royal family, and declared publicly that he possessed undoubted proofs of his accession to the tumult, with the design of making himself lieutenant-general of the kingdom. That abandoned prince had now lost the confidence of all parties. The court was aware of his treason; the people saw his weakness; his own associates were in despair at his pusillanimity. No one can long remain at the head of a band of conspirators who want courage to reap, for the common behoof, the fruits of their crimes. "The coward!" said Mirabeau, "he has the appetite for crime, but not the courage to execute it." Even at the Palais Royal his influence was lost, except with his hiring supporters; and the king, glad to get quit of so dangerous a subject, with the entire concurrence of the National Assembly, and without opposition even from his hiring supporters, sent him into honourable exile on a mission to the court of London.

3. From this departure nothing but

good was to be expected; but the secession of other members diminished the influence of reason in the Assembly, and left a fatal ascendancy to revolutionary ambition. Mounier and Lally Tollendal, despairing of the cause of order, retired from the capital; and the former established himself in Dauphiné, his native province, where he endeavoured to organise an opposition to the Assembly.* The departure of these well-meaning though deluded patriots, who had taken so decided a part in the first usurpation of the *Tiers Etat*, was a serious calamity to France: it weakened the friends of rational freedom, and, by extending the fatal example of defection, left the country a prey to the ambitious men who were striving to raise themselves by means of the public calamities. They had expected that the people, after having delivered the Assembly on the 14th July, would immediately submit themselves to its authority; they were the first to find that popular commotions are more easily excited than regulated, and that the multitude will not shake off one authority merely to subject themselves to another. Those who were the heroes of the nation on the occasion of the Tennis-court oath and the union of the orders had already fallen into neglect; the parliaments had been passed by them in the career of democracy, and they were already outstripped by their more ambitious inferiors.

4. The national guard of Paris, under the command of the deluded Lafayette, who still fondly clung to the illusion

* The latter thus justified himself to one of his friends for retiring from public life: "My health renders my continuance in the Assembly impossible: but laying that aside, I could no longer endure the horror occasioned by that blood, those heads, that queen half murdered, that king led a captive in the midst of assassins, and preceded by the heads of the unhappy guards who had died in his service; those murderers, those female cannibals, that infernal cry, 'To the lamp-post with all the bishops!'" Mirabeau exclaiming that the vessel of the Revolution, far from being arrested in its course, would now advance with more rapidity than ever: these are the circumstances which have induced me to fly from that den of cannibals, where my voice can no longer be heard, and where for six weeks I have striven in vain to raise it."—LACRETELLE, vii. 265, 266.

that order could be preserved under democratic rule, for some days succeeded in re-establishing tranquillity in the capital. Ere long, however, the former scenes of violence recurred. A baker named François was murdered in the streets, on the 19th October, by a mob who were enraged at finding that the return of the king had not immediately had the effect of lowering the price of provisions. With the savage temper of the times, they put his head on a pike, and paraded it through the streets, compelling every baker whom they met to kiss the remains. The wife of François, far advanced in pregnancy, who was running in a state of distraction towards the Hotel de Ville, met the crowd; at the sight of the bloody head she fainted on the pavement. The mob had the barbarity to lower it into her arms, and press the lifeless lips against her face. The magistrates and National Assembly did nothing to prevent or punish this barbarity; elected by universal suffrage, they were paralysed at every step by the dread of losing their popularity. Such unparalleled atrocity, however, excited the indignation of all the better class of citizens, and by their influence martial law was proclaimed, and Lafayette, putting himself at the head of the national guard, attacked the mob, and seized the ruffian who carried the head, who was executed next day. The indignant populace murmured at this severity. "What!" they exclaimed, "is this our liberty? We can no longer hang whom we please!" But this first and almost single punishment of popular crime which took place during the Revolution had a surprising effect for a short time in restoring order, and clearly demonstrated with how much ease all the atrocities of the Revolution might have been checked by proper firmness, first in the king, and after this period in the Assembly, if they had been seconded by the faithful obedience of the troops.*

* "The Constituent Assembly ought to have punished crime in the most marked manner; but every member wished to make himself popular, and to this may be traced nearly every crime which disgraced the Revolution."—FRUDBERG, iii. 168.

5. The Assembly, acting under the impulse of the indignation which this murder excited, entertained a motion for a decree against seditious assemblages, known by the name of the "Decree of Martial Law." It was proposed, that on occasion of any serious public disturbance, the municipality should hoist the red flag, and immediately every group of citizens were to be bound to disperse, on pain of military execution. Mirabeau, Buzot, and Robespierre vehemently opposed the measure: they felt the importance of such popular movements to aid their sanguinary designs. "If we do not awaken from our stupor," said the last named, "it is all over with public freedom. The deputies of the municipality demand bread and soldiers. Why? To repress the people at a moment when passions and intrigues of all sorts are conspiring to render the Revolution abortive. Those who excite them are well aware that popular tumults are the most effectual means of repressing the people and extinguishing freedom. When the people are dying of famine they will always collect in mobs; to remove these disturbances you must ascend to their cause, and discover their authors, who would ruin us all. There can be no mistake so great as to suppose that the duty of repressing those delinquencies should be committed to others; the National Assembly alone is entitled to take cognisance of crimes committed against the nation. We should organise a tribunal in this Assembly, to take a final and definite cognisance of all state offences; we should trust nothing to the Procureur du Roi at the Châtelet. If we do not do this, the constitution, amidst all our deliberations, will be stifled in its cradle." Already Robespierre had the Revolutionary Tribunal in view. But the recollection of the 6th October, the excesses of the peasantry in the provinces, and the murder of François, was too recent; and the law authorising the magistrates to hoist the red flag, and proclaim martial law to disperse seditious assemblies, was passed by a large majority.

6. But notwithstanding this enactment, the people, who never thought it

would be carried into execution, would not relinquish without a struggle the agreeable office of public executioners. Two robbers were seized by them, under pretence that the tribunals were too slow in executing justice, and hanged upon the spot; a third was on the point of being strangled, when Lafayette arrived with his grenadiers, and inflicted a summary chastisement on those self-constituted authorities. Shortly after, he suppressed, with equal vigour and courage, a dangerous revolt of the armed guard of Paris, which was already beginning to form a nucleus to the disaffected. Yet, even at the time that he was daily exposing his life in his efforts to restore the force of the laws, he was proclaiming, from the tribunal of the National Assembly, the dangerous doctrine, that "when the people are oppressed, *insurrection becomes the most sacred of duties.*" How often do expressions, incautiously used, produce consequences which life bravely exposed is unable to prevent! With profound wisdom Homer styled words "winged;" * deeds are limited to a spot; words make the circuit of the globe.

7. The king, queen, and whole royal family, were no sooner settled at the Tuileries than they received convincing proof, not only that they were state prisoners, but that they were liable to the most humiliating insults from the lowest of the populace. On the morning after their arrival, the same impassioned viragoes who had bestridden the cannon in the frightful procession of the preceding day, assembled under the queen's windows, and insisted that she should show herself. No sooner did she appear than they overwhelmed her with reproaches, to which she answered with such gentleness and dignity that an involuntary burst of applause was elicited from the multitude. Aware, however, to what a degree she was the object of jealousy to the popular leaders, a committee of the constitutionalists, or middle party in the Assembly, suggested to the queen, by means of the Duchess de Luynes, that, till the constitution at least was formed, she should retire from France. But Marie Antoinette imme-

* "*Eris strigilata.*"

diately answered—"I am well aware of your motives, but I will never separate myself from my husband; if necessary, I would willingly sacrifice my life in his behalf; but the throne is what they seek to destroy, and therefore my departure, when he remained, would be an act of cowardice on my part without benefiting him." The royal family were guarded by the national guard and Gardes Françaises, who were entirely in the interest of the Revolutionists, and night and day they were so closely watched, and such a crowd surrounded the Tuileries, that they never attempted to go out, and all thoughts of escape were out of the question. On one subsequent occasion, when the king endeavoured to go to St Cloud to hunt, the populace assembled at the gates of the gardens of the Tuileries, and cut the traces of the carriage, without Lafayette, who was present, either venturing or being able to interfere. So gross were the insults to which the queen was exposed, when she went to the windows to take the air, that she soon ceased to do so, and occupied herself entirely with the education of her children, to which she paid the most unremitting attention; or, like Queen Mary at Lochleven, in large pieces of needlework, one of which long adorned an apartment in the palace.

8. The dauphin, who was now of an age to receive impressions of external things, and who was of a serene, contemplative character, was profoundly afflicted by the sudden change which the royal family experienced on their removal to Paris. The ancient dilapidated furniture of the rooms, which had not been inhabited for a very long period; the absence of all their wonted comforts; above all, the disappearance of the body-guard, and the substitution of entirely new faces in the service of the palace, filled him with astonishment. He repeatedly asked its cause. "My son," said the queen, "the king has now no other guards but the hearts of the French!" Louis one day took him on his knee, and explained to his infant mind the history of the Revolution in terms so clear, and yet just, that no account of equal value, in a similar space,

has yet been given.* On one occasion, one of the ladies of the court having observed that some one was as happy as a queen, the dauphin said, "Surely it is not mamma that you mean when you speak thus." "Why," said Madame de Neuville, "is the mamma of your Royal Highness not happy?" Looking then carefully around him, to see that he was not overheard, he said, "No, she is not happy; she weeps all the night." This first explained to the ladies in the palace the cause of the red and inflamed eyes of the queen: for such was her strength of mind that she was never seen during the day but with a serene countenance, and generally a smile on her lips.

9. The Assembly, after its translation to Paris, at first held its sittings in one of the halls of the Archbishop's palace. The first meeting there took place on the 19th October, the Assembly having been adjourned in the intervening period. Imposing ceremonies attended its installation in its new place of meeting; deputations from the municipality of Paris, headed by Bailly, and from the national guard, by Lafayette, presented themselves to congratulate the Assembly on its arrival in the capital; and the deputies, in a body, waited on the king to renew their protestations of fidelity. The queen, with the dauphin in her arms, went through their ranks: many tears were shed at the touching spectacle. But an ominous event occurred on the same day. The club Breton, which, as already noticed [*ante*, chap.

iv. § 38], contained all the extreme revolutionary characters, hitherto however confined to members of the States-General, followed the Assembly from Versailles, and established its sittings in the library of the convent of the JACOBINS, in the Rue St Honoré, which thenceforward gave its name, since become imperishable, to the club. From this time admission was given to all persons who were recommended by two members of the society as fit to belong to it. Their sittings were so far secret, that no one could be admitted but by tickets of admission; but they were freely given to all persons of known republican principles, especially if distinguished by their talents for writing or public speaking.

10. The Baron de Besenval, in whose favour M. Necker had so generously interfered on his return to Paris, was shortly after tried before the High Court of Châtelet, and acquitted. In preparing for his defence, his counsel had urged him to make use of a document signed by the hand of the king, which authorised him to repel force by force. "God forbid," said he, "that I should purchase life by endangering so excellent a monarch!" and tore the writing in pieces. The Marquis de Favras was some time after brought before the same tribunal, and the indignation of the people at the former acquittal was such, that from the beginning of the trial his fate was apparent. The crime laid to his charge was of the most absurd and incredible description—that of having entered into a conspiracy to overturn the constitution—and it was unsupported by any adequate evidence. But he was condemned by a tribunal which was intimidated by a ferocious multitude, who never ceased exclaiming, even in the hall of justice, "A la lanterne! A la lanterne!" On the day of his execution he was conducted at three in the morning, clothed in a white shirt, to the Place de Grève, where, with a torch in his hand, he read with a firm voice his sentence of death, and died with heroic firmness, protesting his innocence to the last—the first victim of JUDICIAL INIQUITY which the Revolution had produced. He admitted having received a

* Louis took him on his knees, and spoke to him in nearly the following words:—"My child, I wished to make the people even happier than they had been before; I required money to pay the expenses entailed by the wars. I asked it of my people, as my predecessors had done before me; the magistrates composing the parliament opposed my request, and said that my people alone had the power to grant it. I gathered together at Versailles those from birth, fortune, or ability, esteemed the foremost men in each town. That Assembly is termed the States-General. When they were assembled, they made demands which I could not accede to, with due consideration for myself, or for you who will be my successor: bad men have been found to stir up the people; and they, not the people, must bear the blame of the excesses which have broken out during the last few days."—MADAME CAMPAN, ii. 89, 90.

hundred louis from a nobleman of high rank,* but refused to divulge his name, and uniformly declared that he was no further implicated in any conspiracy. So evident was the injustice practised in this trial that it attracted the notice, and excited the fear, even of the supporters of the Revolution, by whom it was justly regarded as of sinister augury thus to sacrifice an innocent man to a supposed state necessity.† The people assembled in vast crowds, and with savage joy, to witness his punishment, though it was conducted at midnight by torchlight. The unusual spectacle of a marquis being hanged, a punishment unknown for persons of that rank heretofore, was a visible proof of the equality in condition which the Revolution had occasioned; and, after it was over, brutal jests and innumerable parodies on the mode of his execution were heard in every street.

11. The first great legislative measure of the Assembly was directed against the rising jealousies of the provinces. These little states, proud of their ancient privileges, had beheld with profound regret the extinction of their rights and importance in the increasing sovereignty of the National Assembly, and were in some places taking measures to counteract its influence. To put a stop to their designs, the kingdom was distributed into new divisions, called departments, which were nearly equal in extent and population. Eighty-four of these comprehended the whole kingdom of France: each department was divided into districts, and each district into cantons, which last usually embraced five or six parishes. A criminal tribunal was established for each department, a civil court for each district,

* He was afterwards understood to have been Monsieur the Count d'Artois.—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, i. 64.

† "Your life is a sacrifice necessary for the public tranquillity," were the words addressed by Quatremère to the marquis. The execution of the Marquis de Favras was looked upon as an evil omen for the infant revolution, and this presentment was in time too well verified. Good citizens trembled to see the Court and the Constituent Assembly sanction a judicial crime, and that crime deemed justifiable by force of circumstances."—FRUDHOMME, iii. 156; and *Révolutions de Paris*, No. 32, pp. 31, 32.

a court of reference for each canton. Each department had a council of administration, consisting of thirty-six members, and an executive council, composed of five. The district had its council and directory organised in the same manner. The purpose of the canton was electoral—not executive; the citizens united there to elect their deputies and magistrates; the qualification for voting was a contribution to the amount of three days' labour. The deputies elected by the cantons were intrusted with the nomination of the representatives in the National Assembly, the administrators of the department, those of the district, and the judges in the courts of law. To secure still further the control of the people, the judges were appointed only for three years; after which their appointment required to be renewed by the electors—a pernicious state of dependence, even more dangerous when upon a sovereign multitude than an arbitrary prince, inasmuch as the latter is permanent, and may find his interest or that of his family injured by deeds of injustice, whereas the former is perpetually fluctuating, and influenced neither by a feeling of responsibility, nor by any durable interest in the consequences of iniquity.

12. This decree arranged the rights and limits of the rural districts; another settled the powers and privileges of the inhabitants of towns. The administration of cities was intrusted to a general council, and a municipality whose number was proportioned to the population they contained. The municipal officers, or magistrates, were named directly by the people, and were alone authorised to require the assistance of the armed force; and as they were appointed by universal suffrage, the whole civil authority of the kingdom was thenceforward at the command of the people. There were neither officers nor judges appointed by the crown, nor any resident noblesse or proprietors to oppose their mandates. Domiciliary visits, searches, imprisonments, informations of suspected hostility to the Revolution—all were at the command of these executive committees of the majority. Whoever

resisted or counteracted them, found himself engaged alone in a contest with the whole civil and military power of the state, based upon the concurrence of an overwhelming superiority of members.

13. The execution of these decrees was the most important step in the history of the Revolution: they were a practical application of the principle recognised in the "Rights of Man," that all sovereignty flows from the people. By this gigantic step, the whole civil force of the kingdom was placed at the disposal of the lower orders. By the nomination of the municipality, they had the government of the towns; by the command of the armed force, the control of the military; by the elections in the departments, the appointment of the deputies to the Assembly, the judges to the courts of law, the bishops to the church, the officers to the national guard; by the elections in the cantons, the nomination of magistrates and local representatives. Everything thus, either directly or by the intervention of a double election, flowed from the people; and the qualification for voting was so low as practically to admit every able-bodied man. Forty-eight thousand communes, or municipalities, were thus erected in France, and exercised, concurrently and incessantly, the rights of sovereignty; hardly any appointment was left at the disposal of the crown. After so complete a democratic constitution, it is not surprising that, during all the subsequent changes of the Revolution, the popular party should have acquired such irresistible power; and that, in almost every part of France, the persons in authority should be found supporting the multitude, upon whom they depended for their continuance in it.

14. This great change, however, was not brought about without causing the most violent local discontents. It shocked too many feelings, and subverted too many established interests, not to produce a general excitement. Divisions as ancient as the time of the fall of the Roman empire; parliaments coeval with the first dawn of freedom; prejudices nursed for centuries; bar-

riers of nature incapable of removal; political aversions still in their vigour—were all disregarded in this great act of democratic despotism. Remonstrances accordingly were sent in on all sides, and in many districts serious disturbances arose, especially in Brittany and Languedoc. But the protests of the provinces, the resistance of the local parliaments, the clamour of the states, could neither deter nor arrest the National Assembly. A change greater than the Romans attempted in the zenith of their power, and such as the vigour of Peter, the ambition of Alexander, never dared to contemplate, was successfully achieved by a popular assembly, a few months after its first establishment—a memorable proof of the force of public opinion, and the irresistible power of that new spring which general information and the influence of the press had now, for the first time, brought to bear on public affairs. In parcelling out France into these arithmetical divisions, the Constituent Assembly treated it precisely as if it were a conquered country. Its patriots realised for its free inhabitants, what the Roman historian laments as the last drop of bitterness in the cup of the vanquished.* Acting as conquerors, they imitated the policy of the harshest of that cruel race.†

* "The old system of colonisation was at this time greatly altered. Entire legions were not, as had been the practice, settled together, with their tribunes, their centurions, and soldiers, in one regular body, forming a society of men known to each other, and by sentiments of mutual affection inclined to act with a spirit of union. A colony, at the time we speak of, was no more than a motley mixture, drawn together from different armies, without a chief at their head, without a principle to unite them, and, in fact, no better than a mere conflux of people from distant parts of the globe—a wild heterogeneous multitude, but not a colony."—TACITUS, *Annal.* xiv. c. 27.

† "The policy of such barbarous victors," says Mr Burke, "who condemn a subdued people, and insult their inhabitants, ever has been to destroy all vestiges of the ancient country in religion, policy, laws, and manners; to confound all territorial limits, produce a general poverty, crush their nobles, princes, and pontiffs; to lay low everything which lifted its head above the level, or which could serve to combine or rally, in their distresses, the disbanded people under the standard of old opinion. They have made France

15. At the same time, the right to the elective franchise for the primary assemblies was fixed at twenty-five years of age, and the contribution of a *marc* of money, or the value of three days' labour. By the law, the qualification to be eligible for the electoral assemblies was somewhat higher—it was a contribution of ten days' labour: for the National Assembly it was fixed at an imposition of a *marc* of silver, and the possession of some property. In practice, however, the latter condition soon came to be disregarded, the choice of the people being held to supersede every other qualification. The election of members of the legislature took place by two degrees; the electors in the first instance, in their primary assemblies, choosing the delegates who were to appoint the legislators, and they in their turn selecting the deputies for the Assembly. It was calculated that this system of suffrage introduced 4,290,000 electors to the rights of citizens in France. Universal suffrage would have given six millions, the same number who were capable of bearing arms in the kingdom. The world had never yet seen so prodigious a multitude of men invested with the practical administration of affairs. It is not surprising that its effects were unprecedented in human annals: so unbounded were the visions which the acquisition of those novel powers spread among the people, that the marriages in France increased a fifth in 1790—a change which, followed as it immediately was by general and acute distress from the universal feeling of insecurity which prevailed, ultimately tended in a fear-free in the manner in which their ancient friends to the rights of mankind freed Greece, Macedon, Gaul, and other nations. If their present project of a republic should fail, all securities for a moderate freedom fall along with it: they have levelled and crushed together all the orders which they found under the monarchy: all the indirect restraints which mitigate despotism are removed, inasmuch that, if monarchy should ever again obtain an entire ascendancy in France, under *this or any other dynasty*, it will probably be, if not voluntarily tempered at setting out by the wise and virtuous counsels of the prince, the most completely arbitrary power that ever appeared on earth.”—BURKE'S *Censid.*; Works, v. 323, 333.

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ful degree to increase the violence of the Revolution.*

16. These two measures—the division of the kingdom into departments, and the prodigious degradation of the elective franchise—rapidly proved fatal to freedom in France. The latter brought up a body of representatives in the next Assembly which overturned the throne, and induced the Reign of Terror and the despotism of Napoleon; the former, by destroying the influence of the provinces, and concentrating the whole authority of the state in Paris, has left no power existing capable of withstanding the weight, whether in popular, monarchical, or military hands, of the capital. It was not thus in old France. For sixteen years Paris was occupied by the English, and an English monarch was crowned at Rheims; but the provinces resisted and saved the monarchy. The League long held the capital; but Henry IV., at the head of the forces of the provinces, reduced it to submission. But since the separation into departments, the extinction of provincial courts and assemblies, and the concentration of all the authority of the state in the metropolis, everything has come to depend on its determinations; the ruling power at the Tuileries has never failed to be obeyed from the Channel to the Pyrenees; and the subjection of France to the mobs of Paris has become greater than that of the Empire was to the Prætorian bands.

17. Before this great change had taken place, the Assembly had commenced its sittings in the Riding-School Hall (*Salle du Manège*), near the Tuileries, between that palace and the Palais Royal, where the Rue de Rivoli is now situated; and the memorable scenes of that body, of the succeeding Assembly, and of the Convention, took place in that room. The parties took their seats on the right and left, as they had done in the Salle de l'Archevêché.

* “In the midst of these federations, the natural federation, marriage, went on increasing; oaths of citizenship, oaths of hymen, were taken together at the altar. Marriages increased in the proportion of a fifth in this beautiful year of hope.”—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 204.

X

The centre, or "plain," as it was called, became at the same time a place of importance, as the members who sat there clearly held the balance between the extremes on the right hand and the left. Shortly after, Dr Guillotin brought forward a long and laboured motion for the reformation of the penal code; and proposed that, instead of the axe of the executioner, or any other kind of death, one uniform mode of punishment should be adopted in all capital cases, which should consist of a heavy knife, descending in a frame on the neck of the condemned person. This proposal was adopted by the Assembly, and the new machine obtained the name, from its inventor, of the *GUILLOTINE*. "With the aid of my machine," said M. Guillotin, "I will make the head spring off in the twinkling of an eye, and the victim shall feel nothing." But the researches of men of science since that time, and the ample experience of its effects which the Revolution afforded, have suggested a doubt, it is to be feared on probable grounds, whether this supposed humanity is really as well founded as the friends of lenity in punishment would wish. There is reason to fear that the head, in some cases, may retain sensation, and even recollection, for some minutes, even as much as ten, after it has been severed from the body. Melancholy examples of this will occur in the sequel of this work.*

18. Meanwhile an investigation was commenced before the High Court of Châtelet, at the instance of the Procureur du Roi, on the information of the public prosecutor of the city of Paris, as to "the authors of the troubles of the 5th and 6th October." Though the greatest pains were taken to stifle

* It has been demonstrated by modern physiologists, that the heads of animals sometimes hear, see, and feel, for ten, fifteen, and even eighteen minutes, after being severed from the body.—(See, in particular, Jégallon's experiments). The same has been observed of human beings; it having been ascertained that decapitated heads have given unequivocal signs of a retention of will, by fixing their eyes on loved objects, or moving the lips as if in an effort to speak; and this is particularly the case with those who die with most courage and resolution.—*Histoire Parlementaire*, iii. 447, 448; and *Journal des Progrès des Sciences Médicales—Essai sur le Système Nerveux*.

this inquiry, and direct it from its proper object, yet it went on, and the evidence and revelations which it brought out soon attracted general notice. Above two hundred witnesses were examined during the course of many months, and at length it was clearly proved, that the Orleans conspirators had taken advantage of the excitement in Paris, owing to the high price of provisions, to direct the vehemently excited mob to Versailles, in the hope that the king would take to flight, and the Duke of Orleans might be declared lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The proceedings, however, were found to implicate too many persons of importance to permit of their being followed out. Mirabeau, in particular, was so clearly pointed at in the evidence, that M. Chabroud, who drew up the report, alluded in its commencement to the "great criminals whom it involved." After a vehement debate, in which that great orator exerted all his talent, and evinced all his influence in his own defence, the Assembly, fearful of implicating so many of its members, determined that there was no ground for ulterior proceedings. No one was surprised at this result—it had been distinctly foreseen throughout. But the magnanimity which the proceedings brought to light on the part of the queen, excited universal admiration in every generous breast. When pressed by the committee of the municipality of Paris, and also by a deputation from the Court at Châtelet, to state what she knew or had seen on the occasion, she answered, "Never will I become an informer against the subjects of the king: I have seen everything, known everything, and forgotten everything."

19. The constant embarrassment of the finances next occupied the attention of the Assembly. All the measures taken for the relief of the public necessities, since the convocation of the States-General, had proved utterly unavailing. The nation, in truth, was subsisting entirely on borrowed money: the revenue had almost everywhere failed, and the public debt had increased in the last three years by the

enormous amount of 1,200,000,000 francs, or nearly £50,000,000 sterling.* Matters had at length reached a crisis: the capitalists, so long the ardent supporters of the Revolution, had become sensible of its tendency, and would not advance a shilling to the public service. The contribution of a fourth part of the revenue of every individual, granted to the entreaties of Necker and the eloquence of Mirabeau, had produced but a momentary relief; it had proved, from the general emigration of the noblesse, and universal stagnation of commerce, much less productive than had been expected. The confusion of public affairs rendered all sources of revenue unavailing, and some decisive measure had become indispensable, to fill up the immense deficit which the Revolution had produced.† In this emergency, the property of the church was the first fund which presented itself, and it was sacrificed without mercy to the public necessities.

20. Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, proposed that the ecclesiastical property should be devoted to the support of the ministers of religion, and the payment of the public debt. In support of this spoliation he argued: "The clergy are not proprietors, but depositaries of their estates; no individual can maintain any right of property, or inheritance in them; they were bestowed originally by the munificence of kings or nobles, and may now be resumed by the nation which had succeeded to the rights of these. It is not necessary to destroy the entire body of the clergy, who are required for the purposes of worship; but it is alike just and expedient to extinguish those ecclesiastical incorporations, those agglomerations of pro-

perty, which are useless and hurtful. The enjoyment of this power by the nation gives its representatives an equal title to interfere with the present distribution of church property. All the benefices without charges attached to them may immediately be confiscated to the profit of the nation; and even in regard to those to which duty is attached, it is clear that the only portion of their funds which is really sacred is what is required for the decent support of the incumbent, or maintenance of the hospital or college to which it belongs. By undertaking the burden of these, therefore, the nation may now, with perfect justice, appropriate the whole ecclesiastical estates." This proposal, seconded by Thouret, was supported by Mirabeau, Barnave, Garat, and the whole strength of the Revolutionary party.

21. To this it was replied by the Abbé Maury and Sièyes: "It is an unfounded assertion that the property of the church is at the disposal of the state; it came from the munificence or piety of individuals in former ages, and was destined to a peculiar purpose, totally different from secular concerns. If the purposes originally intended cannot be carried into effect, it should revert to the heirs of the donors, but certainly does not accrue to the legislature. This great measure of spoliation is the first step in revolutionary confiscation, and will soon be followed up by the seizure of property of every description; and it is, in truth, a sacrifice of the provinces, and their estates, to the capitalists of the metropolis who hold the public debt, and the vociferous mob who rule the counsels of the Assembly. The clergy have enjoyed their possessions for a thousand years—is there a noble or proprietor in the land who can exhibit a title as ancient? Are the immense sacrifices of their possessions the clergy have already made—their junction with the Tiers Etat, which first gave victory to the cause of the Revolution—to go for nothing? Is destitution, confiscation, and beggary, the reward which France reserves for the first, the most important, the most valued friends of freedom? The bene-

	France.	£
* Total debt in } April 1787, }	3,002,000,000 or 120,080,000	
Total debt in } April 1790, }	4,241,000,000 or 169,640,000	

Increase, . . . 1,239,000,000 or 49,560,000
—CALOWNE, 74.

† "New resources were therefore required, but these were all exhausted: credit was necessary, and it was destroyed—but shameful bankruptcy was there: it was necessary to stave it off, or leave the foulest stain on the glory of France."—*Deux Amis*, iv. 2.

fices, in some cases, are without cures — pray, what are the fortunes of the nobles, the wealth of the capitalists? A thousand francs a-year would maintain every one of these gentlemen; the rest, according to your argument, is at the disposal of the nation. Have they a cure attached to them? And are you prepared to apply a test to property, as liable or not liable to confiscation, which would at once place within the former category the whole property of the nation, above what was necessary for the bare subsistence of its possessors?"

22. But it was all in vain. The property of the church was estimated at two thousand millions of francs, £80,000,000; this appeared a fund sufficient, at least for a considerable time, to maintain the clergy, endow the hospitals for the poor, defray the interest of the public debt, and meet the expenses of the civil establishment. To a revolutionary government, overwhelmed with debt, the temptation was irresistible; and, in spite of the eloquence of the Abbé Maury and the efforts of the clergy, it was decreed, by a great majority, that the ecclesiastical property should be put at the disposal of the nation. The funds thus acquired were enormous; the church lands were above a third of the whole landed property of the kingdom. The clergy were declared a burden upon the state, and thenceforward received their incomes from the public treasury. But the Assembly made a wretched provision for the support of religion. The income of the Archbishop of Paris was fixed at £2000 a-year, (50,000 francs); that of the superior bishoprics at 25,000 francs, or £1000 a-year; that of the inferior at £750; that of the smallest at £500 a-year. The curés of the larger parishes received 2000 francs, or £80 a-year; 1500 francs, or £60, in the middle-sized; and 1200 francs, or £48, in the smallest. The incomes of the greater part of the clergy, especially the great

beneficiaries, were, by this change, reduced to one-fifth of their former amount.*

23. The arguments which prevailed with the Assembly were the same as those urged on similar occasions by all who endeavour to appropriate the property of public bodies. It is, no doubt, plausible to say, that religion, if true, should be able to maintain itself; that the public will support those who best discharge its duties; and that no preference should be given to the professors of any peculiar form of faith. But experience has demonstrated that these arguments are fallacious, and that religion speedily falls into discredit unless its teachers are not only maintained, but amply maintained, at the public expense, or from separate property of their own. The marked and almost unaccountable irreligion of a large proportion of the French, ever since the Revolution, is a sufficient proof that the support of property, and a certain portion of worldly splendour, are requisite to maintain even the cause of truth. The reason is apparent. It arises from the difference between immediate interests, obvious to all, and ultimate interests, powerful only with a few. Worldly enjoyments are agreeable in the outset, and only painful in the end. Religious truth is unpalatable at first, and its salutary effects are only experienced after the lapse of time. Hence, the first may be safely intrusted to the inclinations or taste of individuals; the last require the support or direction of the state. If individuals are left to choose for themselves, they will select the best architects or workmen; but it does by no means follow that they will pitch upon the best religious guides. The ardent will follow, not the most reasonable, but the most captivating; the selfish or indifferent, the most accommodating; the wicked, none at all. Those who most require reformation will be the last to seek it. An established church, and ecclesias-

* This decisive measure of spoliation was carried by a majority of 568 to 341. Forty declined voting, and 246 were absent. As resistance to this spoliation was unpopular, it may be presumed that in secret they disap-

proved of it, but stayed away from fear. Had they come forward and opposed the great measure of robbery, it would have been prevented, and the whole character of the Revolution might have been changed. — *Hist. Parl.* iii. 256.

tical property, are required to relieve the teachers of religion from the necessity of bending to the views or sharing in the fanaticism of the age. Those who live by the support of the public will never be backward in conforming to its inclinations. When children may be allowed to select the medicines they are to take in sickness, or the young the education which is to fit them for the world, the clergy may be left to the voluntary support of the public, but not till then.

24. This violent measure led to another, attended by consequences still more disastrous. The church estates were immense, but no purchasers for them could be found; and it was indispensable immediately to raise a fund on the security of the property thus acquired. The necessities of the state required the immediate sale of ecclesiastical property to the amount of 400,000,000 of livres, or £16,000,000 sterling; to facilitate it, the municipality of Paris, and of the principal cities of the kingdom, became the purchasers in the first instance, trusting to reimbursement by the sale of the property, in smaller portions, to individuals. But an insuperable difficulty arose in finding money sufficient to discharge the price of so extensive a purchase before the secondary sales were effected; to accomplish this, the expedient was adopted of issuing promissory notes of the municipality to the public creditors, which might pass current till the period of their payment arrived. This was immediately done; but when they became due, still no means of discharging them existed, and recourse was had to government bills, which might possess a legal circulation, and pass for money from one end of the kingdom to the other. Thus arose the system of *ASSIGNATS*, the source of more public strength, and private suffering, than any other measure in the Revolution. By a decree of the Assembly, passed in the following spring, government was authorised to issue assignats to the amount of 400,000,000 francs, or about £16,000,000 sterling, to be secured on the domains of the crown, and the ecclesiastical property to that

value. Thus was the public hand for the first time laid on private property, and the dangerous benefit experienced of discharging obligations without providing funds at the moment for their liquidation—an expedient fostering to industry, and creative of strength in the first instance; but ruinous to both in the end, if not accompanied by prudent management, and based on provision made for ultimate payment. It is a remarkable fact, that this irrevocable step was taken by the Assembly in direct opposition to the opinions of the country. Out of thirty-seven addresses from the principal commercial cities of France, only *seven* were in favour of assignats. The clamour of demagogues, the passion for spoliation, and financial necessity, had already overturned the whole influence of property, whether landed or commercial.

25. By this means, the alienation of the ecclesiastical property was rendered irrevocable, and the foundation of a paper circulation, inconvertible into the precious metals, laid in the kingdom. The necessities of the state made the continuance and extension of the system in future years unavoidable; and this led to a third consequence, more important in the end than either of the former—viz, the establishment of a vast body of small landholders, whose properties had sprung out of the Revolution, and whose interests were identified with its continuance. The public creditor was not compelled, in the first instance, to accept land instead of money, but he received assignats, which passed current in the market, and ultimately came into the hands of some prudent or far-seeing individuals, who made them the investment of a little capital, and, instead of circulating them as money, presented them for discharge, and received small fragments of the ecclesiastical estates. The extreme difficulty of finding a secure place of deposit for funds in those distracted times, and the innumerable bankruptcies of mercantile men which took place during the progress of the Revolution, produced a universal opinion among the labouring classes, that the purchase of land was the only safe way of disposing

of money. And this feeling, coupled with the excessive depreciation which the assignats afterwards reached, and the great accession to the national domains which the confiscated estates of the nobles produced, occasioned that universal division of landed property which forms the most striking feature in the modern condition of France.

26. The clergy, finding the administration of a large portion of their estates transferred to the municipalities, and a paper money created which was to be paid from their sale, were seized with the most violent apprehensions. As a last resource, they offered to lend the state the 400,000,000 francs upon being reinvested with their property; but this offer, as tending to throw doubt upon the confiscation of their estates, was immediately rejected. The utmost efforts were immediately made by the church to excite public opinion against the Revolution. The pulpits resounded with declamations against the Assembly; and the sale of the ecclesiastical estates was universally represented to be, as in truth it was, iniquitous in the highest degree. But these efforts were in vain. Some disturbances broke out in the south of France, and blood was shed in many of the provinces in defence of the priesthood, but no general or national movement took place; the emigration of the nobles had deprived the peasantry in the country of their natural leaders, and after some resistance, the clergy were everywhere dispossessed of their property. The irreligious spirit of the age secured this triumph to the enemies of the Christian faith; but no violent or unjustifiable proceeding can take place without ultimately recoiling on the nation which commits it. From this flagrant act of injustice may be dated the unconquerable aversion of the clergy in France to the Revolution, and the marked disregard of religious observances which has since distinguished so large a portion of its inhabitants. From this may be dated that dissoluteness of private manners which extended with such rapidity during its progress, which has spread the vices of the old noblesse through all the inferior classes of the state, and threatens, in its ulti-

mate effects, to counterbalance all the advantages of the Revolution, by poisoning the fountains of domestic virtue, from which public prosperity must spring. From this, lastly, may be dated the commencement of the fatal system of assignats, which precipitated and rendered irrevocable the march of the Revolution, and ultimately involved in ruin all the classes who participated in this first deed of unpardonable iniquity.

27. The only way in which it is possible to avoid these dreadful calamities, which at once dry up all the sources of national prosperity, is to assume it as a fundamental principle, that the estates set apart for the church are inalienable property, not to be encroached on or impaired, without the same violence which sets aside all private rights. Without that safeguard, ecclesiastical property will, in every country, at some period or other, fall a prey to financial embarrassments. Having no bayonets in its hands, like the army; having lost the spiritual thunder which maintained its authority in the ages of superstition; speaking to the future, not the present, wants of mankind, it will ever be the first to be sacrificed to the penury of government incident to an advanced state of civilisation, if not protected by the shield of an interest common to it with ordinary proprietors. It is to the firm hold which this principle has on the English nation, that Mr Burke ascribes the long duration and extensive usefulness of its national establishment.*

* "The people of England," says Mr Burke, "never have suffered, and never will suffer, the fixed estate of the church to be converted into a pension, to depend on the treasury, and to be delayed, withheld, or perhaps extinguished by fiscal difficulties, which may sometimes be pretended for political purposes, and are in fact often brought about by the extravagance, negligence, and rapacity of politicians. They will not turn their independent clergy into ecclesiastical pensioners. They tremble for their liberty from the influence of a clergy dependent on the crown; they tremble for the public tranquillity from the disorders of a factious clergy, if they were made to depend on any other than the crown. For the consolation of the feeble and the instruction of the ignorant, they have identified the estate of the church with the mass of private property, of which the state is not the proprietor, either for use or dominion,

28. The interior organisation of the church next came under the revision of the Assembly. The bishoprics were reduced to the same number as the departments; the clergy and bishops declared capable of being chosen only by the electors who were intrusted with the nomination of deputies; the cathedrals and the chapters suppressed, and the regular orders replaced by parochial clergy. It is a remarkable fact, that in some of the discussions on the ecclesiastical establishment at this period, Robespierre supported the church. In particular, on 30th May 1790, he moved in the Assembly to allow the parish priests to marry—a step which procured for him the thanks of the clergy over all France. He continued his support of the clergy on various occasions, until he was warned of the danger he incurred by the murmur, when he rose to speak, "*Passez au Côté Droit!*"* In the reforms which were adopted, if we except the election of the clergy and bishops by the people—for which they were manifestly disqualified, and which is utterly inconsistent with a national establishment—nothing flagrantly unjust was attempted. The church, purified of its corruptions, and freed from its splendid but invidious appendages, might still have maintained its respectability, had no spoliation of its posses-

but only the guardian and regulator; they have ordained that the provision of this establishment should be as stable as the earth on which it stands, and not fluctuate with the oscillations of funds and actions."

* Robespierre supported the reduction of the church to bishoprics and parochial clergy by these characteristic arguments: "First principle—All public functions are a social institution; their object is the order and happiness of society; it follows that there ought not to exist any function useless to society. Benefices and unnecessary establishments, cathedrals, collegiate charges, curacies, and all the bishoprics not required by the public, must yield to this principle. Second principle—Ecclesiastical officers being ordained for the happiness of men, and the good of the people, it follows that the people should have the right of nomination. The people ought to preserve every right that it is qualified to exercise; therefore it may choose its pastors, like magistrates and other public officers. Third principle—The public officers being appointed for the good of society, it follows that their treatment and emoluments must be estimated by their value and utility to the public—not influenced by

sions previously taken place. But the progress of the Revolution, and the efforts of more audacious reformers, soon completed its destruction.

29. The judicial establishment underwent a total change about the same period. The parliaments of the provinces were suppressed. The work of destruction had now become so common that the annihilation of these ancient courts, coeval with the monarchy, hardly excited any attention. New tribunals were created throughout the whole country on the most democratic basis: the judges were appointed, not by the crown, but by the electors—that is, by the whole labouring classes. So widespread were the judicial functions, under this system, that the judges in France amounted to the enormous number of one hundred thousand—the magistrates to that of *twelve hundred thousand*.† Even the power of pardon was taken from the sovereign. Trial by jury was universally introduced, and the jurymen were taken indiscriminately from all classes of citizens. Reforms of the most salutary description were effected in the criminal courts; trials were made public, the accused allowed counsel, and indulged with every facility for their defence. The inhuman punishments which disgraced the ancient monarchy were abolished, and the punishment of

any desire to gratify and enrich the individuals who exercise these functions." Here is the principle of a voluntary church clearly and manfully stated, and traced back to its true origin and only feasible basis, the principle of *utility*. Robespierre's *deductions*, as will appear clearly in the sequel, were all correct; his whole errors and crimes arose from his setting out with false principles. Everything in this question turns on the meaning of the word "*utility*." Is it pecuniary or spiritual utility? economy in this world, or salvation in the next? It is refreshing, amidst the declamation of the Revolution, to read his speeches; they so uniformly go back to principle, though those principles are universal innocence in the people, vice in the governors, and worldly utility.—*Histoire Parlementaire*, vi. 31, 32.

† "The new law created twelve hundred thousand magistrates. The judicial system created a hundred thousand judges."—*Atlas National de la France*, 1791, dédié à l'Assemblée; and MICHELETT, *Histoire de la Révolution*, i. 153, 159. Talleyrand, in his speech on 8th June 1790, estimated the active citizens at 3,600,000.—*Histoire Parlementaire*, 8th June 1790.

death was limited to a smaller class of delinquencies. The cognisance of charges of high treason was intrusted to a supreme court at Orleans; but it must be added, to the glory of the National Assembly, that during their continuance not one trial took place before it. A new tribunal, entitled the Court of Cassation, was established at Paris to revise the sentences of inferior tribunals: the utility of this institution was such, that it has been continued through all the subsequent changes of government.

30. The revolutionary party having now declared open war against the church, the partisans of the latter exerted themselves to the utmost to abridge the duration or operations of the Assembly. The moment was favourable, as the period when the powers of the Assembly should expire had arrived; the deputies were only appointed for a year, and that time had now elapsed. The clergy and aristocratic party took advantage of this circumstance to insist that the Assembly should be dissolved and reappointed by the electors, as they were well aware that the abolition of all the parliaments, courts of law, and incorporations, in the provinces, and the total confiscation of the property of the church, had created such violent heart-burnings among the people as would probably render the next Assembly decidedly anti-revolutionary. To support that proposal they urged the sovereignty of the people, so recently proclaimed as the basis of government by the popular leaders. "Without doubt," says Chapelier, "sovereignty resides in the people; but that principle has no application in the present instance. The dissolution of the Assembly, before the work of the constitution is finished, would lead to the destruction of the constitution; it is now urged by the enemies of freedom, with no other view but to secure the revival of despotism, of feudal privileges, court prodigality, and all the countless evils which follow in the train of these."—"We deceive ourselves," replied the Abbé Maury, "when we speak of perpetuating our own power. When did we become a National As-

sembly? Has the oath of the 20th June absolved us from that which we took to our constituents? The constitution is finished; you have nothing now to do but to declare that the king possesses the executive power; we are sent here for no other purpose but to secure the influence of the people upon the legislature, and prevent the imposition of taxes without their consent. Our duties being now discharged, I strenuously resist every decree which shall interfere with the rights of the electors. The founders of liberty should be the last to invade the rights of others; we undermine our own authority, when we trench upon the privileges of those by whom it was conferred."

31. Loud applause followed these energetic words; but Mirabeau immediately ascended the tribune. "We are asked," said he, "when our powers began—how, from being simple deputies of bailiwicks, we became a national convention? I reply, from the moment when, finding our place of assembly surrounded by bayonets, we swore rather to perish than abandon our duties towards the nation. Our powers have, since that great event, undergone a total change; whatever we have done has been sanctioned by the unanimous consent of the nation. We became a national convention when, but for us, the nation would have perished. You all remember the saying of the ancient patriot, who had neglected legal forms to save his country. Summoned by a factious opposition to answer for his infraction of the laws, he replied, 'I swear that I have saved my country.' Gentlemen, I swear that you have saved France." The Assembly, electrified by this appeal, rose by a spontaneous movement, and declared its session permanent, till the formation of the constitution was completed. Thenceforward they had not a shadow of legal title for their proceedings; the period for which they had been elected had expired, and by sheer usurpation, without venturing to appeal to the people, they continued their powers.

32. Having thus, by a decree of their own, resolved to prolong their powers, the Assembly next entered on the con-

sideration of the important question—in whom, under the new constitution, the powers of declaring peace and war should be vested? A difference which had arisen between Great Britain and Spain, which threatened hostilities at no distant period, brought the necessity of determining this question prominently forward. It was discussed with great vehemence in the Assembly for above a fortnight; and, as the result appeared at one period doubtful, the Revolutionists had recourse to their usual resource of getting up mobs in the streets, and threatening a civil war. Mirabeau, who had now become sensible of the perilous tendency of the Revolution, and began to thirst for employment from the crown, since he had become hopeless of the success of treason under the Duke of Orleans, on this occasion gave the first indication of a change of policy, by proposing, as a middle course, that the right of declaring peace and war should be vested in the king and the Assembly jointly. Instantly he became suspected by the people: rumour spread abroad that he had been gained by the court, and the “Grande Trahison du Comte Mirabeau” was hawked through the streets. At the same time, the excitement became so vehement that it was openly announced in the Revolutionary journals that, if this power were not conceded exclusively to the Assembly, it would lead to a general massacre of the nobles and clergy, and the most frightful convulsions.*

33. “If, on this subject,” said Mira-

* “If the right of making peace and war had been conceded to the king, all was over: civil war would have burst forth on the Saturday night, and to-day Paris would be deluged with blood. At midnight the tocsin would have called the citizens to arms; the Tuileries would have been delivered up to the flames; the people would have taken the king and his family under their own protection; but St Priest, Necker, and Montmorin would have been hurried to the Lantern, and their heads paraded about the streets of the capital. Let any one imagine the horrors that the shades of such a night would have covered—the murders, the robberies, the tolling of the bells, the roar of the artillery, the cries of the dying! No aristocrat would have escaped the fury of the people.”—*Orateur du Peuple*, par FÉRON, May 23, 1790.

beau, “we had much to fear from the ambition of kings and the corruption of their ministers, have we nothing to apprehend from the enthusiasm of a large Assembly, which may mistake a false resentment for the dictates of wisdom, or the counsels of experience? Read the history of republics, and you will see that ambition has always precipitated them into the most unjust and barbarous wars. Is it not under the empire of the passions that political assemblies have ever resolved on war? Are we to reckon as nothing the inconvenience of convoking the Assembly, when action, and decided action, is called for? Can we hope to maintain our constitution, if forms essentially at variance with a monarchy are introduced into it? Rome was destroyed by the strife of monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic forms. A powerful citizen is more dangerous than a victorious king in such a republic. What were Hannibal and Cæsar to Rome and Carthage? (*Vehement clamour.*) Do not suppose I am to be intimidated by your threats. A few days ago the people wished to carry me in triumph, and now they cry in the streets ‘Great Treason of Count Mirabeau.’ I had no need of that lesson to learn, that there is little distance between the Capitol and the Tarpeian rock; but the man who combats for truth, for his country, is not so easily put down. He who is conscious of having deserved well of the commonwealth—who covets no vain celebrity, and disdains the success of a day for real glory; he who is determined to tell the truth, independent of the fluctuating waves of public opinion, bears within himself his own reward. He awaits his destiny, the only reward which really interests him, from the hand of time, which does justice to all.” But it was all in vain: fear of the people prevailed over the eloquence of Mirabeau, the fervour of the Abbé Maury; and the power of declaring peace and war was, without qualification, vested in the National Assembly.

34. Satisfied with having wrested this important prerogative from the crown, the Assembly, in pecuniary matters, acted with liberality towards the sovereign. Louis demanded twenty-five

millions of francs (£1,000,000 sterling) annually for his household expenses and civil list, which was instantly granted; and the jointure of the queen was fixed at four millions of francs, or £160,000 a-year. A conceding monarch is always, for a brief space, a favourite with a democratic legislature.

35. In the fervour of innovation, titles of honour could not long be maintained. M. Lamboin proposed, and Charles Lameth seconded a decree, "That the titles of duke, count, marquis, viscount, baron, and chevalier, should be suppressed." "Hereditary nobility," said the latter, "wounds equally reason and true liberty. There can be no political equality, no virtuous emulation, where citizens have other dignities than those belonging to their office, or arising from their virtues." "Let us annihilate," said M. de Noailles, "those vain titles, the arrogance of pride, and ignorance, and vanity. It is time that we should have no distinctions save those arising from virtue. What should we say to Marquis Franklin, Count Washington, Baron Fox? Will such titles ever confer the lustre attaching to the simple Franklin; Fox, Washington? I give my warmest support to the motion, and would add to it, that liveries should be abolished." "A nobility," replied the Abbé Maury, "is part of our constitution: destroy the nobility, and there is no monarchy." So determined were the Assembly to extinguish honours, that the decree was passed in an evening sitting with very little discussion. The noblesse and the clergy made vain efforts to prevent the sacrifice; but it was carried by an overwhelming majority.

36. Thus in one day fell the ancient and venerable institution of feudal nobility—an institution sprung from conquest, and cradled in pride, but productive of great and important consequences on the social body, and the cause of the chief distinction between European and Asiatic civilisation. The conquests of the East have seldom produced any lasting institutions, because they have always depended on a single race of warriors, who left behind neither honours nor hereditary possessions to

perpetuate the fabric of society. Hence everything has been ephemeral in Eastern dynasties; national glory, public prosperity, have in every age been as shortlived as their original founders. In Europe, on the other hand, the establishment of hereditary dignities, and of the right of primogeniture, has perpetuated the influence of the first leaders of the people; and, by creating a class whose interests were permanent, has given a degree of durability to human institutions, unknown in any other age or quarter of the globe. Whatever may be said of the vanity of titles, and the unworthy hands into which they frequently descend, it cannot be denied that they have stamped its peculiar character upon European civilisation; that they created the body of nobility who upheld the fabric of society through the stormy periods of anarchy and barbarism, and laid the first foundation of freedom, by forming a class governed by lasting interests, and capable, in every age, of withstanding the efforts of despotic power. Whether the necessity of such a class is now superseded by the extension of knowledge and the more equal diffusion of property, and whether a system of tempered liberty can subsist without an intermediate body interposed between the power of the crown and the ambition of the people, are questions which time alone can resolve, but on which the leaders of the French Revolution had unquestionably no materials to form an opinion.

37. But all these changes, great and important as they were, yielded in importance to the military organisation which at this period took place throughout all France. The progress of the Revolution, the overthrow of the invading armies, the subjugation of the European powers, were mainly owing to the military establishments which sprang up during the first fervour of patriotic exertion. The army of France, under the old government, partook of the aristocratic spirit of the age: the higher grades of military rank were exclusively reserved for the court nobility; and even ordinary commissions were bestowed only on those whose

birth or connexions united them to the favoured class of landed proprietors. The consequences of such an exclusive system, in an age of advancing civilisation, might easily have been anticipated. The privates and non-commissioned officers had no interest in common with their superiors, and, like the parochial clergy, felt their own inclinations coincide with those of the *Tiers Etat*. Hence the rapid and decisive defection of the whole army, the moment that they were brought into collision with the Revolution, and exposed to the contagion of popular enthusiasm. Injudicious changes in the regulation of the household troops had recently introduced extensive dissatisfaction even amongst that favoured body, and furnished a pretext for the revolt of the Guard, which was the immediate cause of the fall of the royal authority.

38. The difficulties experienced by the military in all contests with the populace at this time were so great, that they practically amounted to an entire suspension of the authority of government. The duties of a municipal officer, or of the commander of a fortress, were more appalling than those arising from the most formidable force of regular enemies. In most places the troops, seized with the same muti-

nous spirit as the nation, refused to act against the insurgents, or openly ranged themselves on their side. A handful of mutineers—a despicable rabble—were thus sufficient to make the governor of a citadel tremble: every act of vigour, even in self-defence, came to be considered as a capital crime; and the clamours of the populace were regarded with more alarm than the thunder of the enemy's artillery. It was universally felt, that in all contests between the military and the people, the officers, even if obeyed by their men, ran far greater risks than the mob to whom they were opposed: if not so obeyed, their immediate destruction was inevitable. Hence anarchy was universal in the army, and more formidable than among the people, from the arms and superior discipline which the former possessed. Out of a hundred and twenty battalions and eighty squadrons that M. de Bouillé had under his command in the east of France, he could only reckon on five battalions, all of them composed of foreign troops, as likely in a crisis to support the royal cause.* Mirabeau became fully sensible, when it was too late, of the ruinous consequences of such a distracted state of things, and proposed to remedy it by the proclamation of martial law;

and almost in the arms, of their own soldiers!

"These evils are great, but they are neither the only nor the worst produced by such military insurrections. The nature of things requires that the army should never act except as an instrument. The moment that, erecting itself into a deliberative body, it shall act according to its own resolutions, the government, be it what it may, will immediately degenerate into a military despotism—a species of monster which has always ended by devouring those who produced it."—*See Report*, quoted by BURKE, "*Const.*," *Works*, v. 377.

So far, however, was the king from listening to this sound advice, that, under the influence of his superstitious dread of occasioning the shedding of blood, he sent round circulars to all the regiments of the army, with orders that the soldiers should join several clubs and confederations in the different municipalities, and mix with them in their feasts and civic entertainments. "His Majesty thinks it expedient that each regiment should join in these civic fêtes, for the purpose of confirming the relations and strengthening the bonds between the citizens and the soldiers."—*Ibid.* v. 382.

* M. de la Tour Dupin, minister of war, on the 4th June 1790, gave the following account, in a Report to the Assembly, of the disorders of the army: "His Majesty has this day sent me to apprise you of the multiplied disorders of which every day he receives the most distressing intelligence. The army is threatened with ultra-anarchy. Entire regiments have dared to violate at once the respect due to the laws, to the order established by your decrees, and to the oaths which they have taken with the most awful solemnity. Whilst you are indefatigable in moulding the empire into one coherent and consistent body, the administration of the army exhibits nothing but disturbance and confusion. The bonds of discipline are relaxed or broken—the most unheard-of pretensions are avowed without disguise—the ordinances are without force, the chiefs without authority—the military chest and the colours carried off—the authority of the king himself is proudly defied—the officers are despised, degraded, threatened, or prisoners in the midst of their corps, dragging on a precarious life in the bosom of disgust and humiliation. To fill up the measure of all these horrors, the commandants of places have had their throats cut under the eyes,

but the Assembly, terrified at the very thought of offending the nation, did not venture to adopt so vigorous a step. Shortly after the taking of the Bastille, a new oath was tendered to the soldiers, which bound them never to employ their arms against their fellow-citizens, except on the requisition of the civil authorities. This circumstance, immaterial in itself, became important in its consequences, by accustoming the military to other duties, and the protection of other interests, than those of the sovereign.

39. With extraordinary rapidity the organisation of the national guards, in imitation of that of Paris, was completed over the whole kingdom. The middle classes, everywhere attached to the Revolution, because it promised to remove the disabilities under which they laboured, formed the strength of its battalions; and in a few months three hundred thousand men, enrolled and disciplined in the provinces, were ready to support the popular cause. The influence of this immense body of armed men, great in itself, was increased by the democratic constitution under which it was constructed. Formed in a moment of revolutionary fervour, and during the abeyance of the royal authority, it received no regular organisation from any superior power: the privates elected their own officers, and learned the rudiments of discipline from instructors of their own selection; and these, chosen during a period of extraordinary excitement, were of course the most vehement supporters of the power of the people. Hence the marked and steady adherence of this influential body, through all the changes of the Revolution, to the popular side; and hence the facility with which regular armies were subsequently formed on the same democratic model, on the first call of national danger. The national guard of Paris—thirty thousand strong at ordinary times—under the command of Lafayette, was capable of being increased, by beat of drum, to double that number, all in the highest state of discipline and equipment. But, as usually happens where officers owe their appointment to the privates, his authority became powerless when his

commands ran counter to the wishes of his inferiors. On one occasion he resigned the command, and entered an evening party in the dress of the privates. "What, general!" exclaimed the guests; "we thought you were commander of the national guard."—"Oh!" said he, "I was tired of obeying, and therefore entered the ranks of the privates."*

40. A force, more formidable to the actual administration of government or the magistracy, consisted in a multitude of artisans and manufacturers in all the great towns, armed with pikes, and trained to a certain degree of military discipline. These tumultuous bands, raised in moments of alarm, were always ready for insurrection, and anxious to share in the plunder of the opulent classes. Having nothing to lose themselves, they supported every measure of spoliation and cruelty. The worst of the popular leaders found in them a never-failing support, when the more measured fervour of the national guard was beginning to decline. Their numbers in Paris alone amounted to above fifty thousand; and their power, always great, received an undue preponderance from the disastrous gift from the municipality of two pieces of cannon to each of the forty-eight sections, shortly after the capture of the Bastille. These guns were worked by the ablest and most determined of the populace; the higher ranks all shunned that service, from the fatigue with which it was attended. It thus fell into the hands of the most ardent of the lower, and, from their terrible energy, those cannoniers soon acquired a dreadful celebrity in all the bloodiest tragedies of the Revolution.

41. The agitation of the public mind was, during these changes, increased by the fluctuations which the assignats of the country underwent, and the multitudes whom their progressive depreciation reduced to a state of beggary. Government having once experienced the relief from immediate pressure which paper credit never fails in the

* The author received this anecdote from his late revered and lamented friend, Professor Dugald Stewart, who was present on the occasion.

first instance to afford, speedily returned to the expedient; and fresh issues of assignats, secured upon the church property, appeared upon every successive crisis of finance. Eight hundred millions of new assignats, in addition to the 400,000,000 (£16,000,000) already in circulation, were authorised to be issued by a decree of the Assembly, on 29th September 1790. This was done, notwithstanding the warning voice of Talleyrand, at the instigation of Mirabeau, who clearly perceived what a body of revolutionary interests and proprietors the measure would soon create.

42. M. Talleyrand and the Abbé Maury clearly predicted the fatal consequences which would ensue from this continued issue of assignats to meet the wants of the treasury. "You ask," said they, "why should that paper money be always below the metallic currency? It is because distrust will always exist as to the proportion between its amount and the national domains on which it is secured—because for long their sales will be uncertain—because it is difficult to conceive when two thousand millions (£80,000,000), the value of these domains, will be extinguished—because, silver issuing at par with paper, both will become objects of merchandise; and the more plentiful any merchandise becomes, the more it must decline in price. From this must necessarily result inextricable confusion—the purchase of land for a nominal value—the discharge of debts for an illusory payment—and, in a word, a universal change of property, by a system of spoliation so secret that no one can perceive from whence the stroke that ruins him has come. Consider only the effects of an immoderate issue of paper. Not to speak of a circulation of two thousand millions—for no one probably would support such an absurdity—suppose only that the depreciation became ten per cent. The treasury at that rate will gain ten per cent on the whole debt it owes. Is not that national bankruptcy? And, if it continues and increases, will not all debts be thus depreciated, and creditors ruined? Assignats will become an object of commerce and gambling: you will see them

rise and fall like bank shares; and, ere long, you will see their holders swallow up the debts of the country, its wealth, and the whole national domains."

43. Mirabeau exerted himself to the uttermost to support the issue of assignats, and rested his arguments mainly on its obvious tendency to force on the sales and division of the national domains. "I reckon among the number of enemies to the state—as criminal towards the nation—whoever seeks to shake that sacred basis of our social regeneration—the national domains. We have sworn to maintain and complete the constitution: what is our oath if we do not defend the national domains? There is not a lover of freedom, there is not a true Frenchman, who should not strive for this object. Let the sale of the national domains continue; let it continue over the kingdom, and France is saved. It is in vain to assimilate assignats secured on the solid basis of these domains, to an ordinary paper currency, possessing a forced circulation. They represent real property—the most secure of all possessions, the land on which we tread. Why is a metallic circulation solid? Because it is based on subjects of real and durable value, as the land, which is directly or indirectly the source of all wealth. Paper money, we are told, will become superabundant; it will drive the metallic out of circulation. Of what paper do you speak? If of a paper without a solid basis, undoubtedly; if of one based on the firm foundation of landed property, never. There may be a difference in the value of circulation of different kinds, but that arises as frequently from the one which bears the higher value being run after, as from the one which stands the lower being shunned—from gold being in demand—not paper at a discount. There cannot be a greater error than the terrors so generally prevalent as to the over-issue of assignats. It is thus alone you will pay your debts, pay your troops, advance the Revolution. Re-absorbed progressively in the purchase of the national domains, this paper money can never become redundant, any more than the humidity of the atmosphere

can become excessive, which, descending in rills, finds the rivers, and is at length lost in the mighty ocean."

44. These documents at first bore interest at the rate of four per cent; but this was soon discontinued; notwithstanding which, they for some time maintained their value on a par with the metallic currency. By degrees, however, the increasing issue of paper produced its usual effects on public credit; the value of money fell, while that of every other article rose in a high proportion; and at length the excessive inundation of fictitious currency caused a universal panic, and its value rapidly sunk to a merely nominal ratio. Even in June 1790, the depreciation had become so considerable as to excite serious panic, and the attention of the Assembly was anxiously drawn to the means of allaying it; but as they continually went on issuing fresh assignats, their value, of course, underwent a still greater reduction. Eight or nine per cent was all that could be got, after some years, for these dangerous documents, and in many cases they would hardly pass for one fiftieth of their legal value. So prodigious a change in the state of the circulating medium occasioned an unparalleled fluctuation in the fortunes of individuals, and augmented to an incredible degree the number of those who were ruined by the public convulsions. But it extended in a proportional measure the ramifications of the Revolution through society, by swelling the number of the holders of national property, and thus enlisting a large influential class, by the strong bond of interest, on its side.

45. The 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, approached, and the patriots resolved to signalise it by a fête worthy of the birth of freedom in the greatest of the European states. A confederation of the whole kingdom in the Champ de Mars was resolved on; and there the king, the deputies of the eighty-four departments, the Assembly, and the national guard, were to take the oath to the constitution. Every exertion was made to render the ceremony imposing. For several weeks before, almost the whole labouring population of Paris had been employed in construct-

ing benches in the form of a theatre in that noble plain, for the innumerable spectators who were expected; while the municipality, the national guard, and the deputies of the departments, vied with each other in their endeavours to signalise their appearance on the stage by the utmost possible magnificence. The presence of the monarch, the National Assembly, a hundred thousand armed men, and above four hundred thousand spectators, it was justly supposed, would impress the imagination of a people even less passionately devoted than the French to theatrical effect.

46. Early in the morning of the 14th, all Paris was in motion. Four hundred thousand persons repaired with joyful steps to the Champ de Mars, and seated themselves, amidst songs of congratulation, upon the benches which surrounded the plain. At seven o'clock the procession advanced. The electors, the representatives of the municipality, the presidents of the districts, the national guards, the deputies of the army and of the departments, thirty thousand strong, moved on in order, to the sound of military music, from the site of the Bastille, with banners floating, bearing patriotic inscriptions, and arrayed in varied and gorgeous habiliments. The splendid throng crossed the Seine by a bridge of boats opposite the Ecole Militaire, and entered the amphitheatre under a triumphal arch. They were there met by the king and the National Assembly at the foot of a great altar, erected after the manner of the ancients, in the middle of the plain; at its foot was a model of the Bastille overturned. Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, and two hundred priests, dressed in tricolor robes, celebrated high mass in presence of the assembled multitude; after which Lafayette, as commander-in-chief of the national guards of France, mounted on a superb white charger, advanced and took the oath in the following terms: "We swear to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king; to maintain with all our might the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the king; and to remain united to all the French by the indissoluble bonds of

fraternity." Immediately after, the president of the National Assembly and the king took the oath; and the queen, lifting the dauphin in her arms, pledged herself for his adherence to the same sentiments. Discharges of artillery, the rolling of drums, the shouts of the multitude, and the clashing of arms, rent the skies at the auspicious event, which seemed to reunite the monarch and his subjects by the bonds of affection. But a dreadful storm arose at that instant; the lowering clouds discharged themselves in torrents of rain, and in an instant the innumerable spectators were drenched to the skin. It soon cleared up, however, and in the evening illuminations and festivities prevailed in Paris; and the king, in a concealed calèche, enjoyed the general expression of happiness. A ball took place upon the site of the Bastille; over the gate was this inscription, "Ici on danse." "They danced in effect," says a contemporary writer, "with joy and security, on the same spot where formerly fell so many tears—where courage, genius, and innocence have so often wept—where so often were stifled the cries of despair."

47. These festivities interrupted only for a short period the animosity of the factions against each other. The Duke of Orleans, who had recently returned from his exile in London, was accused before the Assembly soon after, along with Mirabeau, of having conspired to produce the revolt of the 5th October. Never was accusation more ill-timed and unfortunate. At that very moment, Mirabeau, disgusted at the revolutionary proceedings of the Assembly, was secretly lending the aid of his great talents to support the cause of the throne, a course to which he had been inclined ever since the beginning of the year. He had long foreseen the approaching ruin of the state, and had resolved to do his utmost to stem the torrent of those passions he had had so large a share in creating. The Abbé Maury, who took the lead in the impeachment, had become aware, before it came on for debate, that Mirabeau now in secret inclined to the throne, and confessed that the evidence did not warrant any criminal proceedings against that illustri-

ous man; and the fact of his having been accused restored all his popularity, which was beginning to decline. Never did he sway the Assembly with more absolute power than when he ascended the tribune to make his defence. The Assembly quashed the accusation, both against Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans, by adjourning it till the general report of the court at the Châtelet on the proceedings of the 5th October was brought up; but the latter never afterwards regained his reputation, and from that period his influence in the Revolution was at an end.

48. Cazalès, on this occasion, made a noble speech, and for once compelled the Assembly to listen to the words of truth and justice. "Is there one in the Assembly," said he, "who can really wish to screen from justice the authors of a crime which has stained the Revolution, and will be its eternal disgrace? (*Loud murmurs.*) Yes, I repeat it, if the authors of the infamous crimes of 5th October are not discovered, are not punished, what will France say? what will Europe say? The asylum of our kings has been violated, the steps of the throne stained with blood; its defenders murdered: infamous assassins have put in danger the life of the daughter of Maria Theresa, the Queen of the French." "We have no queen!" exclaimed a hundred voices.—"Of that woman," then added Cazalès, "whose name will survive those of the infamous conspirators of October 5th;—they are deputies; they are Frenchmen; they are men: they are stained by that crime. If you adopt the motion, you at least clear yourselves of the stain; it will rest only on its authors. If you reject it, you adopt the infamy; you earn for the National Assembly the odious title of being at once capable of crimes and above punishment."

49. Shortly after M. Necker retired from the ministry. Ill health was assigned as the motive for this step, which was really taken from a sense of declining influence and lost popularity. His own words had proved prophetic; the day of his triumphant entry into Paris had been the first of his decline. He had lived to see the folly of his favou-

rite opinion, that reason, if forcibly stated and blended with sentiment, would in the end sway the most vehement popular bodies. His resignation, couched in eloquent and touching language,* was received in the Assembly without regret; and he set out for Switzerland, unattended and a fugitive, over the route which he had so lately traversed in triumph. He was arrested at Arcis-sur-Aube, and narrowly escaped the fate from which he had so generously saved his enemy M. de Besenval. Permission to continue his journey was coldly conceded by the legislature, which owed its existence and popular constitution to his exertions—a memorable instance of the instability of the applause of the people, but such as must always be looked for in a revolution. Its early promoters are uniformly neglected, when other and more audacious leaders have succeeded; all classes aim at supremacy; its course is always onward. None who have risen by its impulse can long maintain their ascendancy, because, by remaining at the head of affairs, they check the elevation of inferior ambition.

50. The retreat of Necker produced a total change in the ministry. Duport du Tertre was made prime minister, Duportail, de Fleurieu, Lambert, and de Lessart, succeeded to the several offices of government. The first, who had risen from an income of 1000 francs a-year to the rank of prime minister, from the effects of the Revolution, was a zealous partisan of the new order of things, which had done so much for him; and he owed his appointment to the influence of Lafayette. He was intimately connected with Lameth, Barnave, and the leaders of the Revolution, and represented the dominant party in the Assembly. Sincerely desirous to uphold the constitution, such as they had made it, he experienced ere long

the usual difficulty felt by the leaders of a movement at one period, when they attempt to check it at another; and he became in the end the object of the most envenomed hostility to the Jacobins, when they passed the innovators of the Constituent Assembly in the career of revolution. Two of these ministers were destined to perish on the scaffold; one by the sword of revolutionary assassins. The period was fast approaching when eminence in public life was a sure passport to a violent death.

51. The state of the army was soon such as to require the immediate attention of the Assembly. The recent military code was eminently favourable to the inferior officers; the ancient distinctions and privileges of rank were abolished, and seniority was made the sole title to promotion. In proportion as this change was beneficial to the private soldiers, it was obnoxious to their superiors, who found their advancement obstructed by a multitude of competitors from the inferior ranks, from whom they formerly experienced no sort of hindrance. The result was a general jealousy between the privates and their officers. Where the former preponderated, Jacobin clubs, in imitation of those in the metropolis, were formed, and discipline, regulations, and accoutrements, subjected to the discussion of these self-constituted legislators; where the latter, dissatisfaction with the established government generally prevailed. Nowhere had the anarchy risen to a higher pitch than in the garrison of Nancy. It was composed of three regiments, one of which was Swiss, the others French; the proportion of officers in these regiments was much greater than usual in other corps, and they were drawn from a class most hostile to the Revolution. In the Swiss regiment of Chateaufieux, in particular, which had been raised in the country round Lausanne, the fervour of the Revolution was peculiarly violent. It was one of the first regiments of the line which openly declared, on the 14th July 1789, that they would not fire on the people, and thereby occasioned the capture of the Bastille, and overthrow of

* "The enmity and injustice I have experienced have suggested to me the resignation I have just made; but when I couple this thought with my conduct in the administration of the finances, I must be permitted to reckon it among the strange occurrences which I have met with in life."—NECKER's Letter, *Histoire Parlementaire*, vii. 164.

the monarchy.* After a long series of disputes between them and the privates, who, being decided revolutionists, could with difficulty be got to submit to the restraints of discipline, it was found that all subordination was at an end. Many concessions had been made to them, which, as usual, only aggravated the mutiny; and at length they broke out into open revolt, and put their officers under arrest in their own barracks.

52. The Assembly, perceiving the extreme danger of military insubordination in the unsettled state of the public mind, took the most energetic measures to put down the revolt. Mirabeau exerted his powerful voice on the side of order; and BOULLÉ, commander of Metz, received orders to march with the military force under his command against the insurgents. No man could be better qualified for the discharge of this delicate but important duty. In addition to the highest personal courage, he possessed the moral determination which is the invariable characteristic of a great mind. Connected with the aristocratic class by birth, and attached to the throne by principle and affection, M. de Bouillé was yet no enemy to those moderate reforms which all intelligent men felt to be indispensable in the state and the army. He was an enemy to the Revolution, not such as it was, but such as it had become. Firm, intrepid, and sagacious, he was better calculated than any other individual to stem the torrent of disaster; but the time was such that not even the energy of Napoleon could have withstood its fury. Within the sphere of his own command, he maintained inviolate the royal authority: by separating his soldiers from the citizens, he did all that was possible, and that was but little, to preserve them from the contagion of revolutionary

principles; while at the same time, by the natural ascendant of a great character, he retained their affections. For long he declined the new military oath, to be faithful "to the nation, to the law, and to the king;" at length, moved by the entreaties of Louis, he agreed to take it, in the hope of preventing the latter part from being entirely forgotten in the first.

53. Never was a more difficult task committed to a general than that now devolved on Bouillé; for he had, with a small band of foreign mercenaries, to suppress a revolt of troops ten times as numerous, composed of native soldiers, supported by the wishes of the whole inhabitants of the provinces in which they were placed. Out of the ninety battalions which he was empowered to collect, he could only reckon on twenty, and they were all Swiss or German troops; and though more than half of the hundred and four squadrons he commanded were faithful, yet they were cantoned, for the sake of forage, in villages at a great distance from each other, and could not be drawn together without exciting suspicion, and probably extending the revolt. The king, as in all other cases, had enjoined force not to be employed except in the last extremity, when it could not by any possibility be avoided.† Nevertheless, immediate steps were necessary, for the revolt at Nancy was daily attracting numbers to the standard of mutiny and plunder. Four French and two Swiss battalions, and some regiments of horse, had already joined it; four thousand men had flocked in from the vicinity, and were armed by the pillage of the arsenals, which had been broken open; the military chests had been plundered; every sort of excess perpetrated; and, by threats of instantly hanging the magistrates in case of refusal, and the general sack of the town, they had succeeded in extorting first 27,000 francs (£1100), and then 150,000 (£6000), from

* "This regiment of Châteauneuf was deservedly dear to the army and to France. It was this regiment which, encamped in the Champ de Mars on the 14th of July, when the Parisians went to seize the arms in the Invalides, declared that it would never fire on the people. Its refusal evidently paralysed Bessaulx, and left Paris free and ready to march upon the Bastille."—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 270.

† "The king desired that violence should not be used, unless when in extremity; the departments found themselves compelled to have recourse to it."—LA TOUR DU PIN, *Minister of War*, to M. DE BOULLE, 24th Aug. 1790; BOULLE, 142.

the municipality; the immediate spending of which in debauchery had procured for them the unanimous support of the lower orders of the people.

54. Bouillé's first care was to secure, by small garrisons on whom he could rely, the fortresses of Bitch, Phalsbourg, and Vic; and at the same time he sent M. de Malseigne to Nancy, armed with the decree of the Assembly, in order to endeavour to prevail on the soldiers to return to their duty, and also to inquire into their alleged grievances. The soldiers and people, however, intoxicated with their success, laughed at his speech, and trampled under foot the decree of the Assembly, fiercely exclaiming, "Money! money!" The Swiss were particularly loud in this demand; and to such a height did their violence proceed, that it was only by a great exertion of personal strength and courage, and with no small difficulty, that M. de Malseigne escaped death at their hands, and got off to Lunéville, where a regiment of carbiniers afforded him protection. Upon hearing of this, M. de Bouillé instantly collected the few troops nearest at hand on whom he could rely, and marched on Nancy at the head of three thousand infantry and fourteen hundred horse. He found the town, which was slightly fortified, occupied by ten thousand regular troops and national guards, with eighteen pieces of cannon; but, not intimidated by this great superiority, he forthwith summoned the rebels to leave the town, deliver up their guns, and four ringleaders from each regiment, and submit—threatening them, at the same time, with instant attack in case of refusal. This vigour produced a great impression, as Bouillé's character, at once humane and firm, was well known to the soldiers; a deputation waited on him to state the proposals of the rebels, but their terms were so extravagant and their manners so insolent, that he deemed them wholly inadmissible, and prepared for an immediate attack.

55. When Bouillé's men approached the gates of Nancy, they were met by a deputation, which promised, on the part of the mutineers, immediate submission; and a convention was entered

into, in virtue of which the officers in confinement were liberated, and one of the regiments began to defile out of the town. But a quarrel arose between Bouillé's advanced guard and some of the mutineers, who insisted upon having their colours and defending the town, and they turned a gun, loaded with grape, on the entering column. Instantly a noble youth, M. Desilles, an officer in the regiment which had mutinied, but who had remained with it to moderate the excesses of the soldiers, placed himself across the mouth of the cannon, exclaiming, "They are your friends,—they are your brothers; the National Assembly sends them: would you dishonour the regiment of the king?" This heroic conduct had no effect on the mutineers; they dragged him from the mouth of the gun—he returned and clasped it by the touch-hole, upon which he was pierced with bayonets, and the gun discharged. Fifty of Bouillé's men were struck down by the discharge, and a conflict began. But mutineers, though superior in number, are seldom able to resist the attack of soldiers acting in their duty. Bouillé's columns penetrated into the town; the regiment of the king, wavering, retired at the solicitation of its officers to the front of its barracks, and soon capitulated; and the remainder of the rebels, driven from one street to another, were obliged to surrender, after a resistance which cost them three hundred killed and wounded. The victorious general and troops signalled their triumph by their clemency; but the inflexible probity of the Swiss government condemned twenty-two of the regiment of Châteaueux to death, and fifty-four to the galleys, which sentence was rigidly executed. Very different was the conduct of the National Assembly. A hundred and eighty of the French mutineers, and three hundred national guards, were taken with arms in their hands; they were all pardoned by the French legislature, and soon paraded through the streets of Paris in triumph by the Jacobins; while Bouillé, whose firmness and humanity had shone forth with equal lustre on this trying occasion, became the object of secret terror

and open hostility to the whole Revolutionary party.

56. The rapid and decisive suppression of this revolt excited the utmost sensation among the Jacobins of Paris; they dreaded, above all things, the demonstration of the ease with which a formidable revolutionary movement could be arrested by the decision of a general, supported by the fidelity of a small body of soldiers. Indefatigable, accordingly, were the efforts they made to excite the public mind on the subject, and, if possible, effect the overthrow of the ministry which had sanctioned, however remotely, so unwonted and alarming an act of vigour. "It is the despotism of the aristocracy," said Robespierre, "which has made use of the army to provoke a massacre of soldiers whose patriotism was their only fault." The massacre of Nancy, the cruelty of Bouillé, were in every mouth; inflammatory addresses were hawked in every street. Marat, in his journal, thundered out against the government; the victorious general was held up to universal execration. Forty thousand men speedily surrounded the hall of the Assembly, loudly demanding the dismissal of the ministers, and the punishment of La Tour Dupin. But the national guard for once stood firm: the Assembly had too clear a sense of the dangers they had escaped, by the suppression of this revolt, to be diverted from their purpose; and they voted, by a large majority, the thanks of the legislature to M. de Bouillé, the troops of the line, and the national guards, who had been concerned in the suppression of the revolt. Mirabeau even went so far as to propose a decree disbanding the whole existing army, and readmitting into its ranks only such as should take the oath of implicit obedience prepared by the Assembly. But although this proposal was loudly applauded, yet its execution was evaded by an amendment to refer that matter to the committee which was already charged with a report on the internal organisation of the army, and this caused it eventually to fall to the ground.

57. This explosion at Nancy was but a manifestation of the general spirit of

insubordination which had now penetrated every part of France, and pervaded equally the army, the navy, the towns, and the provinces. A reaction against the Revolution had arisen, from its evident tendency to destroy all local jurisdictions and authorities in the provinces: the confiscation of the property of the church had excited profound feelings of indignation among that portion of the people, still a large one in the rural districts, which adhered to the faith of their fathers. The dissolution of the bonds of discipline, and the removal of the restraint of authority, had let loose at once the angry, the revengeful, and the selfish passions among the community. At Nîmes, a fearful contest took place between the Protestants and Catholics, the former supported by the Revolutionists, the latter by the church party; and the popular magistrates, as usual, did nothing to resist the multitude. The disorders continued through May and June, and were only at last suppressed after fresh numbers of lives had been lost on both sides, the red flag hoisted, and martial law proclaimed. At Brest, the sailors on board the ships of war, indignant at the naval code prepared by the Assembly, which trenched on the license they had arrogated to themselves during the Revolution, broke out into a most alarming mutiny, which was only allayed by the Assembly conceding the principal demands of the insurgents. An insurrection at Toulon led to the same result: at Toulouse, a frightful civil war was only arrested by the firmness of the magistrates, who there did their duty; at Marseilles, a ferocious mob fell on an officer named de Beausset, who was labouring to discharge his duty, cut off his head, and tore his body in pieces, which were divided among his assassins: at Montauban, six men were killed, and forty-five wounded; the heads of the dead were paraded on pikes, the wounded dragged, bleeding as they were, in triumph through the streets: at Angers, eight men were killed, and forty-five wounded, during a tumult occasioned by the high prices of provisions. It is painful to dwell further on such atro-

cities; they are to be met with, alas! in too many pages of history; but at this time, the peculiar disgrace attached to the revolutionary government and authorities, that scarce any of the guilty parties were either inquired after or brought to punishment. The only persons really endangered were those who bravely discharged their duty.

58. But all these disorders were thrown into the shade by those which arose from the oppression which the Assembly soon after exercised on the church. On 27th November 1790, an iniquitous decree was passed by this body, ordering that the same oath should be tendered to the ecclesiastics which had been prescribed for the military—viz., "To be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king;" with this addition, "and to maintain, with all their power, the constitution decreed by the National Assembly, and accepted by the king." In case of refusal, it was enacted that they should be held to have renounced their benefices, which were immediately to be filled up in the mode prescribed by the civil constitution of the church. Eight days only were allowed to the resident, and two months to the absent clergy, to testify their adherence. A large part of the bishops and curés in the Assembly refused the oath, and their example was followed by the great majority of the clergy throughout France—a memorable example of conscientious discharge of duty, which might have opened the eyes of the Assembly to the impolicy, as well as injustice, of carrying on any further persecution against this important class. Such, however, was the spirit of the times, that their refusal was universally ascribed to the most factious motives, and immediately followed by the confiscation of their livings. The faithful clergy, threatened by this cruel measure with destitution, filled the kingdom with their complaints, and excited, in those districts where their influence still remained, the strongest commiseration at their approaching fate. These feelings were greatly aggravated when the parochial incumbents were actually expelled from their livings. The people

beheld with indignation new churchmen filling the vacant pulpits, and administering, with unconsecrated hands, the holiest offices of religion. The dispossessed clergy still lingered in their dioceses or livings, subsisting on the charity of their former flocks, and denouncing as impious the ordinances and proceedings of the intrusive ministers. Inflamed with resentment at their proceedings, the Assembly at length fixed a day for the adherence of all the clergy in France, and upon its expiry the decree of forfeiture was universally and rigorously enforced. Mirabeau in vain raised his voice against this tyrannical step; the dictates of justice, the feelings of humanity, even the attachments of the rural population, were alike drowned by the clamours of the populace in the larger towns.

59. In this extremity, and when the adherence of the ecclesiastics to the oath, or the sacrifice of their benefices, was unavoidable, the clergy, dignified and ordinary, of France, evinced a disinterested spirit and grandeur of character worthy of the illustrious church to which they belonged, and which almost make us forget the previous corruptions which had been instrumental in producing the Revolution. The Pope had expressly refused his sanction to the civil constitution of the clergy, as established by the Assembly, and written to two of the bishops to that effect. In addition to this, a consistory had been held of the whole bishops in France, by whom it was, by a large majority, agreed—one archbishop and four bishops only dissenting*—that they would not take the oath to be faithful to the constitution, as it vested the whole nomination of priests and bishops in a simple numerical majority of their several parishes or dioceses, to the entire exclusion of the appointment or control of the church. It had become, therefore, a matter of conscience with the clergy to refuse the oath.

60. Cazalès, in this contest, animated by the greatness of the cause he was

* Talleyrand, the Bishops of Lidda, Orleans, and Vivier, and the Archbishop of Aix.

defending, rose to the highest pitch of eloquence, and pronounced a speech which proved to be prophetic. "The clergy, in conformity with the principles of their religion, are compelled to refuse the oath. You may expel them from their benefices; but will that destroy their influence over their flocks? Do you doubt that the bishops, driven from their stations, will excommunicate those who are put in their place? Do you doubt that a large part of the faithful will remain attached to their ancient pastors!—to the eternal principles of the church? There is a schism introduced, the quarrels of religion commence: the people will come to doubt the validity of the sacraments; they will fear to see disappear from the land that sublime religion which, receiving man in the cradle, and following him to the grave, can alone offer him consolations amidst the vicissitudes of life. Thus will commence the division of the people, the multiplication of the victims of the Revolution. You will see the Catholics, over the whole country, following their beloved pastors amidst forests and caverns: you will see them reduced to the misery and desolation which the Protestant clergy experienced on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Is that a result to be desired of a Revolution which proclaimed peace on earth, good-will towards men? Driven from their episcopal palaces, the bishops will retire to the huts of the cottagers who have sheltered them in their distress. Take from them their golden crosses, and they will find others of wood; and it was by a cross of wood that the world was saved."

61. When the fatal day arrived, fixed for the final taking of the oath by the bishops and dignified clergy in the Assembly, a furious multitude surrounded the hall, exclaiming, "To the *lanterne*! to the *lanterne* with all who refuse!" The Abbé Maury raised his powerful voice in the last extremity, but he was interrupted by incessant cries. "Strike, but hear me!" exclaimed the intrepid champion of the church; but it was all in vain. "Swear! swear!" resounded on all sides; and the grey-haired heads

of the French church came forth. The Bishop of Agen was the first called: he had never before spoken in the Assembly, and it was with great difficulty he could obtain a hearing. "Swear or refuse!" was the universal cry of the galleries. "I feel no regret," said he, "at the loss of my preferment; I feel no regret for the loss of my fortune; but I should feel regret, indeed, if I lost your esteem: believe me, then, I cannot take the oath." M. Fournes was next called. "I glory," said he, "in following my bishop, as St Lawrence did his pastor." Le Clerc was the third named. "I am a member," said he, "of the Apostolic church." "Swear or refuse!" said Roderer, in a voice almost hoarse with fury. "This is tyranny indeed!" exclaimed Foucault; "the emperors who persecuted the Christian martyrs allowed them to pronounce the name of God, and testify, in dying, their faith in their religion." The Bishop of Poitiers then presented himself. "I am seventy years old," said he; "I have passed thirty-five years in my bishopric; I will not dishonour my old age; I cannot take an oath against my conscience." "Say yes or no." "I prefer, then, living in poverty, and will accept my lot in the spirit of penitence." Only one curé, named Landrin, took the oath; even the hundred and eighteen who had first given victory to the Tiers Etat, by joining their ranks, held back. At length the President said—"For the last time I call on the bishops and ecclesiastical functionaries to come forward, and take the oath, in terms of the decree." A quarter of an hour of dead silence ensued, during which no one appeared, and the meeting adjourned. Such was the last public act of the church of France, and never certainly did it more worthily evince the divine spirit of its faith.

62. From these measures may be traced the violent animosity of the French church against the Revolution, and to this cause ascribed the irreligious spirit which in so remarkable a manner characterised its progress. The clergy, being the first class who suffered under the violence of popular spoliation, were the first to raise their voice against its

proceedings, and to rouse a portion of the nation to resist its progress; hence the contending parties began to mingle religious rancour with civil dissension. In the cities, in the departments, the people were divided between the refractory and the revolutionary clergy: the faithful deemed none of the exercises of religion duly performed but by the dispossessed ministers; the democrats looked upon these nonjuring ecclesiastics as fanatics, alike inaccessible to reason and dangerous to society. The clergy who refused the oath composed the most respectable part of this body, as might have been expected from men who relinquished rank and fortune for the sake of conscience. Those who accepted it were in part demagogues, whose principles readily succumbed to their ambition. The former influenced a large portion of the community, especially in the remote and rural districts; the latter were followed by the most influential part of the inhabitants, the young, the active, the ambitious. In this way the Revolution split the kingdom into two parties, who have never ceased to be strongly exasperated against each other: the one, those who adhered to the religious observances of their fathers; the other, those who opposed them. The latter have proved victorious in the strife, at least in France itself; and the consequence has been, that irreligion has since prevailed in France to an extent unparalleled in any Christian state.

63. This iniquitous measure was speedily followed by another, equally alluring in appearance, and attended in the end by consequences to public freedom fully as disastrous—the abolition of the right of primogeniture, and establishment of the right of equal succession to landed property to the nearest of kin, whether in the descending, ascending, or collateral line, without any regard either to the distinction of the sexes, or of the full and the half blood.* This prodigious change, which laid the axe to the root of the aristocracy, and

indeed of the whole class of considerable landed proprietors in the kingdom, by providing for the division of their estates, on their decease, among all their relations in an equal degree of consanguinity, was at the moment so agreeable to the levelling spirit of the times that it met with very little opposition, and proved so acceptable to the revolutionary party throughout the kingdom that it survived all the other changes of the government, and remains the common law of inheritance in France at this hour. Napoleon was compelled to adopt it, under a slight modification, into the code which bears his name; and though fully aware of its dangerous tendency in extinguishing the aristocratic class, who were the only permanent supporters of the throne, or the cause of order, he never felt himself strong enough to propose its repeal. Other changes introduced by the French Revolution have produced consequences more immediately disastrous, none so ultimately fatal to the cause of freedom. It provided for the slow but certain extinction of that grand and characteristic feature of European civilisation, a hereditary and independent body of landed proprietors; removed the barrier which alone has been proved by experience to be permanently adequate to resist the ambition of the commons, or the tyranny of the crown; and left the nation no elements but the burghers in the towns, and the poor and helpless peasants in the country, to resist the encroachments of the central power in the capital, armed, by the shortsighted ambition of the popular party, with almost all the powers in the state.

64. About the same period, the clubs of Paris began to assume that formidable influence which they subsequently exercised in the Revolution. They consisted merely of voluntary associations of individuals who met to discuss public affairs; but, from the number and talent of their members, they soon became of great importance. The most powerful of these was the famous club of the JACOBINS, which, after the translation of the Assembly to Paris, rapidly extended its ramifications through the provinces, and by the admission of every

* See chap. XXXV. § 91 *et seq.*, where a full account is given of the Law of Succession introduced on this occasion, and subsequently adopted in the Code Napoleon.

citizen, indiscriminately, became the great focus of revolutionary principles. The moderate party, to counterbalance its influence, established a new club, entitled the Club of 1789, at the head of which were Siéyes, Chapelier, Lafayette, and La Rochefoucauld. The latter at first prevailed in the Assembly; the former was the favourite of the people. But as the tendency of all public convulsions is to run into extremes, from the incessant efforts of the lower classes to dispossess their superiors, and of the latter to recover their authority, the moderate club soon fell into obscurity; while the Jacobins went on, increasing in number and energy, until at length it overturned the government, and sent forth the sanguinary despots who established the Reign of Terror. The Royalists in vain endeavoured to establish clubs as a counterpoise to these assemblies. Their influence was too inconsiderable, their numbers too small, to keep alive the flame; the leaders of their party had gone into exile—those who remained laboured under the depression incident to a declining cause. A club entitled *Le Monarchique* had some success at its first opening; but its numbers gradually fell off, and it at length was closed by the municipal authority, under pretence of putting an end to the seditious assemblages which it occasioned among the people.

65. The increasing emigration of the noblesse augmented the distrust and suspicions of the nation. It was openly announced at the Jacobin club that the king was about to fly from Paris. The departure of the Princesses Adelaide and Victoria, aunts of the king, who had set out for Rome, gave rise to a rumour that the whole royal family were about to depart; and to such a height did the public anxiety rise, that the mob forcibly prevented a visit to St Cloud, which the king, whose health was now seriously impaired by his long confinement in the Tuilleries, was desirous to make. Lafayette, who wished to prove the personal liberty of the monarch, endeavoured in vain to prevail on his guards to allow him to depart; his orders were disobeyed by his own troops, and openly derided by

the assembled multitude: "Hold your tongue!" they exclaimed; "the king shall not go." The popularity of this once adored leader was already gone, in consequence of a vigorous and successful attack which he had made, on the 28th February, on a body of rioters who had issued from the Faubourg St Antoine, and were beginning to demolish the castle of Vincennes. Disgusted at his want of success with the troops, he resigned the command of the national guard, and was only prevailed on to resume it by the earnest entreaties of the whole regiments of Paris. The Assembly, alarmed at the possibility of the king's escaping, passed a decree, declaring that the person of the king was inviolable; that the constitutional regent should be the nearest male heir of the crown; and that the flight of the monarch should be equivalent to his dethronement.

66. The emigration of the nobility, however, meanwhile continued with unabated violence. The heads of the first families in France repaired to Coblenz, where a large body of emigrants was assembled; no disguise was attempted of their destination; several young noblemen, on leaving the opera, ordered their coachmen to drive to that city. The fever of departure became so general, that the roads leading to the Rhine were crowded with elegant equipages, conveying away those who had hitherto remained of the noble families of France. They did not, as in the time of the Crusades, sell their estates, but abandoned them to the first occupant, trusting soon to regain them by the sword. Vain hope! The Assembly confiscated their properties; the republican armies vanquished their battalions; and the nobility of France for ever lost their inheritances. Vain, frivolous, and self-sufficient, the aristocracy at Coblenz had not laid aside their character when they left their country; their vices were at least as conspicuous in exile as their misfortunes; and, declining to avail themselves of the only aid which could have retrieved their fortunes, they refused all offers of assistance from the middle ranks of society. They were estimable

only from the generosity with which they adhered in its misfortunes to the throne, even when occupied by a monarch who had done more than any of his predecessors to humble it in the dust. But they had not the capacity requisite for an efficient struggle.* The Prince of Condé, at the head of a brave band, stationed himself on the Upper Rhine, strangers to the intrigues that were going on, but determined to regain their rights by the sword.*

67. This general defection, which was magnified in the revolutionary journals, produced so great an impression that the two royal princesses were arrested on their journey towards Switzerland, and the Assembly felt the utmost difficulty at allowing them to proceed. Mirabeau, who was now secretly inclined to the royal party, raised his powerful voice to facilitate their departure. "An imperious law," exclaimed the Jacobins, "forbids their departure."—"What law?" said Mirabeau. "The safety of the people!"

* The best defence of the emigrants that has ever been made, is that by Chateaubriand in his *Memoirs*: "A worthy foreigner by his fire, in a tranquil state, sure of rising in the morning as safe as he went to bed in the evening, in secure possession of his fortune, with his door well barred, surrounded by friends within and without, will find it no difficult matter to prove, while he drinks a good glass of wine, that the French emigrants were in the wrong, and that an upright citizen should in no extremity desert his country. It is not surprising that he arrives at such a conclusion. He is at ease—no one thinks of persecuting him: he is in no danger of being insulted, murdered, or burned in his house, because his ancestor was noble—his conclusions are easily formed. It belongs only to misfortune to judge of misfortune; the hardened heart of prosperity cannot enter into the delicate feelings of adversity. If we consider calmly what the emigrants have suffered in France, where is the man now at his ease who can lay his hand on his heart and say, 'I would not have acted as they did'? The persecution commenced everywhere at the same time in all its parts, and it is a mistake to suppose that difference of political opinion alone was its cause. Were you the warmest democrat, the most burning patriot, it was enough that you bore a historic name to subject you to the risk of being prosecuted, burned, or hanged, as is proved by the example of Lameth and many others, whose properties were laid waste, notwithstanding their ardour in defence of the people in the Constituent Assembly."—CHATEAUBRIAND'S *Memoirs*, "Fragments," p. 78.

replied Lameth.—"The safety of the people!" rejoined Mirabeau; "as if two princesses, advanced in years, tormented by the fears of their consciences, would compromise it by their absence or their opposition! The safety of the people! I expected to have heard these words invoked for serious dangers: since you act as tyrants in the name of freedom, who will hereafter trust your assurance!"—"Europe will be surprised to learn," said the Baron de Menou, "that the Assembly has been occupied during two hours with the journey of two old ladies, who prefer hearing the mass at Rome to doing so at Paris." The ridicule of the thing at length prevailed over the fears of the democrats, and the two princesses were allowed to continue their journey without further interruption.

68. These discussions were but the prelude to the great question of the law against the emigrants, which now occupied the attention, not only of the Assembly, but of all the clubs in France.

Admitting the caustic eloquence of these remarks, the British historian cannot allow their justice. The example of the nobility of his own country, in the disastrous days which succeeded the passing of the Reform Bill, has furnished him with a decisive refutation of them. The flames of Bristol and Nottingham proved that danger had reached their dwellings as well as those of the French noblesse; and if they had in consequence deserted their country, and leagued with the stranger, it is hardly doubtful that similar excesses would have laid waste the whole fair realm of England. They did not do so: they remained at home, braving every danger, enduring every insult, and who can over-estimate the influence of such moral courage in mitigating the evils which then so evidently threatened their country? The general massacres in France did not begin till after the 10th August 1792; and yet the whole nobility had emigrated, and were assembled in menacing crowds at Coblenz, before the end of 1791. Previous to this there had, indeed, been a vast catalogue of frightful rural disorders, immediately consequent on the abandonment of the feudal rights in August 1789; but these excesses had been of short duration, and the two last years of the Constituent Assembly had been comparatively calm and tranquil. Their emigration was excusable in the autumn of 1789—it was no longer so in the autumn of 1791; and the frightful exasperation of parties which followed may, in a great measure, be traced to that culpable desertion of their first patriotic duties, and unhappy union with foreign armies for the invasion of their country.

The project of the law introduced by Chapelier, it is said with the humane design of preventing its adoption, was marked by undisguised severity. It authorised a committee of three persons to pronounce upon refractory emigrants the sentence of outlawry and confiscation. A general horror pervaded the Assembly at the cruel proposal, and Mirabeau, taking a skilful advantage of the first impression, succeeded in preventing its adoption. Never was his eloquence more powerful, or his influence more strongly displayed, than on that occasion, the last on which he ever addressed that body. "The sensation which the project of this law has excited," said he, "proves that it is worthy of a place in the code of Draco, and that it should never be received into the decrees of the National Assembly of France. It is high time you should be undeceived; if you or your successors should ever give way to the violent counsels by which you are now beset, the law which you now spurn will come to be regarded as an act of clemency. In the bloody pages of your statute-book, the word DEATH will everywhere be found; your mouths will never cease to pronounce that terrible word; your statutes, while they spread dismay within the kingdom, will chase to foreign shores all who give lustre to the name of France; and your execrable enactments will find subjects for execution only among the poor, the aged, and the unfortunate. For my own part, far from subscribing to such atrocious measures, I should conceive myself absolved from every oath of fidelity to those who could carry their infamy so far as to name such a dictatorial commission. Your murmurs are unavailing: to please you is my happiness; to warn you, my duty: the popularity which I desire is not a feeble twig, fanned by the breath of momentary favour; it is an oak, whose roots are spread in the soil—that is to say, fixed on the immutable basis of justice and liberty. I understand the vexation of those who, now so ardent, or rather so perfidious, in their love of freedom, would be puzzled to tell when it arose in their bosoms." These last words excited a

violent murmur among the Jacobins. "Silence those thirty voices!" said Mirabeau in a voice of thunder, and the hall was instantly silent.

69. With such prophetic truth did this able man foresee the result of the violent counsels and angry passions which were now beginning to characterise the career of the Revolution. He plainly perceived that his popularity was on the wane, not because his eloquence was less powerful, his arguments less cogent, his energy less commanding, than when he reigned the lord of the ascendant, but because he no longer headed the popular movement, and now strove to master the passions he had excited among the people. The failure of the Duke of Orleans to take advantage of the revolt of 6th October, had entirely alienated him from that pusillanimous leader, and he sighed for the offices and favour of the court. Already the cry had been heard in the streets, "Grande trahison du Comte Mirabeau," and the populace followed the career of less able but more reckless leaders. Disgusted with the fickleness of the multitude, and foreseeing the sanguinary excesses to which they were fast approaching, he had, since the beginning of February, made secret advances to the constitutional party, and entered into correspondence with the king, for the purpose of restraining the further progress of the Revolution.* He received for a short time a pension of 20,000 francs, or £800 a-month, first from the Count d'Artois, and afterwards from the king; but it was not continued till the time of his death, from its being found that he was not so pliant as the court party expected. He was even honoured with a private interview with the queen in the gardens

* In the beginning of February he opened these communications by the following note to M. Malouet, one of the king's ministers: "I am more of your way of thinking than you imagine; and whatever may be your opinion of me, mine of you has never varied. It is time for men of sense to draw together and understand each other. Would you object to meet me at the house of one of your friends, M. de Montmorin? Let me know the day, provided you make it after the evening sitting." — BERTRAND DE MOLLEVILLE, iv. 174.

of St Cloud, who was with reason most anxious to secure his great abilities in defence of the throne.* Her fascinating manner secured his unsteady affections, while the royal bounty provided the supplies for his extravagance. His style of life suddenly changed; magnificent entertainments succeeded each other in endless profusion, and his house resembled rather the hotel of a powerful minister, than that of the leader of a fierce democracy. Yet mere venality was not the motive for this great change: he allied himself to the court, partly because he saw it was the only way to stop the progress of the Revolution; he took their pensions, because he regarded himself as their minister to govern the Assembly; and he would have rejected with disdain any proposition to undertake what was unworthy of his character. His design was to support the throne, and consolidate the constitution, by putting a stop to the encroachments of the people. With this view, he proposed to establish, in reality and not in name, the royal authority; to dissolve the Assembly, and reassemble a new one; restore the nobility, and form a constitution as nearly as possible on the English model—a wise and generous object, entertained at different times by all the best friends of freedom in France, but which none were able to accomplish, from the flight of the great and powerful body by whom it should have been supported.

70. The plan of Mirabeau was to facilitate the escape of the king from Paris to Compiègne, or Fontainebleau; that he should there place himself under the guidance of the able and intrepid M. de Bouillé, assemble a royal army, call to his support the remaining friends of order, and openly employ force to stem the torrent. He pledged himself for the immediate support of thirty

* So charmed was Mirabeau with the queen's manner, that he took leave of her with these words: "'Madam, when your august mother admitted one of her subjects to the honour of an interview, she never dismissed him without giving him her hand to kiss.' The queen held out hers. Mirabeau stooped over it: then raising his head, he exclaimed in an accent full of heart and pride, 'Madam, the monarchy is saved.'"—CAMPAN, ii. 127; and WEBER, ii. 37.

departments, and the ultimate adhesion of thirty-six more. Between the contending parties, he ~~scattered~~ ^{positioned} himself he should be able to act as mediator, and ~~restore~~ ^{rescue} the monarchy to the consideration it had lost, by founding it on the basis of constitutional freedom. "I would not wish," said he, in a letter to the king, "to be always employed in the vast work of destruction;" and, in truth, his ambition was now to repair the havoc which he himself had made in the social system. He was strongly impressed with the idea, which was in all probability well founded, that if the king could be brought to put himself at the head of the constitutional party, and resist the further progress of democracy, the country might yet be saved. "You know not," said he, "to what a degree France is still attached to the king, and that its ideas are still essentially monarchical. The moment the king recovers his freedom, the Assembly will be reduced to nothing: it is a colossus with the aid of his name; without it, it would be a mountain of sand. There will be some movements at the Palais Royal, and that will be all. Should Lafayette attempt to play the part of Washington, at the head of the national guard, he will speedily, and deservedly, perish." He relied upon the influence of the clergy, who were now openly committed against the Revolution, with the rural population, and on the energy and intrepidity of the queen, as sufficient to counterbalance all the consequences of the vacillation of the king. But, in the midst of these magnificent designs, he was cut off by death. A constitution naturally strong sank under the accumulated pressure of ambition, excitement, and excessive indulgence.

71. His death, albeit that of a sceptic, had something in it sublime. He was no stranger to his approaching dissolution; but, far from being intimidated by the prospect, he gloried in the name he was to leave. Hearing the cannon discharge upon some public event, he exclaimed, "I already hear the funeral obsequies of Achilles—after my death, the factions will tear to shreds the remnants of the monarchy." His sufferings

were severe at the close of his illness : at one period, when the power of speech was gone, he wrote on a slip of paper the words of Hamlet, "To die is to sleep." "When a sick man is given over, and he suffers frightful pains, can a friendly physician refuse to give him opium?" "My pains are insupportable; I have an age of strength, but not an instant of courage." A few hours before his death, the commencement of mortification relieved his sufferings. "Remove from the bed," said he, "all that sad apparatus. Instead of these useless precautions, surround me with the perfumes and the flowers of spring; dress my hair with care; let me fall asleep amidst the sound of harmonious music." He then spoke for ten minutes with such vivid and touching eloquence, that every one in the room was melted into tears. "When I am no more," said he, "my worth will become known. The misfortunes which I have held back will then pour on all sides upon France; the criminal faction which now trembles before me will be unbridled. I have before my eyes unbounded presentiments of disaster. We now see how much we erred in not preventing the commons from assuming the name of the National Assembly; since they gained that victory, they have never ceased to show themselves unworthy of it. They have chosen to govern the king, instead of governing by him; but soon neither he nor they will rule the country, but a vile faction, which will overspread it with horrors." A spasm, attended with violent convulsions, having returned, he again asked for laudanum. "When nature," said he, "has abandoned an unhappy victim, when a miracle only could save his life, how can you have the barbarity to let him expire on the wheel?" His feet were already cold, but his countenance still retained its animation, his eye its wonted fire, as if death spared to the last the abode of so much genius. Feigning to comply, they gave him a cup, containing what they assured him was laudanum. He calmly drank it off, fell back on his pillow, and expired.

72. Such was the end of Mirabeau, the first master-spirit who arose amidst

the troubles of the Revolution. He was upwards of forty years of age when he entered public life; but his reputation was already great at the opening of the States-General, and he was looked to as the tribune who was to support the cause of the people against the violence of the crown. Endowed with splendid talents, but impelled by insatiable ambition; gifted with a clear intellect, but the prey of inordinate passions; sagacious in the perception of truth, but indifferent as to the means by which distinction was to be acquired; without great information derived from study, but with an unrivalled power of turning what he possessed to the best account; bold in design, but reckless of purpose—he affords a memorable example of the inefficacy of mere intellectual power and resolution to supply the want of moral, or to make up for the absence of religious feeling. He was too impetuous to make himself master of any subject; studied nothing profoundly, and owed almost all the writings to which his name was attached, and many of the speeches which he delivered, to Dumont and Duroverai, who aided him in his herculean labours. His chief talent consisted in a strong and ardent imagination, a nervous elocution, and an unrivalled power of discerning at once the spirit of the assembly which he was addressing, and applying the whole force of his mind to the point from which the resistance proceeded. Great as his influence was in the Assembly, it was less than it would have been, but for the consequences of his irregular life; and the general belief entertained of his want of principle made the league with the court, in the close of his career, be ascribed to venal, when it was rather owing to patriotic motives. His inordinate passions cut him short in the most splendid period of his career—in the vigour of his talents, and the zenith of his power, when he was about to undertake the glorious task of healing the wounds of the Revolution. His primary object was to acquire distinction: he espoused at first the popular side, because it offered the fairest chance of gaining celebrity; he was prepared at last to leave it, when

he found the gales of popular favour inclining to others more sanguinary, and less enlightened than himself.

73. His death was felt by all as a public calamity: by the people, because he had been the early leader and intrepid champion of freedom; by the royalists, because they trusted to his support against the violence of the democratic party. All Paris assembled at his funeral obsequies, which were celebrated with extraordinary pomp by torchlight, amidst the tears of innumerable spectators. Twenty thousand national guards, and delegates from all the sections of Paris, accompanied the corpse to the Pantheon, where it was placed by the remains of Descartes. The coffin was borne by the grenadiers of the battalion of La Grange-Batelière, which he commanded: deputations from the sixty battalions of the national guard of Paris, with Lafayette at their head, joined in the procession. The church of St Genevieve was hung with black, and the body lowered into the grave at midnight amidst volleys of musketry. The bones of Voltaire, and subsequently those of Rousseau, were soon after removed to the same cemetery, over the noble portico of which were inscribed the words—"Aux Grandes Ames la Patrie Reconnoissance."

74. The literary and philosophical characters in Paris, who had done so much to urge on the tempest of democracy, were now fully sensible of the ungovernable nature of the power which they had excited. Volney, long one of Mirabeau's intimate friends, openly expressed, in his caustic way, his sense of the thralldom which the Assembly had imposed on itself. "Can you pretend," said he, "to command silence to the galleries? Our masters sit there; it is but reasonable they should applaud or censure their servants' speeches." "I am astonished to hear you," said one of the bystanders to the Abbé Sabatier, who had first originated the cry for the States-General, "rail so violently at an assembly which you had so powerful a hand in calling into existence."—"Yes," replied the abbé, "but they have changed my States-General at nurse." "The States-General," said

Marmontel, "always remind me of an expression of Madame de Sevigné—'I would admire Provence if I had never seen the Provençaux.'"

75. Philanthropic ideas meanwhile formed the ruling principles of the ruling party in France. On the 30th May a motion was brought forward in the Assembly by Lepelletier St Fargeau, for the entire abolition of the punishment of death. It proceeded on the report of a committee to whom the matter had been referred, which bore; "That punishments should be humane, justly accommodated in gradation to crime, equal towards all citizens, exempt from all judicial power; repressive chiefly by their prolonged nature and privations; public, and carried into execution near the places of the crime; that they should improve the mind of the convict by the habit of labour, and decline in severity as the period of their termination approached." Few probably will dispute that these are the proper principles of criminal jurisprudence; the difficulty is to render them effectual in repressing crime. But what renders this debate chiefly remarkable is, the strong opinion expressed by Robespierre in the course of it *against the punishment of death*. "The news," said he, "having been brought to Athens that some citizens at Argos had been condemned to death, the people ran to the temple, and prayed the gods to turn aside the Argives from such cruel and fatal thoughts. I am about to pray, not the gods, but the legislators, who should be the interpreters of the eternal laws which the Deity has imprinted in the human heart, to efface from the code of the French *those laws of blood which command judicial murders*, and which our feelings and the new constitution alike repel. I undertake to prove that the punishment of death is essentially unjust; that it has no tendency to repress crimes; and that it multiplies offences much more than it diminishes them.

"Before society is formed and the force of law established, if I am attacked by an assassin or a robber, I must kill him, or I will be killed myself. But in civilised society, when the power of all

is concentrated against one alone, what principle either of justice or necessity can authorise the punishment of death? A conqueror who kills his prisoners in cold blood is justly stigmatised as a barbarian. A grown man who murders a child, whom he can disarm and punish, appears a monster. An accused person, whom law has condemned, is neither more nor less than a vanquished and powerless enemy; he is more at your mercy than a child before a grown man. In the eyes of truth and justice, therefore, those death-scenes which are got up with so much solemnity are nothing but base assassinations, solemn crimes, committed not by individuals, but by entire nations, and of which every individual must bear the responsibility.

"The punishment of death is necessary, say the partisans of ancient barbarity; without it, there can be no adequate security against crime. Have those who say so duly estimated the springs which really move the human heart? Is death the most terrible of all things? Alas! to how many things does the catalogue of human woes tell you it is a relief? The love of life yields to pride, the most injurious of all the passions which sway the human heart. It is often sought after as a cessation from pain by the lover, the bankrupt, the drunkard. The punishment which is really overwhelming is opprobrium: the general expression of public execration. No one seeks it as a refuge from the ills of life. When the legislator can strike the guilty in so many ways—merciful yet terrible, bloodless yet efficacious—why should he ever recur to the hazard of a public execution? The legislature which prefers death to the milder chastisements within its power, outrages public feeling and brutalises the minds of the people. Such a legislator resembles the cruel preceptor who, by the frequent use of savage punishments, degrades and hardens the mind of his pupil. The judgments of human tribunals are never sufficiently certain of being based on justice to warrant the inflicting of a punishment which can never be recalled." The Assembly, however, was not carried away by this eloquent reasoning, but decreed that the

punishment of death should be preserved, but should be inflicted only by beheading without any previous torture.

76. The death of Mirabeau did not arrest the plans which he had formed for the escape of the king. His state of thralldom was too obvious to be disguised: coerced at every step by hostile guards, deprived of the liberty of even visiting his own palaces; restrained by the mob, whom even Lafayette could not control; without power, without money, without consideration, it was mere mockery to talk of the throne as forming a constituent part of the government. The experiment of constitutional monarchy had been tried and failed; the president of a republic would have had more real authority: his palace was nothing but a splendid prison. M. de Bouillé was the person on whom the royal family depended in their distress, and Breteuil the counsellor who directed their steps. The noble and intrepid character of the former, and the great reputation he had acquired by the successful suppression of the revolt at Nancy, as well as his position in command of the principal army on the frontier, naturally suggested him as the person to prepare the means of escape. For some time past he had arranged everything for this purpose; and, under cover of a military movement on the frontier, had drawn together the most faithful of his troops, to a camp at Montmedy. Detachments were placed along the road to protect the journey, under the pretext of securing the safe passage of the military chest, containing a considerable treasure, which was expected from Paris.

77. M. de Bouillé's dispositions to receive and protect the august fugitives had been made with his wonted ability, had been submitted to and approved of by the king, and promised entire success. Forty hussars of Lauzun, under M. Boudet, an approved Royalist, received orders to proceed on the 19th June to St Menesould, and early on the following morning to Pont de Sommeville, on the road to Châlons, and await there the king's coming up from Paris—escort him to St Menesould, and return after depositing the royal family,

to Sommeville, and allow no one to pass the bridge for eighteen hours. The Duke de Choiseul and M. de Goguelat, of the *état-major*, who were both known to their majesties, and were in the secret, were to accompany this detachment. M. Dandoin, captain of the royal dragoons, was to be at St Menchould on the 20th, and escort the carriage with his troops to Clermont, where a hundred dragoons of the regiment of Monsieur, and sixty of the royal dragoons, under Count Charles de Damas, were to be on the 19th, and accompany the royal carriage to Varennes, where sixty hussars of Lauzun's regiment were to be stationed. Since the 19th a hundred hussars of the same regiment were at Dun, which lay on their road to the Meuse—a very important station, on account of the bridge over that river, and the narrow street which leads to it. At Mouza, a little village between Dun and Stenay, M. de Bouillé stationed fifty horsemen of the regiment Royal Allemand, who could be entirely relied on; while that devoted chief himself was to be with the remainder of the regiment between these two towns, ready to give orders and succour any point which might require it. M. de Goguelat himself was previously instructed to reconnoitre the whole road to Paris, and repair there in person to inform the king of the whole details of the road and arrangements, which he did to their majesties' entire satisfaction.

78. Every precaution on their side had been taken by the royal family to secure their departure from Paris under feigned names, and with the most profound secrecy. They committed, however, one grievous mistake. A military gentleman of known courage had been selected by M. de Bouillé to accompany the royal fugitives in the carriage, and take the general charge of the expedition; but Madame de Tourzel insisted that she should not be separated from the children—no precedent could be found for their travelling without their *gouvernante*, and she accordingly took the place of the soldier. It was at first proposed that the Princess Elizabeth, the dauphin, and his sister, should proceed separately to Flanders—and the

queen warmly supported this plan: but nothing could bring the king to sever himself from his children, to whom he was tenderly attached. The event proved that the queen was right. Monsieur, his brother, with Madame, who set out at the same time, arrived safe at Brussels. Passports were obtained for the royal family under feigned names: Madame de Tourzel, the governess of the children, was the Baronne de Korff; the queen was her *gouvernante*; the king her valet-de-chambre; the Princess Elizabeth, a young lady of the party; the dauphin and the Duchess d'Angoulême, the two daughters of the baroness, under the names of Amelia and Aglæe. Three gardes-du-corps, under feigned names, were to accompany the carriage; two seated on the outside, one riding as a courier to provide horses. An unlucky accident, arising from the illness of the dauphin's maid, who was a faithful Royalist, which had occasioned another, who had a leaning to the Revolution, to take her place, caused the departure, after everything had been arranged for the 19th at midnight, to be delayed until the 20th at the same hour; but M. de Bouillé was warned of the change, and the detachments on the road were kept back accordingly. The important duty of driving the carriage which was first to convey the royal fugitives from Paris was intrusted to the tried fidelity of M. de Fersen,* a gallant Swedish nobleman, whom the queen, from confidence in his

* M. la Comte de Fersen was a young Swedish nobleman of high rank, elegant figure, and a very romantic character, who, when in France several years before, had been much at Versailles, and admitted to the queen's private circle at Trianon, for whom he conceived an ardent, but respectful and distant admiration. This feeling, as is generally the case with profound attachments in generous minds, was increased by absence, and wrought up to a devout worship by the misfortunes in which the royal family of France was involved. His skill and address were well known; and when the attempt to escape was resolved on, the queen, with the instinctive knowledge of women, where they have awakened a real attachment, and on whom in a crisis they may rely, immediately suggested him as the person who was to take charge of their flight from Paris: a perilous commission, which he at once and honourably accepted.—LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, i. 93.

fidelity, had suggested for the hazardous charge, and who, on being informed of her choice, instantly repaired from Sweden, where he was at the time, to peril his life in performing the duty assigned to him.

79. Their design, known to few, was betrayed by none; their manner indicated more than usual confidence; and at length, on the 20th June, at eleven at night, the king, with the dauphin and the Duchess d'Angoulême, the Princess Elizabeth, and Madame de Tourzel, after supping quietly, succeeded in reaching in disguise a carriage on the Quay des Théâtres. The dauphin was disguised in girl's clothes, and in the highest spirits; he said they were going to play a comedy, as they were in strange dresses. Having got into the carriage, he soon fell fast asleep. The queen, who set out with a single attendant to avoid suspicion, had nearly betrayed their design. Both being ignorant of the streets of Paris, they lost their way, and accidentally met the carriage of Lafayette, which they only avoided by concealing themselves under the colonnade of the Louvre. At length, after having wandered as far as the Rue du Bac beyond the Pont Royal, they reached the trembling fugitives on the quay, and instantly set out, driven by M. de Fersen, in the carriage provided for them on the road to Montmedy and Châlons. They passed the barrier without being discovered, and reached Bondy in safety, when the chivalrous M. de Fersen, overjoyed at the success, kissed the hands of the king and queen, and took his departure. They there entered a berlin, which was ready harnessed by M. de Fersen's care; while the suite got into a cabriolet and proceeded on their journey with post horses, which were ordered along the road by a courier in advance. Nearly an hour was unhappily lost, by an accident to one of the trams of the royal carriage, which required to be repaired at Montnirail between Meaux and Châlons. But still there was no obstruction offered, and the queen, overjoyed at such good fortune, said on entering the latter town, "We are saved." The success of their

enterprise appeared certain. But the distance from the capital, and the near approach of the royal corps under Bouillé, occasioned a fatal relaxation in their precautions. The king delayed too long on the road, and had the imprudence to show himself publicly at Châlons, where he was recognised by some persons, who, however, had the humanity to keep the secret. Many even offered up prayers for his success. The expected detachment, however, was not found at the bridge of Sommeville, and the carriage proceeded unattended to St Meneshould, the next stage, where the postmaster, Drouet, was struck by the resemblance of his countenance to the engraving on the assignat. The ages, the number of the royal family, confirmed him in his suspicions, and after the carriage had departed he sounded the alarm, and despatched one of his friends on a swift horse to cross the country, and intercept him at the succeeding post of Varennes.

80. It is painful to reflect on the number of accidents which, by a strange fatality, combined to ruin the enterprise at the very moment when its success seemed certain. The officer in command at St Meneshould, who had left Sommeville an hour before the king came up, and returned to his quarters there, observing the motions of Drouet, sounded his trumpets to saddle; but the national guard surrounded the stables, and prevented the dragoons from mounting their horses. An intrepid sergeant, whom he despatched on the footsteps of the emissary, with the design, if he proved what he suspected, of shooting him, though he got sight of Drouet's messenger, lost him again in a wood. The officer commanding the detachment at Clermont no sooner heard of the arrival of the royal carriages than he mounted his horse, and commanded his men to follow; but a rumour of the quality of the fugitives had got abroad, and they refused to obey. At Varennes, where they arrived at eleven at night, by a still more deplorable fatality, the post horses were waiting for the king at the further end of the town, not at the

place which had been agreed on; and when the carriage stopped, sixty hussars, under the command of a young Royalist officer, were in the town, but at its further end. The royal family were seized with consternation at finding neither relays of horses, nor a guard of soldiers. Had the king, or his courier, de Valory, been informed of the change of the place where the relay of horses was placed, they would have been saved, for when they arrived at Varennes it was near midnight, there were scarce any persons in the streets, and Drouet did not arrive for an hour after.* Such was the anxiety of the queen that she went herself, from door to door, inquiring for the horses. In vain they urged the postillions to proceed; the obstinate men delayed their journey for some hours, till Drouet, who had now arrived, had time to rouse the national guard, and barricade a bridge at the eastern side of the town, over which the road passed. When the horses at length were got, and they arrived at the bridge, the two gardes-du-corps who were seated on the front of the carriage prepared their arms to force a passage; but the king, finding his progress opposed by a considerable force, and the muskets of the national guard presented at the carriage, commanded them to submit. The royal fugitives were seized, and reconducted by the armed multitude to the post, from whence information was immediately despatched with the important intelligence to Paris.

81. Meanwhile the dragoons from St Meneshould arrived, and were soon followed by those of Lauzun, who ranged

* "Goguelat had given the whole plan to the king, who had studied it carefully. Louis XVI., who had an excellent memory, repeated it word for word to the courier de Valory: he told him that he would find horses and a detachment *before* the town of Varennes. Afterwards, Goguelat posted them *behind* the town, and forgot to tell the king of this change of place. That ruined everything. Half an hour was consumed groping about in the dark, knocking at doors, and wakening up the sleeping inhabitants. All this time the relays were kept ready at the other end of the town by two young men, one of them the son of M. de Bouillé: they had orders not to stir, lest they should give the alarm."—MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 506, 507.

themselves round the royal party. The mayor, named Sausse, approached the carriage when it was brought back, and insisted on seeing the passports. These were immediately shown, and proved entirely correct; but Drouet still maintained that they were the royal family, observing, "If you are strangers, as you say, how have you sufficient authority to order up the dragoons who awaited you at St Meneshould; how are you surrounded by those of Lauzun?" Sausse then approached, and said in a low voice to the king, "The report is spread abroad that we have the happiness to possess the king and his family. The tocsin sounds: the concourse of people from the country will soon be immense. To avoid the chance of a tumult, I have the honour of offering my house as a place of safety." The king, knowing that Bouillé was not far distant, deemed it prudent to accept the offer, and taking his children by the hand, entered the house, followed by the queen and Madame Elizabeth. Their anxiety was extreme: in speechless suspense they listened for the joyful sound of Bouillé's dragoons, who would at once have effected their deliverance. But not a sound was heard save the increasing murmur of the mob in the street. Meanwhile, the perfidious Sausse surrounded the quarter where the hussars and royal family were with national guards, and wrote off to the municipalities of Clermont and Verdun, with information that the royal family were arrested, and urging them to send their national guards to aid in detaining them, which they instantly did. On the other side, the officer in command of the hussars of Lauzun left Varennes to inform M. de Bouillé of what had happened; and the royal family, in the deepest anxiety, sat up all night. Towards morning, seeing M. de Bouillé had not arrived, he revealed his quality to the mayor, as Marie Antoinette did to his wife. "I am your king," said he, "placed in the capital in the midst of poniards and bayonets: I am going to seek for my faithful subjects liberty and peace. Yes, my friend, it is your king who is in your power: it is your king who implores you not to

betray him to his most cruel enemies. Ah! save my wife, my children: fly with us: I will make your fortune, and your town second to none in the kingdom." But all entreaties were in vain, and the stern republican refused to allow them to proceed on their journey, at least till morning.

82. At length the detachments from Sommeville arrived, under M. Choiseul and Goguelat, and M. de Damas with those from Clermont. In spite of the menaces of the national guards, they penetrated into the town, and drew up opposite the house where the king was. M. de Damas entered the building, and in a whisper entreated the king to take a decided part; but he, looking at his wife and children, said he could not, adding, "Ah! if they were not with me." The officers, finding that the carriage-way out of Varennes was barricaded at the bridge to the eastward, and impassable, suggested that the king and queen, with the rest of the royal family, should mount on horseback, and make their way, surrounded by the dragoons, across the fords of the little river, with which they were acquainted. The queen referred it to the king; but he rejected the proposal, saying, "Who can be sure that a stray shot may not kill the queen, or my sister, or children? Let us consider the matter calmly: the municipality do not refuse to let me pass, they only ask me to wait till morning. Young Bouillé set out at midnight to inform his father, who is at Stenay, of our arrival. It is only eight leagues, two or three hours' march, from hence. Assuredly M. de Bouillé will be here by the morning; then, without danger, without violence, we may pursue our journey."* He little thought how dangers were thickening around him. Upon this, M. de Goguelat in despair went to the window, and endeavoured to rouse the dragoons to declare for the king; but they had been for the most part made drunk by the citizens, and answered all his appeals by cries of "Vive la Nation!" Seeing this he went down, singly, to strive against the crowd

* MICHELET, *Histoire de la Révolution*, ii. 516.

who surrounded the house; and in a struggle with the major of the national guard, he was pierced by two balls, which caused him to fall from his horse. About the same time the dragoons came up from Dun; but by this time the streets were barricaded, and the commanding officer, with the utmost difficulty, obtained liberty to penetrate alone to the king. Shortly after, the two aides-de-camp of Lafayette arrived from Paris, with orders to arrest and bring back the fugitives.—"Thus M. de Lafayette," said the king, "arrests me a second time."—"He has nothing but the United States in his head," replied the queen; "he will soon see what a French Republic is." Requesting then to see the decree of the Assembly, she read it and threw it from her; it fell on the bed where the dauphin and his sister, in a tranquil sleep, lay locked in each other's arms.

83. During the whole of this fatal night M. de Bouillé was on horseback, under the walls of Stenay, anxiously expecting the arrival of the king. Informed at four in the morning of the arrest at Varennes, he ordered the regiment of Royal Allemand, on which he could rely, and which lay in that town, to sound to horse; but though they had received directions to be ready to start at daybreak, they took three quarters of an hour before they left the town. In vain he sent his son five times to quicken their movements. When they did come, he informed them of what had happened, read to the troops the king's order to escort him, and do everything for the safety of the royal family, and asked the men if they would deliver their sovereign. The brave Germans answered with the acclamations of honest hearts; and he instantly gave a louis to each man, and set off with all possible expedition for Varennes. But it was five o'clock before he was in motion, and the distance to that place was twenty-six miles of a hilly road. He arrived there at a quarter past nine: it was too late. An hour before, the royal family had set off, under a strong guard, on the road to the capital; and the horses of the German

regiments were so totally exhausted by the exertions they had made, that further pursuit was impossible. With inexpressible anguish M. de Bouillé was compelled to renounce an object so long the dearest wish of his heart, and doomed soon to witness the succession of unfortunate events which consigned this virtuous monarch to prison and the scaffold. If the officers at Varennes had sent off instantly, on the arrival of the royal family, to M. de Bouillé,—if the orders to start at daybreak had been obeyed by the regiment of Royal Allemand,—the troops could have gone the twenty-six miles between four in the morning and eight, and he might have been there an hour sooner—in time to have delivered the royal family, saved the Revolution from its greatest crimes, changed its character by averting the war, and altered the fate of Europe.

84. Various accidents, doubtless, contributed to disconcert this well-combined enterprise; but they might all have been surmounted save for the treachery or disgraceful irresolution of the royal troops at Varennes, who revolted against their faithful officers, and the officious zeal with which the national guard assembled to prevent the escape of their sovereign. History can supply no ground for pardon for such conduct. Patriotism cannot excuse the citizens, who sought to consign a virtuous monarch and his innocent family to the scaffold. Honour blushes for the soldiers who forgot their loyalty amidst the cries of the populace, and permitted their sovereign, the heir of twenty kings, to be dragged captive from amidst their armed squadrons. The warmest friend of freedom, if he have a spark of humanity in his bosom, the most ardent republican, if not steeled against every sentiment of honour, must revolt at such baseness. Britain may wellexult at the different conduct which her people exhibited to their fugitive monarchs under the same circumstances,*

* The secret of Charles Edward's place of concealment was intrusted to above two hundred persons, most of them in the very poorest circumstances. £30,000 was offered for his apprehension; confiscation and death pronounced against his adherents: yet not one Highlander was faithless to his prince.

and contrast with the arrest of Louis at Varennes, the fidelity of the western counties to Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, and the devotion of the Scotch Highlanders to the Pretender after the defeat of Culloden. Nor was this treachery without its appropriate punishment. On that day twenty-four years from the one on which the lawful sovereign of France had been arrested at Varennes, Napoleon, the adored chief of the Revolution, was compelled to sign his final abdication at Paris, and to leave France, defeated and humiliated, to bear the yoke of the stranger.†

85. Paris was in the utmost consternation when the escape of the king was discovered. The public joy was proportionally great when the intelligence of his arrest was received. Three commissioners, Pétion, Latour Maubourg, and Barnave, were despatched to reconduct the prisoners to Paris. They met them at Epernay, and travelled with them to the Tuileries. During the journey, Barnave and Pétion were in the carriage with the king and queen; and the difference in the character of these two men was soon apparent. The queen, perceiving from the manners and conversation of Barnave that he was a person of generous feeling and enlightened intellect, conversed openly with him, and produced an impression on his mind which was never afterwards effaced. His attentions to her were so delicate, and his conduct so gentle, that she assured Madame Campan on her return, that she forgave him all the injuries he had inflicted on her family—an indulgence which she could not extend to the many nobles who had betrayed the throne by joining the popular cause. Pétion's conduct, on the other hand, was so gross, and his manners to the illustrious captives so insolent, that it was with difficulty that Barnave could restrain his indignation. He behaved to the princesses of the royal family in a way which scarcely any ill-bred tradesman would do to a common female of his acquaintance.‡

† On 21st June 1815.

‡ "Amid the destruction of so many hopes, the royal family felt that they had gained

A poor curate approached the carriage to address the king: the mob who surrounded it instantly fell upon him, threw him on the ground, and were on the point of putting him to death. "Tigers!" cried Barnave, "have you ceased to be Frenchmen? Calling yourselves brave, have you become assassins?" The difference between the constitutionalists and democrats was already greater than between the former and the throne. From that time forward the queen intrusted her cause to his care more than to any other man in the Assembly.

86. The barbarity of the people was singularly evinced during the journey back to Paris. The two body-guards who had perilled their lives in the service of their sovereign were chained on the outside of the carriage; peasants, armed with scythes and pitchforks, mixed with the escort, uttering the bitterest reproaches; and at each village the municipal authorities assembled to vent their execrations upon the fallen monarch. Unable to bear such inhuman conduct, the Count de Dampierre, a nobleman inhabiting a chateau near the road, approached to kiss the hand of the king. He was instantly pierced by several balls from the escort, his blood sprinkled the royal carriage, and his remains were torn to pieces by the savage multitude. Notwithstanding these atrocities, the king conversed with Barnave and La-tour Maubourg with such judgment

Barnave for a friend. His conduct cost him his life, but it ennobled his memory. Up to that time he had been merely eloquent, now he showed that he had a heart. Pétion, on the contrary, retained the coldness of a secretary and the rudeness of a parvenu: he affected a brusque familiarity with the royal party; he eat before the queen, and tossed the skins of the fruit out of the door, careless of the chance of their hitting the face of the king himself; when Madame Elisabeth offered to pour out wine for him, without thanking her, he raised his glass to show that he had enough. Louis XVI. having asked him if he was for the system of two chambers or for the republic, 'I would be for the republic,' replied Pétion, 'if I thought my country sufficiently ripe for that form of government.' The king, offended, did not reply, and offered no further remark until they reached Paris." — LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, i. 153, 154.

and benevolence on his views of the kingdom and constitution, that they were often melted into tears, and bitterly lamented the part they had taken in the Revolution. "How often," says Thiers, "would factions the most opposite be reconciled, if they could meet and read each other's heart!"

87. During the first transports of alarm and indignation, Lafayette was nearly murdered by the populace of Paris, so general was the belief that the royal family could not have escaped without his connivance. The aide-de-camp whom he had despatched on the first alarm on the road to Varennes, narrowly escaped the same fate. Had he been killed, the royal fugitives would have still been at Varennes when M. de Bouillé arrived, and all their subsequent misfortunes have been avoided. An immense crowd assembled round the Tuileries on the first rumour that the royal family had escaped: the Palais Royal, the Place de Grève, were crowded. At ten, the discharge of three guns from the municipality announced the event: that body declared its sittings permanent, as did the Assembly and Jacobin club. No more decisive evidence could be afforded of the extent to which the king and royal family had been kept enthralled, than the universal consternation which followed their escape. All business was at a stand. Agitated crowds assembled in every street; the public anxiety for news was indescribable. An immense mob inundated the Tuileries, ransacked the private apartments of the king and queen, and were astonished to find no instruments of torture, or preparations for massacring the people in them. The national guard all assembled at their rallying points. The brewer Santerre headed the pikemen of the Faubourg St Antoine: one would have thought, from the preparations, that Europe in arms was approaching the capital—not an unarmed monarch, with his wife and children, flying from it. But, meanwhile, the skilful leaders of the Revolution were not slow in turning to the best account this unexpected event, and the public vehemence which had ensued from it. The club of the Cor-

deliers passed a resolution, that the National Assembly had enslaved France by declaring the crown hereditary, and demanding the immediate abolition of royalty; the Jacobins unanimously summoned Lafayette to attend at their bar, to answer the interrogatories of Danton, and took an oath to defend Robespierre, who declared his life in danger. The name of the king was generally effaced on all signs and monuments; Marat announced in his journal that a general insurrection was indispensable—that in a few days, the sanguinary monarch would return at the head of a numerous army, and a hundred guns, to destroy the city by red-hot shot; * and Fréron thundered in the *Orateur du Peuple* against the infamous queen, who united the profligacy of Messalina to the bloodthirstiness of the Medici.†

88. In the midst of this general effervescence, the Assembly took more efficacious measures to seize the reins of the executive power, and prevent, by every possible means, the escape of the royal fugitives from the kingdom. Couriers were instantly despatched in all directions to the departments, ordering the municipalities and national guards to arrest all travellers, and, above all, to allow none to leave the kingdom: a letter, which proved to be a forgery, was published in the name of the queen, in which it was announced that they were proceeding to Flanders, and expressing violent intentions on their return; and a real address to the French people left by Louis, containing the reasons for his departure, couched in

simple and touching terms. After recapitulating the sacrifices he had made for the public good, the violence to which he had been subjected, and the thralldom in which he had so long been kept, he declared that he had no intention of quitting the kingdom, and only desired to regain his personal freedom, in order to be able, unrestrained, to carry into effect his wishes for the restoration of liberty in France, and the formation of a constitution.‡ In answer to this, the Assembly published a counter address, in which they justified their conduct in every particular, and called upon the nation to rally round the representatives of the people. But, meanwhile, they assumed to themselves the whole executive government of the state, and commenced their new duties in the most effective of all ways, by ordering the national guards throughout the whole kingdom to be put in a state of activity, and those of the whole northern and eastern departments to be placed on permanent duty.

89. At length the captives entered Paris. An immense crowd was assembled to witness their return, who received them in sullen silence. The national guard nowhere presented arms;

† Louis dwelt, in this proclamation, in an especial manner on the personal thralldom in which he had been kept, and the action of the Jacobin clubs, which had come entirely to supersede the government. "Every machination," says he, "was directed against the king and the queen. It is to the soldiers of the French Guards, and the National Guard of Paris, that the custody of the king has been confided by the municipality. The king thus sees himself a prisoner in his own kingdom."

* "A general insurrection alone can save the Republic. In a few days Louis XVI., reassuming a despotic tone, will advance against your walls at the head of all the fugitives, of the discontented, and of the Austrian legions: from a hundred cannon mouths heated shot will threaten your town with destruction, if you make the slightest resistance: the popular writers will be cast into the dungeons."—MARAT, *L'Ami du Peuple*, June 21, 1791.

† "They fled together, this imbecile, perjured king, and this accursed queen, who unites the profligacy of Messalina to the bloodthirstiness of the Medici. Execrable woman, Fury of France, thou wert the soul of the plot!"—FRÉRON, *L'Orateur du Peuple*, No. 48, June 22, 1791.

The form of government is especially bad for two reasons: the Assembly exceeds the limits of its powers by interfering with the courts of justice, and the administration of the interior; it exercises by its committees the most barbarous of all despotisms. Associations have been established, known under the name of Friends of the Constitution (Jacobins), which form corporations infinitely more dangerous than any that have previously existed: they exercise an influence so preponderating that all the other bodies, not even excepting the National Assembly, do nothing unless by their order. Frenchmen, was this your intention in deputing your representatives? Did you wish the despotism of the clubs to replace the monarchy under which the kingdom has flourished for fourteen centuries?"—LOUIS *au Peuple Français*, June 20, 1791; *Histoire Parlementaire*, x. 272, 273.

threatening and frightful cries were heard from the multitude; the people, without uncovering themselves, gazed upon their victims. The appearance of the queen excited general surprise: her hair had all turned grey, in some places white, during the anxieties of that dreadful journey. It required the utmost efforts of Latour Maubourg and Barnave to prevent the two faithful body-guards from being murdered on the stairs of the Tuileries. Opinions were much divided at Paris upon the consequence of the seizure of the royal family: the democrats openly rejoiced in the re-establishment of their power over them; the humane were already terrified by the prospect of the fate which to all appearance awaited them; the thoughtful were embarrassed as to how they were to be disposed of. In truth, however, after they were fairly gone, although the mob thirsted for vengeance, and were in the greatest agitation at the thought of the escape of the royal fugitives, few of the men of any consideration in Paris were anxious for their arrest.

90. The leaders of the popular party were rejoiced at the near prospect of a republic, which the king's flight afforded: the constitutionalists, in good faith, desired to see him established at Montmedy, and emancipated from the state of thralldom in which he had so long been held by the populace. Many of the royalists were not displeased at the abandonment of the helm by a sovereign whose concessions had brought the monarchy to the brink of ruin; all were gratified at his extrication from the iron despotism of Parisian democracy. In sending the commissioners to arrest the king, the Assembly, in opposition to its better judgment, yielded to the clamours of an impassioned populace. "The National Assembly," says Napoleon, "never committed so great an error as in bringing back the king from Varennes. A fugitive, and powerless, he was hastening to the frontier, and in a few hours would have been out of the French territory. What should they have done in these circumstances? Clearly facilitated his escape, and declared the throne vacant by his deser-

tion; they would thus have avoided the infamy of a regicide government, and attained their great object of republican institutions. Instead of which, by bringing him back, they embarrassed themselves with a sovereign whom they had no just reason for destroying, and lost the inestimable advantage of getting quit of the royal family without an act of cruelty." These are the words of a man who never scrupled at the means necessary to gain an end; who was weakened by no mawkish sensibility, and deterred by no imaginary dangers. They are a striking illustration of the eternal truth, that cruelty is in general as short-sighted as it is inhuman, and that no conduct is so wise as that which is the least open to moral reproach.

91. The return of the king a captive to Paris, and the necessity of settling something definitive as to his fate, occasioned an immediate division between the parties in the capital, and first led to the open avowal of republican principles. The mob, with savage ferocity, openly demanded his head; a republic was loudly called for in the clubs of the Cordeliers and Jacobins; Robespierre, Marat, and their associates, daily inflamed the public mind by publications and speeches, having the most revolutionary tendency. "If a republic," said Condorcet, "ensues in consequence of a new revolution, the results will be terrible; but if it is proclaimed just now, during the omnipotence of the Assembly, the transition will be easy; and it is incomparably better to make it when the power of the king is wholly prostrated, than it will be when he may so far have regained it as to make an effort to avert the blow." No one at that period ventured to argue in the Assembly that royalty was desirable in itself, or as a counterpoise to the ambition of the people; the fact that such a doctrine could not be broached in the legislature, is the strongest proof how indispensable it is to regulated freedom that it should exist. Seditious cries were incessantly heard in the streets; an expression of ferocity characterised the countenances of the numerous groups assembled in the public places; and the frightful figures began to be seen who

had emerged from obscurity on the 5th October, and who subsequently proved triumphant during the Reign of Terror. On the other hand, the upright and intelligent part of the Assembly, awakened by the threatening signs which surrounded them to a sense of the impending danger, united their strength to resist the multitude. Barnave, Duport, and Lameth, although passionate friends of freedom, coalesced with Lafayette and the supporters of a constitutional monarchy. In the struggle which ensued, the want of the powerful voice of Mirabeau was severely felt. But even his commanding eloquence would have been unavailing. In these days of rising democracy and patrician desertion, nothing could resist the new-born energy of the people.

92. On the morning after his return, Louis was, by a decree of the Assembly, provisionally suspended from his functions; and a band, composed of national guards, was placed over his person, that of the queen, and the dauphin. All the three were judicially and minutely examined by three deputies, but nothing tending to criminate any was elicited. They were strictly watched in the palace, and allowed only to take a morning walk in the garden of the Tuileries before the public were admitted: national guards even kept guard all night in the queen's bed-room. Meanwhile the Assembly prepared a memoir on the subject of the king's flight. Barnave and the two Lameths now had the generosity openly to espouse the cause of the unfortunate monarch; and it was in a great degree owing to the address and ability of the former, who suggested the answers of the king and queen to the commissioners of the Assembly, that he was able to show that he never intended to leave France, but only to extricate himself from the dangers of the capital. Bouillé, who had retired to Luxembourg, beyond the frontier of France, at the same time wrote a letter to the Assembly, in which he generously took upon himself the entire criminality of the journey, by protesting that he was its sole author; while he declared, in the name of the allied sovereigns, to whose territories he soon after with-

drew, that he would hold them responsible for the safety of the royal prisoners.

93. The object of the republicans was to make the flight of the king the immediate pretext for his dethronement and death; that of the constitutionalists, to preserve the throne which they had done so much to shake, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of that attempt. The examination of Louis, on the subject of his journey to Varennes, was intended by the republicans to be the groundwork of his prosecution; but it was so adroitly managed by the committees to whom it was referred, that, instead of effecting that object, it went far to exculpate him even in the eyes of the most violent of the Jacobin party by showing that it was not his intention to have left the kingdom, but only to have withdrawn to a place of safety within it. The seven committees, to whom that important examination was intrusted, reported that the journey of the king afforded no foundation for an accusation against him. The debate on this report called forth the energies of the most distinguished leaders, and developed the principles on both sides. The inviolability of the king's person, which had been solemnly agreed to by the Assembly, was the basis of the argument on the constitutional side.

94. "To admit," said Robespierre, in answer, "the inviolability of the king for acts which are personal to himself, is to establish a god upon earth. We can allow no fiction to consecrate impunity to crime, or give any man a right to bathe our families in blood. But you have decreed, it is said, this inviolability: so much the worse. An authority more powerful than that of the constitution now condemns it; the authority of reason, the conscience of the people, the duty of providing for their safety. The constitution has not decreed the absolute inviolability of the sovereign; it has only declared him not responsible for the acts of his ministers. To this privilege, already immense, are you prepared to add an immunity from every personal offence—from perjury, murder, or robbery? Shall we, who

have levelled so many other distinctions, leave this, the most dangerous of them all? Ask of England if she recognises such an impunity in her sovereigns? Would you behold a beloved son murdered before your eyes by a furious king, and hesitate to deliver him over to criminal justice? Enact laws which punish all crimes without exception, or suffer the people to avenge them for themselves. You have heard the oaths of the king. Where is the jurymen who, after having heard his manifesto, and the account of his journey, would hesitate to declare him guilty of perjury, that is, felony towards the nation? The king is inviolable; but so are you. Do you now contend for his privilege to murder with impunity millions of his subjects? Do you dare to pronounce the king innocent, when the nation has declared him guilty? Consult its good sense, since your own has abandoned you. I am called a republican: whether I am or not, I declare my conviction, that any form of government is better than that of a feeble monarch, alternately the tool of contending factions."

95. "Regenerators of the empire," said Barnave, in reply, "follow—continue the course you have commenced. You have already shown that you have courage enough to destroy the abuses of power; now is the time to demonstrate that you have the wisdom to protect the institutions you have formed. At the moment that we evince our strength, let us manifest our moderation; let us exhibit to the world, intent on our movements, the fair spectacle of peace and justice. What would the trial of the king be, but the proclamation of a republic? Are you prepared to destroy, at the first shock, the constitution you have framed with so much care? You are justly proud of having closed a Revolution, without a parallel in the annals of the world: you are now called on to commence a new one—to open a gulf, of which no human wisdom can see the bottom; in which laws, lives, and property would be alike swallowed up. With wisdom and moderation you have exercised the vast powers committed to

you by the state: you have created liberty; beware of substituting in its stead a violent and sanguinary despotism. Be assured that those who now propose to pass sentence on the king, will do the same to yourselves when you first thwart their ambition. If you prolong the Revolution, it will increase in violence. You will be beset with clamours for confiscations and murders; the people will never be satisfied but with substantial advantages, and they cannot be obtained but by destroying their superiors. The world hitherto has been awed by the powers we have developed; let it now be charmed by the gentleness which graces them." Moved by these generous sentiments, and in secret alarmed at the general avowal of republican principles with which they were surrounded, the Assembly adopted the report of the committee with only seven dissentient voices. But to this decree was annexed, as a concession to the popular party, a clause, declaring, that if the king shall put himself at the head of an armed force, and direct it against the nation, he shall be deemed to have abdicated, and shall be responsible for his acts as an ordinary citizen. Of this enactment the popular party made fatal use in the subsequent insurrections against the throne.

96. Foiled in their endeavours to influence the Assembly, the democrats next attempted to rouse the people. A petition for his immediate dethronement, drawn up by Brissot, editor of the *Patriote Français*, and an able republican, in conjunction with Marat, was taken to the Champ de Mars for signature. The clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers declared that they would no longer recognise Louis as sovereign, and published the most inflammatory harangues, which were immediately placarded in all the streets of Paris. A general insurrection was prepared for the following day. "We will repair," said they, "to the Field of the Federation, and a hundred thousand men will dethrone the perjured king. That day will be the last of all the friends of treason." The 17th July was the day fixed for the insurrection; there

was no regular force in Paris; everything depended on the firmness of the national guard. On the morning of that day, two different bands of the people were in motion; one decently clothed, grave in manner, small in number, headed by Brissot; the other, hideous in aspect, ferocious in language, formidable in numbers, under the guidance of Robespierre. Both were confident of success, and sure of impunity; for hitherto not a single insurrection had been suppressed, and hardly one popular crime, excepting the murder of the baker François, had been punished. Two unhappy Invalids had placed themselves under the steps of the altar on the Champ de Mars to observe the extraordinary scene; a cry arose that they were assassins placed there to blow up the leaders of the people: without giving themselves the trouble to ascertain whether any powder was there, they beheaded the unhappy wretches on the spot, and paraded their heads on pikes round the altar of France.

97. The Assembly, in this emergency, took the most energetic measures to support its authority. It declared its sittings permanent, and caused the municipality to summon the national guards to their several rendezvous; Lafayette put himself at their head, and proceeded towards the Champ de Mars, followed by twelve hundred grenadiers. On the road, a traitor in the ranks discharged a pistol at him, which fortunately missed its aim; he had the magnanimity to liberate the offender from the confinement in which he was placed. Meanwhile the red flag was boldly hoisted, by order of Bailly, at the Hotel de Ville, and the good citizens earnestly urged the proclamation of martial law. Arrived in sight of the insurgents, Lafayette unfurled the red flag, and summoned the multitude, in name of the law, to disperse: cries of "A bas le drapeau rouge! à bas les baïonnettes!" accompanied by volleys of stones, were the only answer. A discharge in the air was then given, which, not being attended by the effect of intimidation, Lafayette resolutely ordered a volley point-blank, which immediately brought

down a great number of the insurgents. In an instant the crowd dispersed, and the Champ de Mars was deserted. Robespierre, Danton, Fréron, Marat, and the other leaders of the insurrection, disappeared, and the discouragement of the party was complete. Trembling with apprehension, the former implored an asylum from his friends, deeming himself insecure, notwithstanding his inviolability as a deputy, in his obscure abode. The revolutionary fury was effectually quelled; and had the government possessed the energy to have marched on the clubs of the Jacobins and the Cordeliers, and closed these great fountains of treason, the constitutional monarchy might have been established, and the Reign of Terror prevented. But this act of vigour, being followed by no others of the same character, gradually lost its effect: the clubs resumed their inflammatory debates; Marat, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Fréron, and the other popular leaders, seeing that no prosecutions followed the arrests, reappeared from their retreats, and the march of the Revolution went on with redoubled vigour. The recollection of so signal a defeat, however, sunk deep in the minds of the democrats, and they took a bloody revenge, years afterwards, upon the intrepid Bailly, who had first hoisted the signal of resistance to popular licentiousness.

98. The Assembly was embarrassed by the consequences of its own success. It received congratulatory addresses from every part of France; the cities, the provinces, vied with each other in the expression of satisfaction at the stand at last made against a faction which had disgraced the Revolution. All of them had a moderate, many a royalist tendency—a signal proof of the ease with which at this period the Revolution might have been checked by proper firmness in the government and union among the higher classes. So pressing did the danger to the Jacobins become that Pétion published a long letter on the subject, which produced a great impression. But it was difficult for the Assembly, in the close of their career, to depart from the principles with which they had commenced;

and they were alarmed at the new allies who crowded round their victorious standard. Indecision, in consequence, characterised their proceedings. Recollection of the past inclined them to popular, dread of the future to constitutional measures. In their efforts to please all factions, they acquired an ascendancy over none, and left the monarchy a prey to the furious passions which now agitated the people, from the consequences of the excitement they themselves had originated. The termination of their labours was now approaching. The several committees to whom the different departments of the constitution had been referred had all made their reports; the members were fatigued with their divisions, the people desirous of exercising the powers of election. Nothing remained but to combine the decrees regarding the constitution into one act, and submit it for the sanction of the king.

99. It was proposed, in consolidating the different decrees regarding the constitution, to revise some of its articles. The democratic tendency of many parts was already perceived; and the Assembly trembled at the agitation which pervaded the empire. All the subordinate questions which remained were decided in favour of the royal authority; but they wanted courage, and perhaps had not influence, to alter the cardinal points of the constitution. They were strongly urged, before it was too late, to correct their faults. "Have the courage," said Malouet, "to confess your errors, and repair them. You are inclined to efface some blemishes; go a step further, and correct some deformities. While the work is still in your hands, is it not better to give more strength and stability to the fabric?" The design of Barnave, Malouet, and the Lameths, who were now fully alive to the perilous nature of the constitution they had framed, was to restore the separation of the chambers, and give the absolute veto to the crown. For this purpose, it was agreed that Malouet should propose the revision of these and many other articles of the constitution; that Barnave should reply in vehement strains, but at the same time

give up those that were agreed on as proved by experience to be inexpedient. But while this was the general opinion of the rational and prudent members, the violent party-men on both sides, though from different motives, combined to hasten the dissolution of the Assembly. The Royalists wished that the faults of the constitution should remain so glaring as to render it impossible to put it in practice. The Jacobins, more alive to the signs of the times, dreaded the reaction in favour of order which had recently begun among the higher, and hoped everything from the revolutionary spirit which was now spreading among the lower orders. "My friends," said Robespierre to the mobs which began to collect, in order to intimidate the Assembly, "you arrive too late: all is lost, the king is saved." In vain Barnave, Lameth, Chapelier, and other enlightened men, implored them to retain the legislative power yet a while in their hands; they were met by complaints of their unpopularity, and of the necessity of dissolving while yet any influence remained; and the majority, weary of the work of regeneration, resolved to separate. As a last measure of security, they declared that the representatives of France might revise the constitution, but not till after the expiration of thirty years—a vain precaution, immediately forgotten amid the impetuosity and struggles of their successors.

100. Before finally submitting the constitution to the king, the Assembly, on the motion of Robespierre, passed a destructive measure, similar to the self-denying ordinance of the English parliament, declaring that none of its members should be capable of election into the next legislature. This resolution, so ruinous in its consequences, was agreed to under the influence of various motives. The desire of regaining their power on the part of the aristocrats; inextinguishable resentment against the leaders of the Assembly on the part of the court; wild hopes of anarchy, and a fear of reaction in the existing members, on the part of the democrats; patriotic feeling among the friends of their country; a wish for the popu-

larity consequent on a disinterested action—combined to secure the passing of a decree fraught with the last miseries to France. The king was so ill advised at this juncture that he employed all his own influence, and that of the queen, to procure the enactment of this ordinance. The idea was prevalent among the Royalists that the public mind was entirely changed—that the people had become attached to the sovereign; and that, if the old members could only be excluded, an Assembly would be returned at the next election which would undo all that the present one had done. When the question accordingly was proposed, the Royalists united with the Jacobins, and, stifling all arguments by a cry for the vote, passed the fatal resolution. This system of changing their governors at stated periods always has been, and always will be, a favourite one with republicans, because it magnifies their own, and diminishes their rulers' importance; but it is more ruinous to national welfare than any other system that can be devised, because it places the direction of affairs constantly in inexperienced hands, and removes ability from the helm at the very time it has become adequate to the guidance of public affairs.

101. Previous to the act of the constitution being submitted to the king, he was reinvested with the power of appointing a guard, and restored to the freedom of which he had been deprived since his arrest at Varennes. After several days' careful examination, he declared his acceptance in the following terms: "I accept the constitution; I engage to maintain it alike against civil discord and foreign aggression, and to enforce its execution to the utmost of my power." This message occasioned the warmest applause. Lafayette, taking advantage of the moment, procured a general amnesty for all those who had been engaged in the flight of the king, or compromised by the events of the Revolution. On the following day, the king repaired in person to the Assembly, to declare his acceptance of the constitution. The queen, accompanied by the dauphin, was in the reporters'

box, and in the enthusiasm of the moment was received with applause. An immense crowd accompanied the sovereign with loud acclamations; he was the object of the momentary applause of the tribunes of the people: but the altered state of the royal authority was evinced by the formalities observed even in the midst of the general enthusiasm. The monarch was no longer seated on the throne apart from his subjects; two chairs, in every respect alike, were allotted to him and to the president of the Assembly; and he did not possess, even in appearance, more authority than the leader of that haughty body.

102. At length, on the 29th September, the sittings of the Assembly were closed. The king attended in person, and delivered a speech full of generous sentiments and eloquent expressions. "In returning to your constituents," said he, "you have still an important duty to discharge; you have to make known to the citizens the real meaning of the laws you have enacted, and to explain my sentiments to the people. Tell them that the king will always be their first and best friend; that he has need of their affection; that he knows no enjoyment but in them and with them; that the hope of contributing to their happiness will sustain his courage, as the satisfaction of having done so will constitute his reward." Vehement and sincere applause followed these expressions. The president, Thourret, then with a loud voice said, "The Constituent Assembly declares its mission accomplished, and its sittings are now closed." Magnificent fêtes were ordered by the king for the occasion, which exhausted the already weakened resources of the throne. The palace and gardens of the Tuileries were superbly illuminated; and the king, with the queen and the royal family, drove through the long lighted avenues of the Champs Elysées amidst the acclamations of the people. But a vague disquietude pervaded all ranks of society; the monarch sought in vain for the expressions of sincere joy which appeared on the fête of the Federation of the 14th July; then, all was confidence and hope—now, the horrors of anarchy were daily anti-

cipated. The Assembly had declared the Revolution closed; all persons of intelligence feared that it was only about to commence.

103. Such is the history of the Constituent Assembly of France—an Assembly which, amidst much good, has produced more evil than any which has ever existed in the world. Called to the highest destinies, intrusted with the noblest duties, it was looked to as commencing a new era in modern civilisation—as regenerating an empire grey with feudal corruption, but teeming with popular energy. How it accomplished the task is now ascertained by experience. Time, the great vindicator of truth, has unfolded its errors and illustrated its virtues. The great evils which then afflicted France were removed by its exertions. Liberty of religious worship, but imperfectly provided for in 1787, was secured in its fullest extent; torture, the punishment of the wheel, and all cruel corporal inflictions, other than death, were abolished; trial by jury, publicity of criminal proceedings, the examination of witnesses before the accused, counsel for his defence, fixed by law; the ancient parliaments, the fastnesses of a varied jurisprudence, though ennobled by great exertions in favour of freedom, were suppressed, and one uniform system of criminal jurisprudence was introduced. *Lettres de cachet* were annihilated; exemptions from taxation on the part of the nobles and the clergy were extinguished; an equal system of finance was established through the whole kingdom; the most oppressive

* It is impossible to travel through Switzerland, the Tyrol, Norway, Sweden, Biscay, and some other parts of Europe, where the peasantry are proprietors of the land they cultivate, without being convinced of the great effect of such a state of things in ameliorating the condition of the lower orders, and promoting the development of those habits of comfort and those artificial wants, which form the true regulators of the principle of increase. The aspect of France since the Revolution, when compared with what it was before that event, abundantly proves that its labouring poor have experienced the benefit of this change; and that, if it had not been brought about by injustice, its fruits would have been highly beneficial. But no great act of iniquity can be committed by a nation, any more than an individual, without

imposts, those on salt and tobacco, the *taille*, and the tithes, were suppressed; the privileges of the nobility, the feudal burdens, were abolished. France owes to the Constituent Assembly the doubtful experiment of national guards; the opening of the army to courage and ability from every class of society; and a general distribution of landed property among the labouring classes—the greatest benefit, when not brought about by injustice or the spoliation of others, which can be conferred upon a nation.* The beneficial effect of these changes was speedily demonstrated by the consequences of the errors into which her government subsequently fell. They enabled the nation to bear, and to prosper under, accumulated evils, any one of which would have extinguished the national strength under the monarchy—national bankruptcy, depreciated assignats, civil divisions, the Reign of Terror, foreign invasion, the conscriptions of Napoleon, subjugation by Europe.

104. The errors of the Constituent Assembly have produced consequences equally important, some still more lasting. By destroying, in a few months, the constitution of a thousand years, it set adrift all the ideas of men, and spread the fever of innovation universally throughout the empire. By confiscating the property of the church, it gave a fatal precedent of injustice, too closely followed in future times, exasperated a large and influential class, and rendered public manners dissolute by leaving the seeds of war between the clergy and the people. By establishing the right of universal suffrage, and

its consequences being felt by the latest generations. The confiscation of land has been to France what a similar measure had before been to Ireland—a source of weakness and discord which will never be closed. It has destroyed the barrier alike against the crown and the populace, and left the nation no protection against the violence of either. Freedom has been rendered to the last degree precarious, from the consequences of this great change; and the subsequent irresistible authority of the central government, how tyrannical soever, at Paris, may be distinctly traced to the prostration of the strength of the provinces by the destruction of their landed proprietors. The ruinous consequences of this injustice upon the future freedom of France will be amply demonstrated in the sequel of this work.

ferring the nomination of all offices of trust upon the nation, it habituated the people to the exercise of powers inconsistent with the monarchical form of government which it had itself established, and which the new possessors were incapable of exercising with advantage either to themselves or the state. It diminished the influence of the crown to such a degree as to render it incapable of controlling the people, and left the kingdom a prey to factions arising out of the hasty changes which had been introduced. By excluding themselves from the next Assembly, its members deprived France of all the benefits of their experience, and permitted their successors to commence the same course of error and innovation, to the danger of which they had been too late awakened. By combining the legislature into one assembly, in which the representatives of the lower ranks had a decisive superiority, it in effect vested supreme political power in one single class of society—a perilous gift at all times, but in an especial manner to be dreaded when that class was in a state of violent excitement, and totally unaccustomed to the powers with which it was intrusted. By removing the check of a separate deliberative assembly, it exposed the political system to the unrestrained influence of those sudden gusts of passion to which all large assemblages of men are occasionally subject, and to which the impetuosity of the national character rendered such an assembly in France in an especial manner liable. By destroying the parliaments, the hierarchy, the corporations, and the privileges of the provinces, it swept away the firmest bulwark by which constitutional freedom might have been protected in future times, by annihilating those institutions which combine men of similar interests together, and leaving only a multitude of insulated individuals to maintain a hopeless contest with the executive and the capital, wielding at will the power of the army and the resources of government. By the overthrow of the national religion, and appropriation to secular purposes of all the funds for its support, it not only gave the deepest wound to public

virtue, but inflicted an irreparable injury on the cause of freedom, by arraying under opposite banners the two great governing powers of the human mind—diminishing the influence of the elevated and spiritual, and removing all control over the selfish principles of our nature.

105. It is a fact worthy of the most serious consideration from all who study the action and progress of the human mind under the influence of such convulsions, that all these great and perilous changes were carried into effect by the Assembly, not only without any authority from their constituents, but directly in the face of the cahiers containing the official announcement of the intentions of the electors. The form of government which it established, the confiscation of ecclesiastical property which it introduced, the abolition of the provincial parliaments, the suspensive veto, the destruction of titles of honour, the infringement on the right of the king to make peace or war, the nomination of judges by the people, were all so many usurpations directly contrary to the great majority of these official instruments, which still remain a monument of the moderation of the people at the commencement, as their subsequent acts were proof of their madness during the progress, of the Revolution.

106. The single fault of the Constituent Assembly, which led to all these disastrous consequences, was, that, losing sight of the object for which alone it was assembled—the redress of grievances—it directed all its efforts to the attainment of power. Instead of following out the first object, and improving the fabric of the state, to which it was called by the monarch and sent by the country, it contended only for the usurpation of absolute power in all its departments; and in the prosecution of that design destroyed all the balances and equipoises which give it a steady direction, and serve as correctives to any violent disposition which may exist in any of the orders. When it had done this, it instantly, and with unpardonable perfidy, laid the axe to the root equally of public faith and private right, by confiscating the property of the

church. It made and recorded what has been aptly styled by Mr Burke a digest of anarchy, called the Rights of Man, and by its influence destroyed every hold of authority by opinion, religious or civil, on the minds of the people. "The real object," says Mr Burke, "of all this, was to level all those institutions, and sever all those connexions, natural, religious, and civil, which hold together society by a chain of subordination—to raise soldiers against their officers, tradesmen against their landlords, curates against their bishops, children against their parents." A universal liberation from all restraints, civil and religious—moral, political, and military—was the grand end of all their efforts, which the weakness of the holders of property enabled them to carry into complete effect. Their precipitance, rashness, and vehemence in these measures, were the more inexcusable, seeing they had not the usual apology of revolutionists, that they were impelled by terror or necessity. On the contrary, their whole march was a continued triumph—their popularity was such that they literally directed the public movement: in unresisted might, their pioneers went before them, leveling in the dust alike the bulwarks of freedom, the safeguards of property, the buttresses of religion, the restraints of virtue.

107. But the most ruinous step of the Constituent Assembly, that which rendered all the others irreparable, was the great number of revolutionary *interests* which they created. By transferring political power into new and inexperienced hands, who valued the acquisition in proportion to their unfitness to exercise it; by creating a host of proprietors, dependent upon the new system for their existence; by placing the armed and civil force entirely at the disposal of the populace—they founded lasting interests upon fleeting passions, and perpetuated the march of the Revolution, when the people would willingly have reverted to a monarchical government. The persons who had gained either power or property by these changes, it was soon found, would yield them up only to force; the indi-

viduals who would be endangered by a return to a legal system, strove to the utmost of their power to prevent it. The prodigious changes in property and political power, therefore, which the Constituent Assembly introduced, rendered the alternative of a revolution, or a bloody civil war, unavoidable; for though passion is transitory, the interests which changes created by passion may have produced are lasting in their operation. The subsequent annals of the Revolution exhibited many occasions on which the people struggled hard to shake off the tyranny which it had created; none in which the gainers by its innovations did not do their utmost to prevent a return to a constitutional or legal government. This was the great cause of the difference between the subsequent progress of the French and the English Revolutions. The Long Parliament and Cromwell made no essential changes in the property or political franchises of Great Britain; and consequently, after the military usurper expired, no powerful revolutionary interests existed to resist a return to the old constitution. In France, before the Constituent Assembly had sat six months, they had rendered a total change in the structure of society unavoidable, because they had transferred to the multitude nearly the whole influence and possessions of the state.

108. The Constituent Assembly, if it has done nothing else, has at least bequeathed one important political lesson to mankind, which is, the vanity of the hope—that, by conceding to the demands of a revolutionary party an increase of political power, it is possible to put a stop to further encroachments. It is the nature of such a desire, as of every other vehement passion, to be insatiable; to feed on concessions and acquisitions, and become more powerful and dangerous in proportion as less remains for it to obtain. This truth was signally demonstrated by the history of this memorable Assembly. Concession there went on at the gallop: the rights of the king, the nobles, the clergy, the parliaments, the corporations, and the provinces, were

abandoned as fast as they were attacked. Resistance was nowhere attempted; and yet the popular party, so far from being satisfied, incessantly rose in its demands. Democratic ambition was never so violent as when it had triumphed over every other authority in the commonwealth. The legislature, the leaders of the state, in vain strove to maintain their ascendancy by giving up everything which their antagonists demanded: in proportion as they receded, their opponents advanced; and the party which had professed at first a desire only for a fair proportion of political influence, soon became indignant if the slightest opposition was made to its authority.

109. This extraordinary fact suggests an important conclusion in political science, which was first enunciated by Mr Burke, but has, since his time, been abundantly verified by experience. This is, that there is a wide difference between popular convulsions which spring from real grievances, and those which arise merely from popular zeal or democratic passion. There is a boundary to men's passions when they act from reason, resentment, or interest, but none when they are stimulated by imagination or ambition. Remove the grievances complained of, and, when men act from the first motives, you go a great way towards quieting a commotion. But the good or bad conduct of a government, the protection men have enjoyed, or the oppression they have suffered under it, are of no sort of moment, when a faction proceeding on speculative grounds is thoroughly roused against its form. It is the combination of these two different principles, so opposite in nature and character, but yet co-operating at the moment to induce the same effect, which renders the management of a nation in such circumstances so extremely difficult; for the concessions and reforms which are the appropriate remedies for, and are best calculated to remove the discontent arising from the real grievances, are precisely the steps likely to rouse to the highest pitch the fervour springing from the imaginative passions.

110. The great point of difficulty, and that on which the judgment of a statesman is most imperatively required, is to determine *when the proper period for resistance has arrived*. That such a period will arrive in all revolutions, may be predicted with perfect certainty, because their effects will ere long display themselves in a way obvious to every capacity. Even during the sitting of the Constituent Assembly this event had taken place; for during the two years and five months it lasted, no less than three thousand seven hundred and fifty-three persons perished of a violent death, and a hundred and seven chateaus were committed to the flames. It was a poor compensation for those disasters, that the Assembly passed two thousand five hundred and fifty laws, the great majority of which were repealed or forgotten during the progress of the Revolution. But though such disasters will ever be present to the prophetic vision of foresight, from the very outset of revolutionary troubles, and amidst the general transports of the unthinking multitude, yet it is by no means safe for the statesman to act on such anticipations the moment they become pregnant in his own mind, and those of the few historic students or thinking men in the country. Government has need of the support of physical strength to enforce its measures; and if the great majority of the nation have become imbued with revolutionary sentiments, it is generally in vain to hoist the standard of decided resistance, till the holders of property and better class of citizens have become sensible of its necessity, from a practical experience of the effects of an opposite system. Philosophers and historians, who trust to the unaided force of truth, can never state it too early or too strongly; but statesmen, who must rely on the support of others, should wait for the moment of action, the period when dangers or catastrophes, which strike the senses, have procured for them the support, not only of the thinking few, but of the unthinking many.

111. The personal character of the king was doubtless the first and greatest cause which, in France, prevented

this resistance being opposed to the work of innovation even when the proper season for it had arrived, and converted the stream of improvement into the cataract of revolution. So strongly was this fatal defect in the monarch's character felt by the wisest men of the popular party in France, that they have not hesitated to ascribe to it the whole miseries of the Revolution. Had a firm and resolute king been on the throne, it is doubtful whether the Revolution would have taken place, or at least whether it would have been attended by such horrors. All the measures of Louis conspired to bring it about: the benevolence and philanthropy which, duly tempered by resolution, would have formed a perfect, when combined with weakness and vacillation, produced the most dangerous, of sovereigns.* His indecision, tenderness of heart, and horror at decided measures, ruined everything; the inferior causes which conspired to bring about the same disastrous result, in some degree, at least, emanated from that source. There were many epochs during the sitting of the first Assembly, after its dangerous tendency began to be perceived by the great body of the people, when an intrepid monarch, aided by a faithful army and resolute nobility, might have averted the tempest, turned the stream of innovation into constitutional channels, and established, in conformity with the wishes of the great majority of the nation, a limited monarchy, similar to that which, for above a century, had given dignity and happiness to the British empire.

* "Pison a l'âme simple et l'esprit abattu ;
S'il a grande naissance, il a peu de vertu :
Non de cette vertu qui déteste le crime ;
Sa probité sévère est digne qu'on estime—
Elle a tout ce qui fait un grand homme de bien,
Mais en un souverain c'est peu de chose ou rien—
Il faut de la prudence, il faut de la lumière,
Il faut de la vigueur adroite autant que fière ;
Qui pénétre, éblouisse, et sème des appas.
Il faut mille vertus enfin qu'il n'aura pas."

CORNILLIE, *Ohon*, Act ii. scene 4.

112. The treachery of the troops was the immediate cause of the catastrophe which precipitated the throne beneath the feet of the Assembly; and the terrible effects with which it was attended, the bloody tyranny which it induced, the ruinous career of foreign conquest which it occasioned, and the national subjugation in which it terminated, is to be chiefly ascribed to the treason or vacillation of these, the sworn defenders of order and loyalty. But for their defection, the royal authority would have been respected, democratic ambition coerced, a rallying point afforded for the friends of order, and the changes which were required confined within safe and constitutional bounds. The revolt of the French Guards was the signal for the dissolution of the bonds of society in France; and they have been hardly reconstructed, even by the terrible Committee of Public Salvation, and the merciless sword of Napoleon. What the treachery of the army had commenced, the desertion of the nobility consummated. The flight of this immense body, estimated, with their families and retainers, by Mr Burke, at seventy thousand persons, completed the prostration of the throne by depriving it of its best defenders. The friends of order naturally abandoned themselves to despair when they saw the army revolting, the crown yielding, and the nobility taking to flight. Who would make even the show of resisting, when these, the leaders and defenders of the state, gave up the cause as hopeless? The energy of ambition, the confidence arising from numbers, the prestige of opinion, passed over to the other side. A party speedily becomes irresistible when its opponents shrink from the first encounter. Such, then, is the great moral to be drawn from the French Revolution. Its immediate disasters, its bloody atrocities, its ultimate failure, did not arise from any necessary fatality, any unavoidable sequence, but are solely to be ascribed to the guilt of some, the treachery of others, the delusion of all who were concerned in its direction.